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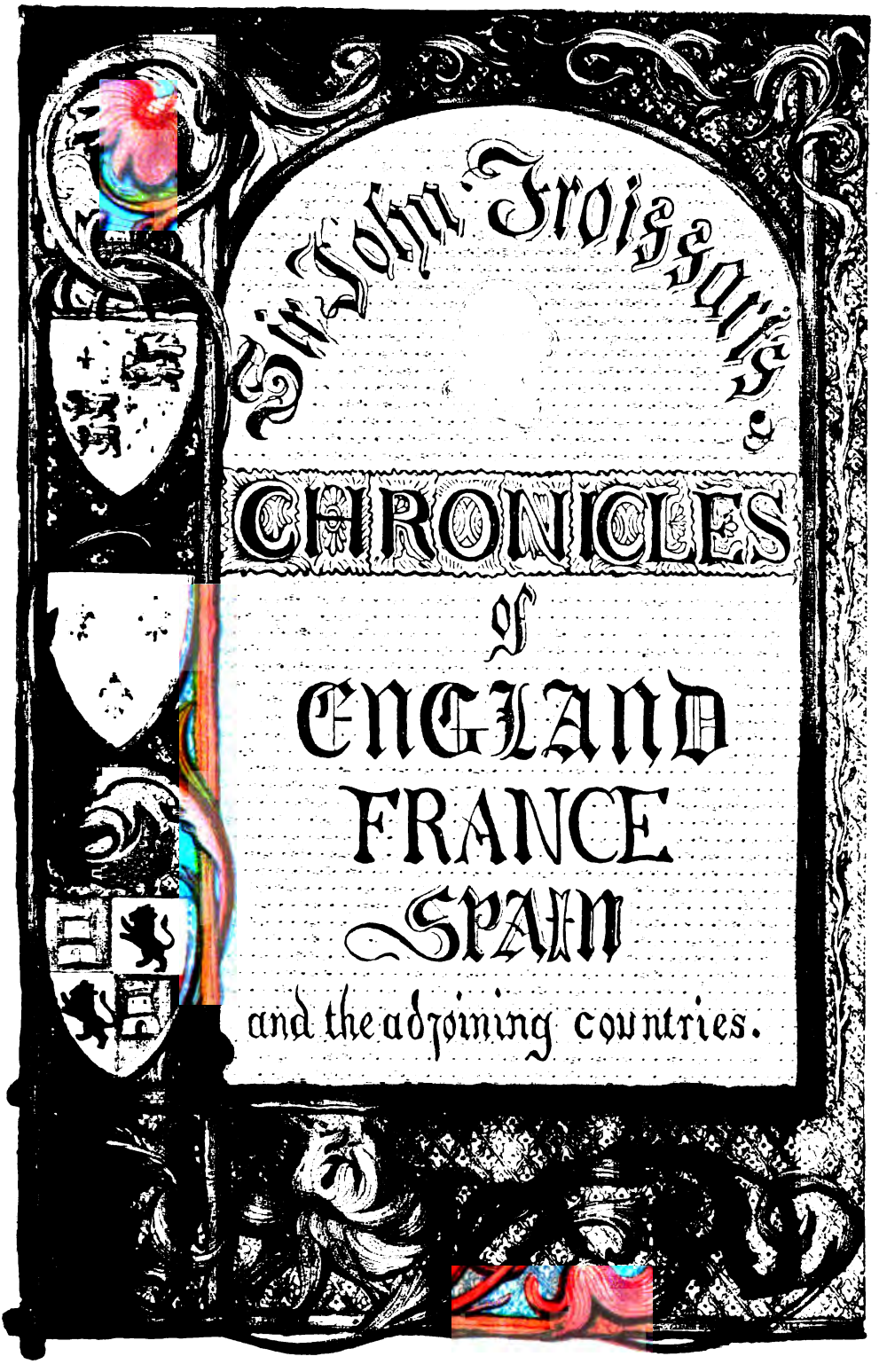
Sir John Froissart's
CHRONICLES
of
ENGLAND
FRANCE
SPAIN
and the adjoining countries.

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND

The adjoining Countries,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

BY SIR JOHN FROISSART.

Translated from the French Editions,

WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS, AND A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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The Chronicles of Sir John Froissart have, ever since their first publication, when they were circulated only through the medium of manuscripts, and deemed worthy presents to kings and princes, been so highly prized, as to make any apology for their reproduction in a novel, and, it is hoped, an improved form, unnecessary. England is particularly rich in MS. Froissarts, and from these stores most of the illustrations have been drawn. The reader should, however, be made aware that there scarcely exists one single MS. contemporary with the time of the author containing illustrations, and that the dresses, &c. displayed in the wood-cuts interspersed in these volumes, are almost all to be referred to a later date. The manners of the times had not undergone much alteration, nor was the costume materially different, and they at least approach very nearly to an exact representation of the scenes described in the history they illustrate. It is difficult to represent the exquisite finish of ancient illuminations, through the medium of a copy composed of black lines and contrasted lights; but the fidelity of the outlines, and the spirit of the execution, have been scrupulously observed, and it is hoped that the general effect does not discredit the originals.

It may be necessary to say a few words on the mode which has been adopted in the conduct of the present edition. The text of Johnes has been preferred to that of Lord Berners for several reasons; the more modern diction is better adapted for the extended circulation among all classes of readers, which it is the ambition of the proprietor of the Imperial Classics to achieve; the style and language of Lord Berners would probably be preferred by those who are familiar with our earlier writers, but notes and glossaries would be required to make clear to others many words and expressions which to them appear in no degree obscure. Again, Mr. Johnes has in several places introduced extensive additions, which are to be found in no other edition, French or English. If these were embodied in the text of Lord Berners, a proceeding necessary to make the edition complete, a very piebald piece of patch-work would be the result; and as the original of these additions was lost when Mr. Johnes's house and library were destroyed by fire, it is not possible to re-translate them in a style assimilated to that of the noble translator.

Another objection to adopting the text of Lord Berners, is that imperfection which induced Mr. Johnes to undertake his translation, viz. the inaccuracies in rendering the names of both men and towns, &c. Mr. Johnes did much to correct these, which are dreadfully mangled and disfigured in the original; and they have been still further improved in the present edition. It has not been thought necessary to point out all these emendations; where no doubt existed, the alteration has been made silently; but wherever there was any uncertainty, the emendation has been proposed as a query.

All Mr. Johnes's original notes have been preserved, and many more added on subjects which he had left unnoticed, or regarding which he appeared to be in error. A few of the best passages of Lord Berners' version have been appended as specimens of his style, such as the celebrated episode of Edward III. and the countess of Salisbury, vol. i., p. 102.

The original divisions made by Froissart in his work are commented on and explained in the Essay by M. de St. Palaye, translated by Mr. Johnes, and appended to this edition, and it will therefore be sufficient in this place to explain the system here adopted. The four original divisions into volumes or books have been preserved, and the chapters of each book are separately numbered. For the convenience of binding, the whole work has been divided into two volumes, and the pages are numbered in conformity with this division, without reference to the books or chapters. No two editions or MSS. exactly agree in the arrangement of the chapters, and we have therefore adhered to that adopted by Mr. Johnes.

We will now take our leave of the reader in the words of Gray, who, in a letter to a friend, thus addresses him:—"I rejoice you have met with Froissart; he is the Herodotus of a barbarous age; had he but had the luck of writing in as good a language, he might have been immortal! His locomotive disposition, (for then there was no other way of learning things,) his simple curiosity, his religious credulity, were much like those of the old Grecian. When you have *tant chevaucé* as to get to the end of him, there is Monstrelet waits to take you up, and will set you down at Philip de Commines."

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THE BINDER

Is requested to place the illuminated title (as a title) *before the title-page of vol.* 1.

MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE OF FROISSART.

JOHN FROISSART, priest, canon, and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, historian and poet, was born in Valenciennes, a town in Hainault, about the year 1337. This date, which appears contradicted by one single passage in his Chronicle, is confirmed by a number of others, as well in his Chronicle as in his Manuscript Poems.

However attentive he may have been to inform us of the minutest particulars of his life, he does not say one word relative to his family. One can only form a conjecture from a passage in his Poems, that his father's name was Thomas, and that he was a painter of arms. We find in his history a Froissart Meullier, a young knight from Hainault, who signalised himself by his valour at the siege of the castle of Fighieres in Spain, which the English and Gascons attacked in 1381. His country and name induce me to believe that our historian might be a relation of his, and, like him, sprung from a noble family. Froissart is titled knight, at the beginning of a manuscript in the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés; but as he has not this title in any other manuscript, though we have some of the most ancient and most authentic, it seems probable that the copyist has given it to him from his own authority.

His infancy announced what he would one day be; he early manifested that eager and inquisitive mind, which during the course of his life never allowed him to remain long attached to the same occupations, and in the same place. The different games suitable to that age, of which he gives us a picture equally curious and amusing, kept up in his mind a fund of natural dissipation, which during his early studies tried the patience and exercised the severity of his masters. He loved hunting, music, assemblies, feasts, dancing, dress, good living, wine, and women: all these tastes, which almost all showed themselves from twelve years of age, being confirmed by habitude, were continued even to his old age, and perhaps never left him. The mind and heart of Froissart being not yet sufficiently occupied, his love for history filled up that void which his passion for pleasure left; and became to him an inexhaustible source of amusement.

He had but just left school, and was scarcely twenty years old, when at the entreaty of *his dear lord and master sir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort*, he undertook to write the history of the wars of his own time, more particularly of those which ensued after the battle of Poitiers. Four years afterwards, having gone to England, he presented a part of this history to queen Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. However young he might then be, he had already travelled into the most distant provinces of France. The object of his visit to England was to tear himself from the pains of an attachment which had tormented him for a long time. This passion took possession of his heart from his infancy; it lasted ten years, and sparks of it were again rekindled in a more advanced age, *in spite of his bald head and white hairs*.

When poets sing their loves, they are not always believed on their word; as Froissart only mentions his in poetry, one may treat all he says as pure fiction; but the portrait he draws is so natural, that one cannot prevent one's self from acknowledging the character of a

young man in love, and the simple expressions of real passion. He feigns, that when twelve years old, Mercury appeared to him followed by the three goddesses whose difference Paris had formerly decided; that this god, calling to mind the protection he had given him from four years of age, ordered him to revise the dispute of these three divinities; that he had confirmed the judgment of Paris; and that Venus had promised him, as a recompense, a mistress more beautiful than the fair Helen, and of such high birth, that from thence to Constantinople there was not earl, duke, king, nor emperor, who would not have esteemed himself fortunate to obtain her. He was to serve this beauty for ten years, and his whole life was to be devoted to the adoration of that divinity who made him such fair promises.

Froissart had been early attached to romances; that of Cleomades was the first instrument Love made use of to captivate him. He found it in the hands of a young maiden who was reading it, and who invited him to read it with her: he readily consented, for such complaisances cost little. There was soon formed between them a literary connexion. Froissart lent her the romance of the *Baillou d'Amours**, and took the opportunity of sending it to her, to slip into it a ballad, in which he first spoke of his love. This spark of love became a flame which nothing could extinguish; and Froissart having experienced all that agitation which a first passion inspires, was almost reduced to despair on hearing that his mistress was on the point of being married; his excessive grief overwhelmed him, and caused him a fit of illness which lasted for three months. At last he took the resolution to travel, to dissipate his chagrin and to recover his health. As he travelled with a large company, he was forced to be attentive to himself, in order to hide his trouble. After two days' journey, during which he had never ceased making verses in honour of his mistress, he arrived at a town, which I believe to be Calais, where he embarked. During his passage the weather was so tempestuous, as to threaten an immediate wreck of the vessel: this however was not capable of suspending the application with which he was working to finish a rondeau to the honour of his love. The weather became calm, and the rondeau was completed, when he found himself on a coast, where, as he says, "they love war better than peace, and where strangers are very well received." He speaks of England; the reception they gave him, the amusements they procured him in the societies of "lords, ladies, and damsels," and the caresses they loaded him with: but nothing was able to calm the melancholy which overwhelmed him; so that, not being able longer to support the pangs of absence, he resolved to return nearer the lady of his heart.

A lady, queen Philippa of Hainault, who detained him in England, learnt from a virelay, which he presented to her, the cause of his trouble; she took compassion on him, by ordering him to go back to his own country, on condition however of his promise to return, and furnished him with money and horses to perform the journey. Love soon conducted him to the lady of his affections. Froissart let no opportunity slip of being in the same places where she might be, and of conversing with her. We have before seen that she was of such high birth, that "kings and emperors might have sought her;" these words taken literally are only suitable for a person of blood royal or to the issue of a sovereign prince; but how can we connect the idea of such high birth with the detail he gives us of the secret conversations, the amusements, and assemblies, which he was at liberty to partake of by day or night? and, as if these traits were not sufficient to make her known at the time he wrote, he seems to have wished to have more clearly pointed her out by the name of Anne, in the enigmatical verses which make part of his manuscript poems. One may presume that this love, so passionate and so tender, had the usual fate of almost every passion.

Froissart speaks in one of his rondeaus of another lady, whom he had loved, and whose name, composed of five letters, was to be found in that of Polixena: this may be an Alix, which was formerly written Aelix. There is reason to believe he had a third flame called Margaret, and that it is her whom he indirectly celebrates in a poem† under the title, and in honour, of the flower which bears her name‡. Perhaps he sought in these episodical

* M. de St. Palaye, in a note, says he is not acquainted with the romance. Baillou signifies bailiff.

† Dittie de la fleur de la Margherite, pages 70 and the following, of his Manuscript Poems.

‡ The English reader must be informed, that Marguerite is not only the name of a woman, but also of the flower called daisy, and of a pearl.

amours some remedy for a passion, which, according to his own account, was unfortunate. At least we know that, in despair for the little success which had attended all his assiduities and attentions to his first mistress, he took the resolution of again absenting himself from her.

This absence was longer than the preceding one; he returned to England, and attached himself to the service of queen Philippa. This princess, sister to the countess of Namur, wife of Robert, to whom Froissart seems to have been a servant, saw always with pleasure her countrymen from Hainault; she loved letters; the college which she founded, and which at this day is known at Oxford under the name of Queen's College, is an illustrious monument of the protection she granted to them; Froissart therefore united all the titles which could merit the affection of queen Philippa. The history which he presented to her, as I have before mentioned, whether at his first journey or the second (for it is not possible to decide which of the two), was very well received, and probably gained him the title of clerk (that is to say secretary or writer) of the chamber of this princess, which he was in possession of from 1361.

In the age of Froissart, all the world was persuaded that love was the motive of the most brilliant actions of courage and virtue. Knights made a parade of it in tournaments. Warriors exposed themselves to the most perilous combats, to maintain the honour and beauty of their ladies. It was then believed that love might be confined to a delicate intercourse of gallantry and tenderness: it is almost always under this form that we see it represented in the greater parts of those efforts of the mind which have been handed down to us from that period; the ladies blushed not in feeling so pure a passion, and the most modest made it the ordinary subject of their conversations. The queen of England frequently amused herself by making Froissart compose amorous ditties; but this occupation must be considered solely as a relaxation that no way impeded more serious works, since, during the five years he was attached to the service of this princess, he travelled at her expense to various parts of Europe, the object of which seems to be a research after whatever might enrich his history. I draw this conclusion from a preface which is found at the head of the fourth volume in several manuscripts of the Chronicle of Froissart; and, as it is not to be found in the printed copies*, I thought the insertion of it would not be improper here.

"At the request, wish, and pleasure, of that most high and noble prince, my very dear lord and master Guy de Chatillon, count de Blois, lord of Avesne, of Chimay, of Beaumont, of Schonove, of Goude; I, John Froissart, priest, chaplain to my very dear lord above named, and at this time treasurer and canon of Chimay, and of Lille in Flanders, am again awakened, and entered into my work-shop, to labour and work at the grand and noble matters which, in former times, occupied my attention, which treat and examine the feats and events of the wars between France and England, and of all their allies and adherents, as it clearly appears from the treaties which have been made and completed until this very day of my again being awakened.

"Now, you that read, have read, or shall read this history, consider in your own minds, how I could have known and collected such facts as I treat of, and of so many different parties. In truth, I must inform you that I began at the early age of twenty years, and came into the world at the time these events were passing, in the knowledge of which I have always taken greater pleasure than in anything else. God has been so gracious to me, that I was well with all parties, and of the household of kings; more especially of king Edward, and of the noble queen his lady, madame Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, lady of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to whom in my youth I was secretary, and amused her with handsome ditties and madrigals of love; and through affection to the service of that noble and puissant lady to whom I belonged, all the other great lords, dukes, earls, barons, and knights, of whatever nation they might be, loved me, saw me with pleasure, and were of the greatest utility to me. Thus, under the protection of this good lady, and at her costs, as well as at the expenses of great lords, I have searched in my time the greater part

* M. de St. Palaye is not quite correct; for the beginning of this preface is in the printed edition of Verard, and in another printed edition which I believe was not known to Denys Sauvage nor to M. de St. Palaye. It will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. This preface in my printed editions is not so long as this, and is somewhat different. It is not mentioned in the editions of Denys Sauvage.

of Christendom (in truth who seeks will find); and wherever I came, I made inquiry after those ancient knights and squires who had been present at these deeds of arms, and who were well enabled to speak of them. I sought also for heralds of good repute, to verify and confirm what I might have heard elsewhere of these matters. In this manner have I collected the materials for this noble history; and that gallant count de Blois before-mentioned, has taken great pains in it. And as long as through God's grace I shall live, I shall continue it, for the more I work at it, the greater pleasure I receive; like the gallant knight or squire enamoured with arms, by perseverance and attention he perfects and accomplishes himself, thus by labouring and working on this subject, I acquire greater ability and delight."

Of all the particulars of Froissart's life during his residence in England, we only know that he was present at the separation of the king and queen in 1361, with their son the prince of Wales and the princess his lady, who were going to take possession of the government of Aquitaine; and that he was between Eltham and Westminster in the year 1363, when king John passed on his return to England. There is in his poems a pastoral which seems to allude only to that event. With regard to his travels during the time he was attached to the service of the queen, he employed six months in Scotland, and penetrated as far as the Highlands. He travelled on horseback with his portmanteau behind him, and followed by a greyhound.

The king of Scotland, and many lords whose names he has preserved to us, treated him so handsomely, that he could have wished to have returned thither. William, earl of Douglas, lodged him during fifteen days in his castle of Dalkeith, five miles from Edinburgh. We are ignorant of the date of this journey; and of another, which he made into North Wales, that I believe must have been about the same time. He was in France, at Melun-sur-Seine, about the 20th of April, 1366; perhaps private reasons might have led him to take that road to Bordeaux, where he was on All Saints day of that year, when the princess of Wales was brought to bed of a son, who was afterwards Richard II. The prince of Wales setting out a few days afterwards for the war in Spain, Froissart accompanied him to Dax, where the prince resided some time. He had expected to have attended him during the continuance of this grand expedition; but the prince would not permit him to go farther, and shortly after his arrival sent him back to the queen his mother.

Froissart could not have made any long stay in England, since in the following year he was at different Italian courts. It was this same year, that is to say, 1368, that Lionel, duke of Clarence, son of the king of England, espoused Joland, daughter of Galeas the Second, duke of Milan. The marriage was celebrated the 25th of April; and Lionel died the 17th of October following. Froissart, who probably was in his suite, was present at the magnificent reception which Amadeus count de Savoy, surnamed the count Verd, gave him on his return: he describes the feasts on this occasion, which lasted three days; and he does not forget to tell us that they danced a virelay of his composition.

From the court of Savoy he returned to Milan, where the same count Amadeus gave him a good cottehardie *, with twenty florins of gold; from thence to Bologna and Ferrara, where he received forty ducats from the king of Cyprus; and then to Rome. Instead of the modest equipage we have seen him travel into Scotland with, he was now, like a man of importance, travelling on a handsome horse attended by a hackney.

It was about this period that Froissart experienced a loss which nothing could recompense: Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who had heaped wealth on him, died in 1369. He composed a lay on this melancholy event, of which, however, he was not a witness; for he says, in another place, that in 1395 it was twenty-seven years since he had seen England. According to several authors †, he wrote the life of queen Philippa; but this assertion is not founded on any proofs.

* Or, as it is more often written, *cotardie*, a sort of coat, a dress common to men and women; here it means a pourpoint. This was one of the liberalities which great lords were accustomed to make; they put money, as one sees by this example into the purse which, according to the usage of that time, was attached to the coat.—Sr. Palaye.

† Vossius de Historicis Latinis, lib. iii. cap. iv. Bullart, Académie des Sciences, tom. i. p. 124.

Independently of the employment of clerk of the chamber to the queen of England, which Froissart had had, he had also been of the household of Edward III., and even of that of John, king of France. As there are several other princes and lords of whose households he had been, or whom he calls his lords and masters, it is proper to observe, that by this mode of speech he means not only those princes and lords to whom he had been attached as a servant; but likewise all those who had made him presents or gratifications; or who, having received him in their courts or castles, had admitted him to their tables.

Froissart, having lost his patroness, queen Philippa, did not return to England, but went into his own country, where he obtained the living of Lestines. Of all that he performed during the time he exercised this ministry, he tells us nothing more than that the tavern-keepers of Lestines had five hundred francs of his money in the short space of time he was their rector. One reads in a manuscript journal of the bishop of Chartres, chancellor to the duke of Anjou, that, according to letters sealed on the 12th December, 1381, this prince caused to be seized fifty-six quires of the Chronicle of Froissart, rector of the parish church of Lestines, which the historian had sent to be illuminated, and then to be forwarded to the king of England, the enemy of France.

Froissart attached himself afterwards to Winceslaus de Luxembourg, duke of Brabant, perhaps in quality of secretary, according to the custom of princes and lords in those days, who employed clerks to manage their affairs, and in their correspondence, and who amused them by their knowledge, or their wit. Winceslaus had a taste for poetry: he had had made by Froissart a collection of his songs, his rondeaus, and virelays, who, adding some of his own pieces to those of the prince, formed a sort of romance, under the title of Meliador, or the Knight of the Sun; but the duke did not live sufficiently long to see the completion of the work, for he died in 1384.

Almost immediately after this event, Froissart found another patron: he was made clerk of the chapel to Guy, count de Blois; and he was not long in testifying his gratitude to his new patron, by a pastoral on the betrothing of Louis, count de Dunois, son of Guy, with Mary, daughter of the duke of Berry. Two years after, on the solemnisation of this marriage at Bourges, he celebrated it in a sort of epithalamium, sufficiently ingenious for those times, entitled "The Temple of Honour." He passed the years 1385, 1386, and 1387, sometimes in the Blaisois, sometimes in Touraine; but the count de Blois having engaged him to continue the course of his history, which he had left unfinished, he determined in 1388 to take advantage of the peace which was just concluded, to visit the court of Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix and de Béarn, in order to gain full information in whatever related to foreign countries, and the more distant provinces of the kingdom, where he knew that a great number of warriors signalised themselves daily by the most gallant actions. His age and his health still allowed him to bear great fatigue; his memory was sufficiently strong to retain whatever he should hear; and his judgment clear enough to point out to him the use he should make of it.

He set out with letters of recommendation from the count de Blois to Gaston Phœbus, and took the road through Avignon. One of his pastorals informs us, that he resided in the environs of an abbey *, situated between Lunel and Montpelier, and that he gained the affections of a young person, who bewailed his departure: in the same poem he tells us, that he carried with him four greyhounds †, as a present to the count de Foix. Gaston was passionately fond of dogs, and had upwards of sixteen hundred always with him: there exists a treatise written by him on hunting, which is preserved in manuscript in several libraries, and which was printed in 1520.

Froissart went from Carcassonne to Pamiers, of which he gives an agreeable description; he remained there for three days waiting for the chance of meeting some person with whom he might travel into Béarn. He was fortunate enough to meet with a knight from the country of Foix, who was returning thither from Avignon, and they journeyed together. Sir Espaign du Lyon, the name of the knight, was a man of high distinction; he had had

* Probably St. Geniez, a monastery of nuns, one league and a half from the road which leads from Montpelier to Lunel.—St. Palaye.

† Their names were Tristan, Hector, Brun, and Rollant.—St. Palaye.

considerable commands, and was employed all his life in negotiations as delicate as they were important. The two travellers agreed perfectly well together; the knight, who had served in all the wars in Gascony, was equally desirous to learn everything which related to those that Froissart was acquainted with; and Froissart, more in a situation to satisfy him than any one, was not less curious to be informed of those events in which the knight had borne a part: they mutually communicated all they knew, with a reciprocal complaisance. They rode side by side, and frequently only a foot's pace: their whole journey was passed in conversations; by which they mutually instructed each other. Towns, castles, ruins, plains, heights, valleys, defiles; everything awakened the curiosity of Froissart, and recalled to the memory of the lord Espaing du Lyon the different actions which had there passed under his eyes, or which he had heard related by those who had been engaged in them.

The historian, too exact in the recital which he gives us of these conversations, relates even the exclamations by which he testified his gratitude to the knight, for all the interesting intelligence he was so good to give him. If they arrived at a town before sunset, they profited of the remnant of day to examine the outworks of the place, or to observe those parts of it which had suffered from assaults. On their return to the inn, they continued the same conversations, either between themselves or with other knights and esquires, who might be lodged there; and Froissart never went to bed until he had put in writing every particular he had heard.

After a journey of six days, they arrived at Ortez. This town, one of the most considerable in Béarn, was the ordinary residence of Gaston, count de Foix and viscount de Béarn, surnamed Phœbus, on account of his beauty. Froissart could not have chosen a court more suitable to his views. The count de Foix, at the age of fifty-nine years, was the most vigorous, the handsomest, and best-made man of that period. Adroit at all exercises, valorous, an accomplished captain, noble and magnificent, he never suffered any warrior who waited on him to depart without carrying with him proofs of his liberality: his castle was the rendezvous of all those brave captains who had distinguished themselves in combats, or in tournaments. Their conversations solely ran on attacks of places, surprises, sieges, assaults, skirmishes, and battles. Their amusements were games of address and force; tilts, tournaments, and huntings more laborious and almost as dangerous as war itself. These details deserve to be read in Froissart: I can only imperfectly trace what he has so excellently painted.

The count de Foix having learnt from sir Espaing du Lyon the arrival of Froissart, who was well known at the court of Ortez by the first two volumes of his Chronicle, sent to seek for him at the house of one of his esquires, who had received and lodged him; and, seeing him at a distance, said to him smiling, and in good French, "That he was perfectly well acquainted with him, although he had never before seen him; but that he had heard much talk about him, and he retained him in his household."

This expression, as I have before said, does not mean that Froissart was lodged in the castle, but only that his expenses were defrayed by the count during the winter he passed at his court. His most usual occupation, in that time, was to amuse Gaston, after his supper, by reading to him the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him. Every evening he repaired to the castle at midnight, which was the hour the count sat down to table, and none dared to interrupt the reading. Gaston himself, who listened with the greatest attention, only spoke to ask questions concerning the book; and he never sent him away, before he had made him drink all the wine which had remained on the table, from his own bottle.

Sometimes this prince took pleasure to inform him of those particulars of the wars in which he had distinguished himself. Froissart did not gain less information from his frequent conversations with those knights and esquires whom he found assembled at Ortez; more especially from the knights of Arragon and of England, attached to the household of the duke of Lancaster, who at that time resided at Bordeaux. They related to him all they knew of the battles of the kings John of Castile, and Denys of Portugal, and their allies. Among others, the famous Bastot de Maulion, in giving him the history of his own life, told him also that of almost all the wars which had happened in the different provinces of France, and even in Spain, from the time of the battle of Poitiers, at which period he first bore arms.

Although he applied himself, without relaxation, in collecting historical memoirs, Froissart gave, however, some moments to Poesy. We have a pastoral by him, which he seems to have composed in the county of Foix, in honour of Gaston Phœbus. He says, that being

En beau Pré sert et plaisant
Par dessus Gave la riviere
Entre Pau et Ortais seant,

he saw shepherds and shepherdesses, who were conversing of different lords, and the arms they bore. He adroitly makes use of this fiction, to name with praise all those from whom he had received any marks of liberality, and terminates his list with the count de Foix.

After a tolerable long residence at the court of Ortez, Froissart began to think of his departure. He was detained by Gaston, who gave him hopes that an opportunity would soon offer for him to travel in good company. The marriage of the countess of Boulogne, a relation of the count, having been concluded with the duke de Berry, the young bride was conducted from Ortez to Morlas, where the equipages of the duke, her husband, were waiting for her. He set out in her suite, after having received proofs of the generosity of Gaston, who warmly pressed him to return to him. He accompanied the princess to Avignon, and the remainder of the road which she took across the Lyonnois, la Bresse, le Forès, and the Bourbonnois, as far as Riom, in Auvergne.

The stay at Avignon was unfortunate to Froissart; they robbed him. This melancholy adventure was the subject of a long poem, in which he introduces several incidents of his life, and which I have made use of in this memoir. One sees, by this piece, that the desire of visiting the tomb of the cardinal de Luxembourg, who died in odour of sanctity, was not the sole motive which had induced him to re-pass through Avignon in the suite of the young princess; but that he was charged with a private commission from the lord de Couci. He might, as he says, have endeavoured to seek for redress for the loss of his money by soliciting a benefice; but this resource was not to his taste. He laid greater stress on the generosity of the lord de la Riviere, and the count de Sancerre, who accompanied the duchess de Berry, and on that of the viscount d'Asci. He paints himself, in this poem, as a man of much expense: besides the revenue of the living of Lestines, which was considerable, he had received, since he was twenty-five years old, two thousand francs, of which nothing remained. The composition of his works had cost him seven hundred francs; but he regretted not this expense; for, as he says, "I have composed many a history which will be spoken of by posterity." The remainder was spent among the tavern-keepers at Lestines, and in his travels, which he always performed with a good equipage, well mounted, well dressed, and living well wherever he went.

Froissart had been present at all the feasts which were given on the marriage of the duke of Berry; celebrated the eve of Whitsunday at Riom, in Auvergne. He composed a pastoral for the morrow of the nuptials; then, returning to France with the lord de la Riviere, he went to Paris. His natural activity, and his ardour for information, with which he was incessantly occupied, did not permit him to remain there long. We have seen him in six months go from the Blaisois to Avignon; then to the county of Foix; from whence he returned again to Avignon, and cross Auvergne to go to Paris. One sees him in less than two years successively in the Cambresis, in Hainault, Holland, Picardy, a second time in Paris, at the extremity of Languedoc; then again at Paris and at Valenciennes; from thence to Bruges, Sluys, in Zealand, and at last in his own country.

He accompanied the lord de Coucy into the Cambresis to the castle of Crevecœur, which the king had just given to him. He relates to him all he had seen, and learns from him the different particulars of the negotiations between France and England. After having staid fifteen days in his own country, he passed a month in Holland with the count de Blois, entertaining him with the history of his travels. He then goes to Lelinghen, to learn the details of the negotiations for peace, which were carrying on at that place. He is present at the magnificent entry which Isabella de Bavière makes into Paris. The exactness with which he describes the ceremonies observed between the pope and Charles VI. at Avignon, seems to prove he was an eye-witness of their meeting: this is the more probable, because it is.

certain that Charles VI. went from Avignon to Toulouse, to receive the homage of the count de Foix; when Froissart was present, and heard their conversation.

Nothing of novelty passed, as one sees, but Froissart wished to be a spectator of; feasts, tournaments, conferences for peace, interviews of princes, their entries, nothing escaped his curiosity. It appears that, at the beginning of the year 1390, he returned to his own country, and that he was solely occupied in the continuation of his history, and in completing it, from the intelligence he had amassed from all parts with so much labour and fatigue. However, what he had learnt relative to the war in Spain did not satisfy him; he felt a scruple at only having heard one side; that is to say, the Gascons and Spaniards, who had been attached to the king of Castille. It was the duty of an exact and judicious historian to know also what the Portuguese had to say on this subject; and on the information he had, that numbers of that nation were to be found at Bruges, he went thither. Fortune served him beyond his hopes; and the enthusiasm with which he speaks of it, paints the ardour with which he was desirous of a perfect knowledge of facts. On his arrival, he learnt that a Portuguese knight, "a valiant and wise man, and of the council of the king of Portugal," whose name was Juan Fernando Portelet, had lately come to Middleburgh, in Zealand.

Portelet, who was on his road to Prussia to join in the war against the infidels, had been present in all the wars of Portugal. Froissart immediately sets out, in company with a Portuguese, a friend of the knight; goes to Sluys, embarks, and arrives at Middleburgh, where his fellow-traveller presents him to Portelet. This knight, "gracious, amiable, and easy of access," relates to him, during the six days they passed together, everything that had been done in Portugal and Spain, from the death of king Ferdinand until his departure from Portugal. Froissart, equally pleased with the recitals of Portelet, as with his politeness, took leave of him, and returned home; where, having arranged all the information he had acquired in his various travels, he composed a new book, which makes the third of his history.

The passage from whence these particulars are taken adds, that Froissart, on quitting Zealand, and before his return to his own country, went once more to Rome. Although, in this instance, the printed copies are conformable to the manuscripts, this journey, of which no other mention is made, seems to me quite improbable. Denys Sauvage assures us, in a marginal note, that, instead of Rome, one should read Bruges, Sluys, or Valenciennes: it is much more natural to read Damme, a port in the neighbourhood of Sluys, where one has seen that the historian embarked.

One cannot say how long Froissart remained in Hainault; one only knows that he was again in Paris 1392, at the time when the constable de Clisson was assassinated by Peter de Craon; and at Abbeville towards the end of that same year, or the beginning of the next, during the conferences which were held there by the plenipotentiaries from France and England, when they at last established a truce for four years. From the year 1378, Froissart had obtained from pope Clement VII. the reversion of a canonship at Lille. One sees, in the collection of his poetry, which was completed in 1393, and in a preface, which is to be met with in several manuscripts at the beginning of the fourth volume of his history, composed about this time, that he titled himself canon of Lille; but Clement VII. dying in 1394, he gave up his expectations of the reversion, and began to qualify himself canon and treasurer of the collegial church of Chimay, which he probably owed to the friendship of the count de Blois, who respected him much; the lordship of Chimay being part of the inheritance which the count had had fallen in to him in 1381, by the death of John de Chatillon, count de Blois, the last of his brothers.

It was twenty-seven years since Froissart had left England; when, taking advantage of the truce between the French and English, he returned thither in 1395, furnished with letters of recommendation to the king and his uncles. From Dover, where he disembarked, he went to Canterbury, made his offering at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, and from respect to the memory of the prince of Wales, to whom he was perfectly well known, he visited his magnificent mausoleum. He saw there the young king Richard, who had arrived to return thanks to God for the success of his last campaign in Ireland; but, in spite of the good intentions of the lord Percy, high steward of England, who had promised to procure him an audience of the king, he could not be presented, and was obliged to follow this prince to the

different places he visited, until he came to Leeds castle *. This time was not lost on our historian; the English were still full of their expedition to Ireland; and he got them to tell him both their own exploits, and the marvellous things they had seen there. Being yet at Leeds castle, he presented to the duke of York his letters from the count d'Hainault and the count d'Ostrevant †. "Master John," said the duke to him, "keep near to our person, and to my people; we will show you all love and kindness; we are bounden so to do from affection to former times, and to our lady mother, to whom you were attached; we well remember those times." He afterwards introduced him into the king's chamber, who received him with very distinguished marks of good will. Richard took the letters he had been charged with, and having read them, said, "that since he had been of the household of his grandfather, and of the queen his grandmother, he must be still of the household of England."

Froissart, however, had not yet been able to present to the king the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him; and Percy advised him to wait a more favourable opportunity. Two important objects occupied the mind of Richard; one was his intended marriage with Isabella of France; the other, the opposition of the people of Aquitaine to the donation which he had made of this province to his uncle, the duke of York. The prelates and barons had been summoned to Eltham, to deliberate on these two affairs; and Froissart had followed the court. He wrote down regularly all the news of the day, which he heard in his conversations with the different English lords; and Richard de Servy ‡, who was of the king's cabinet council, entrusted him, in confidence, with every resolution they had determined upon, begging him only to keep them secret until they should be publicly divulged. At last, on the Sunday which followed the holding of this council, the duke of York, Richard de Surry, and Thomas de Percy, finding the king but little occupied, mentioned to him the romance which Froissart had brought with him. The prince asked to see it; and the historian says, "he saw it in his chamber: for I had it always with me, and placed it upon his bed. He then opened and looked into it, and was greatly pleased: indeed, he ought to have been pleased; for it was illuminated, and the writing much ornamented: it was, besides, bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt nails, with a golden rose, in the midst of two clasps gilt, richly worked with gold rose-trees. Then," continues Froissart, "the king inquired what subject it treated of; and I told him, of love. He was delighted with this answer, and looked into different parts of the book, and read therein: for he read and spoke French perfectly well. He then ordered one of his knights, named sir Richard Credon, to carry it to his cabinet; and he seemed much obliged to me for it."

Henry Castede, an English esquire, who had been present at this conversation, and who knew besides that Froissart was writing his history, coming up to him, inquired if he had been informed of the details of the conquest which the king had just made in Ireland. Froissart pretended to be ignorant of them, in order to engage the esquire in conversation, who took pleasure in recounting them to him. Everything the historian heard, among the rest the repast which the king of England gave in Ireland to the four kings after having conquered them, excited in him very great regret for not having come to England a year sooner as he was preparing to do, when the news of the death of Queen Anne of Luxembourg, Richard's first wife, made him alter his intentions: he would not have failed to have gone to Ireland to have seen everything himself; for he was much interested in collecting the minutest circumstances of this expedition, in order to entertain "his lords" the duke of Bavaria and his son, who had on Friesland similar pretensions to those of the king of England on Ireland. After three months' residence in England, Froissart took his leave of the king. This prince, whom he had followed in his different excursions near London, ordered him to be given, as a last mark of his affection, 100 nobles § in a goblet || of silver, gilt, weighing two marcs.

The melancholy end of Richard, which happened in 1399, is related at the end of the fourth

* In Kent.

† Afterwards earl of Holland, and knight of the garter.

‡ Q. Was it Richard de Surry, lord Surry?

§ This sum may amount to about 25 guineas of our present coin.—St. Palaye.

|| This was called by our ancestors a Henepée, *id est*, hanap, full of money: from whence comes the Hanaper-office in the English treasury.—St. Palaye.

volume of Froissart's history, who acquits himself most gratefully to this prince by the affecting manner with which he laments his misfortunes. At the same time he remarks, that in this event he saw the accomplishment of a prediction which had been made on Richard, when he was born at Bordeaux; and also of a prophecy in the romance of Brutus *, which pointed out the prince who would dethrone him.

The death of Guy Count de Blois happened soon after Froissart's return home: he mentions it in his Chronicle, under the year 1397. He was then sixty years of age, and must have lived at least four years more; for he relates some events of the year 1400 †. If one was to believe Bodin and la Popliniere, he would have lived to 1420; but these two writers have probably been deceived by these words, which begin the last chapter of his history: "En l'an de grace mil quatre cent ung moins;" instead of reading, "ung," as it is written in several manuscripts and in the black-letter editions, they must have read "vingt." Another passage in Froissart may also have given rise to a belief that he lived to about the middle of the fifteenth century. In speaking of the banishment of the count de Harcourt, who persuaded the English to make a descent in Normandy, he says, that the melancholy effects of this invasion were visible for more than a hundred years after. These terms must not be taken literally; the author wrote rather as foreseeing those evils to come which he dreaded, than as being a witness of these fatal effects. It is not, however, possible to decide in what year he died; it only appears that it was in the month of October, since his "obit" is indicated in that month in the obituary of the collegial church of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, from which I have added an extract at the end of this memoir. According to an old tradition of the country, he was interred in the chapel of St. Anne, in this collegial church; and, indeed, it seems very probable that he should end his days in his own chapter.

The name of Froissart was common to several persons who lived at the same time with our historian; besides the Froissart Meullier, the young esquire from Hainault, whom I mentioned in the beginning of this memoir, one finds in the Chronicle of our author a Dom Froissart, who had signalized himself at the siege which the count de Hainault had formed in 1340 against the town of St. Amand. This monk defended for a considerable time a breach which had been made in the walls of the abbey, and did not abandon it before he had killed or wounded eighteen men. One reads at the end of some charters of the count de Foix, a signature of J. Froissart, or Jaquinot Froissart: he was a secretary to the count, and perhaps a relation of the historian. There is also mention made in the registers of the "Trésor des Chartes," of a remission granted in 1375 to Philibert Froissart, esquire, who had been in the company of Gascons in the country of Guyenne, under the command of Charles d'Artois, count de Pezenas.

To avoid interrupting the thread of the narrative, I have deferred to the end of this memoir the examination of a passage in the poetry of Froissart, which points out, but in obscure terms, one of the principal circumstances of his life. He recals the faults of his youth, and particularly reproaches himself for having quitted a learned profession for which he had natural talents, and which had gained him much respect (he seems to point at history, or poetry), to follow another, which, though much more lucrative, was as little suitable to him as that of arms; and having failed in it, had made him fall from that degree of honour to which the first had elevated him. He says, he is determined to repair his fault, and returning to his former occupations, transmit to posterity the glorious names of those kings, princes, and lords, whose generosity he had partaken of.

In the whole course of the life of Froissart, I see no period in which this pretended change can be placed, nor that can point out this lucrative trade, and which he himself calls "*marchandise.*" The indecency of the expression will not suffer us to suppose it could be his cure of Lestines; although he has said in another part, that the rectory was of considerable value; could it be the profession of lawyer, or that of his father, who was, as we have before stated, a painter of arms? A singular meaning of the word "marchandise" in Commines, may perhaps give us a plausible explanation. Commines, born in the same country, and

* See particulars of Wace, author of the romance of Brutus, in Mr. Ellis' Specimens of early English poets.

† It does not seem probable that he lived long after completing the last chapters of his history. They appear to be rather notes for future revisal, than finished portions of the work, and the conclusion is singularly abrupt.—Ed.

not very far from the time of Froissart, employs this word to signify a negotiation of affairs between princes. The business of a negotiator, or rather a man of intrigue, who seeks without any apparent character to penetrate the secret of courts, would perhaps be that which Froissart repents to have followed. The details in which we have entered respecting his various travels, the long residence which he has often made in critical times with several princes, and the talents which he had to insinuate himself into their good graces, seem to me to warrant this conjecture.

Extract from a manuscript taken from the archives of the chapter of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, in which are found the obits and pious foundations made to this chapter, and other antiquities. Folio 39 *and* 40.

"The obit of sir John Froissard, born at Valenciennes, canon and treasury of the aforesaid church, which flourished in 1364, may have place here according to his quality, as having been domestic chaplain to the renowned Guy de Chatillon, count de Soissons and de Blois, lord of Avesnes, Chimay, and Beaumont, &c., who has also been a very celebrated historiographer of his time, and has written the wars and chronicles, and the most remarkable events from the year 1335 until the year 1400; according as he himself relates in divers parts of his history, and more especially in the 52nd chapter of his 4th book, and as it is shown in the eulogium written in his praise in the following words:

Cognita Romanæ vix esset gloria gentis,
Pluribus hunc scriptis nî decorasset honos.
Tanti nempe refert totum scripsisse per orbem,
Quælibet et doctos sec'la tulisse viros.
Commemorent alios alii, super æthera tollam
Froissardum, historiæ per sua sec'la ducem;
Scripsit enim historiam mage sexaginta per annos,
Totius mundi, quæ memoranda notat,
Scripsit et Anglorum Reginæ gesta Philippæ,
Qui, Guilielme, tuo tutia juncta toro."

HONORARIUM.

Gallorum sublimis honos et fama tuorum,
Hic, Froissarde, jaces, si modo forte jaces.
Historiæ vivus studuisti reddere vitam,
Defuncto vitam reddet at illa tibi.

JOANNES FROISSARDUS,

Canonicus and Thesaurarius Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Sanctæ Monegundis Simaci, vetustissimo ferme totius Belgii oppido.

Proxima dum propriis florebit Francia scriptis,
Fania * dum ramos, Blancaque † fundit aquas,
Urbis ut hujus honos, templi sic fama vigebis
Teque ducem historiæ Gallia tota colet,
Belgica tota colet, Cymeaque vallis amabit
Dum rapidus proprios Scaldis obibit agros.

* The Faigne de Chimay, a small forest dependent on it.

† La Blanche Eau, a river which runs by Chimay.

AN ESSAY

ON

THE WORKS OF FROISSART.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. DE LA CURNE DE ST. PALAYE.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

THE life of Froissart has been the subject of the preceding pages. I will now give you the history of his works, as well printed as manuscript, in verse and in prose; and I will, as faithfully as I am able, detail their contents. It may, perhaps, be thought I have pushed these details too far; but, I feel I owe a particular attention to an historian who alone is worth a number of others, by the importance of the subjects he treats of, and from the length of time his history continues. I have besides observed that the author has expanded, in the course of his work, many facts which serve to clear up many preceding facts; and that, for want of this information, it has often happened that I have been stopped in my reading, and have not profited so much by it as I otherwise should have done. It is this which has made me sensible of the want those who read Froissart would have of such an explanation. To smooth all difficulties, and to lay down such rules as may conduct them, I have attempted to do that, which I should have been glad to have found done, when I began to read this author: for, I do not simply propose to give an idea of our Historian, that may satisfy those whom curiosity alone may induce to peruse; my object is, that these Memoirs should serve as an introduction to those who may be induced to read him; and that they should render him, as much as may be possible, more easy, more interesting, and more instructive.

I. *General Plan of his History.*—The History which Froissart has left us extends from 1326 until 1400. It is not confined to the events which were passing in France during this long period; it comprehends, with almost as much detail, every considerable affair which happened in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in Flanders. It includes also an infinite number of particulars relative to the affairs of the popes of Rome and of Avignon; of Spain, Germany, Italy; sometimes even of Russia, Hungary, Turkey, Africa, and other places beyond sea; in short, of almost the whole known world. But this immense multitude of facts, so different from each other; whose chronological order is not very clearly made out, frequently presents to the reader but a confused mixture of events, passed at different times, and in different places, of which he cannot form any distinct idea, and whose memory cannot unite so many scattered objects, which have a necessary connexion between each other.

II. *A more detailed Plan of Froissart's History.*—The History of Froissart is divided into four books, or volumes, as well in all the manuscripts, as in all the printed editions.

The first begins with the coronation of Edward III. king of England, in 1326, and with the accession of Philip de Valois to the crown of France in 1328: and closes with the year 1379 inclusively.

Froissart begins his second volume with the last three years of the preceding volume, and with more detail, having gained fuller information than when he first wrote it. He continues it until the peace of the men of Ghent with the duke of Burgundy, the treaty of which is in the last chapter but one of this volume, dated the 18th December, 1385.

The third volume goes back as far as the year 1382 inclusively, reciting several events, which had been mentioned in the second from the 93rd chapter until the end. The events of these last four years, which had been already related, are so much expanded in the third volume, that they occupy the first twenty-nine chapters. The rest is employed in the history of the following years until 1389, ending with the truce concluded for three years between France and England, and with the preparations that were making for the entry of the queen Isabella de Bavière into Paris, of which the author promises to speak hereafter.

The fourth volume begins with a recital of all the feasts and magnificences which were made for this entry, and ends with the dethroning and death of Richard II. king of England, in 1400, and with the election which was made that same year of Robert emperor of Germany. These events terminate the last two chapters of the whole work.

This manner of dividing the History of Froissart is the same in all the manuscripts and printed copies; but these divisions do not always begin or end at the same places in all the copies*.

III. *Division of the four volumes of Froissart into Chapters, and of the first Volume into several Parts.*—The four volumes of the History of Froissart are each subdivided into a great number of chapters, which are differently placed, according to different manuscripts and printed copies; but, besides these divisions, in a great many manuscripts there is one which is particular to the first volume. Some have four books, or parts, others six, and some eight. I will speak more fully when I come to mention the manuscripts of Froissart.

It is in one of these four, six, or eight divisions of the first volume, that one must seek for the termination of that part of his History which Froissart carried to England, and presented to queen Philippa of Hainault†. It necessarily precedes those books, or parts, in which the death of this queen in 1369 is related: it even precedes, if I am not mistaken, everything one reads prior to 1367, when he was appointed clerk of the closet to the queen of England; for, I believe, it was the History which he presented to her that made him known, and gained him the office he held in the household of that princess.

One cannot doubt but that it was posterior to the recital of the battle of Poitiers in 1356, since it was but at that epocha he began to write. One must not seek for it either before or after the years 1357, 1358, 1359, or 1360; I would rather fix on the year 1360: for in that year was the treaty of Bretigny concluded, which gave peace to the French and English. This period agrees tolerably well with the time our author appears to have gone into England: the circumstance of the peace naturally intercepted a History which had apparently no other object than to treat of deeds of arms.

The second and third volumes are terminated at similar periods; one at the peace between the duke of Burgundy with Ghent in 1385; and the other between the French and English in 1387.

Froissart discontinued writing in 1392, and during the following years, which were passed in a succession of truces between France and England; of which Froissart took advantage, by going to England, where he had not been for twenty-seven years.

IV. *Did Froissart make these Divisions?*—One may ask if Froissart himself divided his History in the manner we have related? I do not doubt but he was the author of the division into four volumes; for, besides that it is so in all the manuscripts, even of those of his own time, he sometimes cites facts in some of these volumes which had been related in a former, and makes use of these expressions, "as it is mentioned in another History;" or in these words, "as you have before heard related in the preceding book of this renowned

* No two manuscripts of the first volume have been found exactly agreeing.

† There exists at Valenciennes a very curious MS., recently made public by M. Buchon in his excellent edition of Froissart, which there is reason to believe was the original of the book presented to queen Philippa. In its general tenor it seems to be only the groundwork of the more expanded narrative of subsequent MSS., but some more minute details respecting the country of Hainault of no general interest, and a variation in the account of Edward's investiture with the office of Legate to the Empire, an affair which he afterwards wished to suppress, make it very probable that the Valenciennes MS. was the original expansion of that of John le Bel, which was afterwards remodelled at the English court.—Ed.

excellent History." But as for the subdivisions of the first volume into four, six, or eight books, it is not to be found in the most ancient manuscripts; besides, it is not uniformly the same in those wherein it is seen: I therefore do not hesitate in attributing them to the copyists, who have made them of their own accord.

With regard to the chapters of each volume, and the titles of these chapters, they are only to be met with in the printed copies; and in the manuscripts of that time, and posterior to it, they are different, according to the different manuscripts or printed copies: and I see no probability that Froissart was the author of them. One single passage may create a difficulty on this subject. It is in the first volume, where the historian refers you to a preceding chapter; but this passage is evidently an interpolation. Notwithstanding it is in the three black-letter editions, and in those of Denys Sauvage, it is not to be found in any of the manuscripts which I have seen, with the exception of a single one in the National Library, No. 8321, which is of the date of the latter end of the fifteenth century, and one of the least authentic copies we have *.

V. *The time which Froissart employed in the composition of his History.*—The principal of these divisions, that which divides the history of Froissart into four volumes, serves to mark as many different epochs, at which he stopped in the course of his work; whether from want of materials, having carried his narration to the time of his writing; or whether he wished to take some repose himself, and allow the same to his readers: but these are not the only places where Froissart has suspended the course of his history; many have been pointed out, and I will endeavour to fix a date to them, as well as to others, to the utmost of my abilities.

Before entering on this examination, I shall explain the manner in which I understand Froissart discontinued to write his history. From all I have said of his life, he is seen continually occupied with this object: upwards of forty years of his life, reckoning from the time he was twenty, were passed in this pursuit: but in such a great length of time, there is one part of it which more directly belongs to the composition of this work; I mean that, when, returning from his travels and laborious inquiries, he collected his materials, arranged them, and formed a connected history, such as we have it at this day. As he worked at it at different times, I shall attempt to assign to each of the parts the suitable time for it; to fix when it was begun and finished; how many years he employed upon it, and the intervals during which he ceased to write: I think all these details necessary. Froissart travelled over large tracts of country, and made in several places long residences; he was attached, at different times, to courts whose interests were in opposition; he lived with a great number of princes and lords of different parties. It would have been very difficult for him not to have been biassed by prejudices, or influenced by affection for some, and hatred to others; and that he should always have steered clear of the illusions of partiality; for his candour alone would have served to have rendered him more susceptible of them †. If all the circumstances are recollected of the life of our historian, which have been related in the preceding pages, and they are connected with those times in which he worked at the composition of different parts of his history, not only the nature of the information he might be in a situation to collect will be manifest, as well relative to places, as to the persons he had seen; but those persons to whom he may be supposed to have leaned, will be pointed out. These grounds being once

* The chapters of Froissart are very difficult to settle. We have retained Mr. Johnes's division into chapters, but not his notation, which he suited to his quarto or octavo volumes, without any attention to the original division into four volumes. We have restored the original division into books or volumes, without which the reader is confused; since, as has been shown by M. de St. Palaye, each was written and made public by the author as a separate history. There cannot be a stronger proof of this, and of Froissart's strong desire to relate the real truth without bias, than the fact, that the first book or volume, which was chiefly founded on the work of John le Bel, is that in which the greatest variation of copies is found; in fact, no two MSS. of that book wholly agree. Froissart corrected it from time to time, and seemed never tired of emendation; the greater part of the original being hearsay, he was not satisfied until he had himself examined the best witnesses; and hence the various divisions and variations in the first book, which have embarrassed every editor.—Ed.

† This is a very beautiful sentiment of St. Palaye's, and no less beautiful than true. But the earnest desire Froissart showed to acquaint himself with both sides of every question, searching out truth with greater diligence than has ever before or since been shown by any historian, attaches great weight to information given on his own authority; and wherever he is convicted of misstatements, it is upon the faith of another, which he honestly quotes.—Ed.

established, will be of very great assistance in enabling us to appreciate more justly the different degrees of authority he deserves, acording to the various matters he treats of, and the times in which he treats of them. Without it being necessary for me to explain myself more at length on this subject, every reader may apply this rule as he shall advance in the reading of Froissart: it will serve him as a guide each step he takes; it will guard him from error or seduction; whether the historian should have been ill-informed; whether he should wish to impose on his readers, supposing it true that he should be capable of so doing.

The first volume of Froissart comprehends, as I have said before, the history from 1326 to 1379. This period includes the time of his journey to England, when one may readily suppose he had discontinued the work; for he considered it then as being finished to that part, since he says he carried it to England, where he presented it to the queen. It ends, as I have already said, about the year 1360; and, as we have seen that it was completed in 1361, and that he had only begun on it about the year 1357, it is evident that Froissart scarcely employed more than three or four years in the composition of this part of his work; which nevertheless appears to me one of those with which he has taken the most pains.

A sort of connexion which I find between several chapters of the remainder of this first volume, of which the first announces others at a great distance, convinces me that this remainder has been composed off-hand, and without interruption; and that, consequently, the author only began to write it towards the year 1379, since he closes it with the account of the events of this same year. In truth, I believe that, during the time he passed in the service of queen Philippa from 1361 to 1369, he was more occupied in writing, by her orders, poems on gallantry and love verses, than in labouring at his history; and that, although in his different travels, several of which were after the death of this princess, he was anxious to gain every information of the history of his own time, he had not, in the midst of an agitated life, either sufficient leisure, or a mind enough disengaged, to write it. He employed three or four years in composing the last half of his first volume; for we shall see, that the following volume, which he did not immediately begin on, was written from 1385 to 1388.

Notwithstanding Froissart may have written the first volume at two different times, it seems that the preface, which is at the beginning, was not done until the whole was finished; for the author speaks in it of his travels into Scotland, whither he did not go until after he had presented the first half of this volume to the queen of England.

No material interruption is met with in the course of the second volume. The author employs the first twenty-seven chapters in recapitulating the events of the last three years of the preceding volume, which had been too succinctly related. He adds new facts or new circumstances to those he had before told, or rectifies the narration, as having been better informed afterwards; and it is from this that I draw my proof, that there was some interval between the composition of the first volume, and that which followed. After these first twenty-seven chapters he resumes the thread of his history, which he follows until the peace the men of Ghent obtained from the duke of Burgundy, and of which he reports the original treaty, dated the 18th of December, 1385.

It is towards the year 1385 or 1386, that Froissart began to write his second volume: it was finished in 1388. This same year he visited the count de Foix; and in the account he gives of his travels he says, that different persons reminded him of events which he had related in his history; and these events are told in the second volume, which, according to appearances, was immediately written.

There is an interval of upwards of two years between the composition of this volume and the ensuing one; for the author only began on the third in 1390. He then wrote it by order, and at the expense, of the count de Blois: this he expressly says in the beginning of the first chapter of this volume *. There is nothing to prevent us from believing that the preceding volume had been composed by the orders of the same nobleman, since I have shown, in the Memoirs of his Life, that Froissart had appeared to have been attached to his service from the year 1385.

The third volume, which returns to those events that had happened since the year 1382, and which gives a fuller account of them, had been, as I have just said, begun on in 1390,

* Page 68, Vol. II. of the division of this edition.

and was already finished in 1392. The author makes it so to be understood in that part where he speaks of the conventions entered into by the duke of Brittany with the king of France. He says, that at the time he was finishing this book, the duke had faithfully observed them, and had not done anything worthy of being noticed. We shall hereafter witness the disobedience of this duke in 1392; who having received Peter de Craon at his palace, at the time a state criminal, he refused to obey the orders which Charles VI. sent him to give him up. This whole volume seems to me to have been composed without interruption; at least there is a material connexion between several chapters at a great distance from each other.

The interval there is between the third and fourth volumes, seems to have been caused more to give repose to the reader than to the historian; for Froissart, in ending the third, announces the events which are to be the materials of the fourth volume. I believe the historian, immediately on completing the third, wrote the first 50 chapters of the fourth volume, which close with the events of 1392. A great number of manuscripts, and black-letter editions, which only begin the fourth volume after these fifty chapters, form a very natural prejudice in favour of this opinion: besides, from the year 1392, when they end, two years passed in continual negotiations between the French and English; during which, several truces, but of short duration, were made; which, however, ended at last in a peace, or truce, for four years. One cannot doubt but that Froissart then interrupted his writing; since that was the time he performed his journey into England, where he resided three months. I believe this interval was considerable, because the remainder of the fourth volume, which seems to me to have been written without intermission, was composed, if I mistake not, but several years after this journey; that is to say, towards the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century. One finds in it those events which belong to the years 1399 and 1400. I find nothing that may lead us to form any judgment how long a time the author employed on this last part.

It is necessary to make one general observation on the subject of these intervals which I have just been speaking of, and of which I have attempted to determine the length. When our historian finished one of the parts of his history, he brought it down to the time when he was writing; and towards the end he related the events as they were passing: from whence it happens, as it seems to me, that there is much confusion, often omissions and mistakes, which he has been obliged to correct or alter in the following parts. It is probably these different supplements which have made him take in many places the title not only of "actor," that is to say, author, but in addition to it, that of augmentator, of this history; and that he says in other parts of it, "to have undertaken, continued, and augmented."

VI. *The inquiries Froissart made to compose his History, and the pains he took on this subject.*—It has been shown with how much pains and fatigues Froissart had visited the greater part of the courts in Europe. Admitted into the palaces of the greatest lords, he insinuated himself into their confidence to so great a degree, that they not only related to him many particulars of their own lives, and of those events in which they had had a share, or been eye-witnesses of; but they discovered to him sometimes the secret of the resolutions which had been entered into in the councils of the cabinet upon the most important affairs: he never failed to take advantage of his conversations with those with whom he could converse and interrogate with greater freedom. It seems that he had learnt many details of the court of France from the servants even of the king, and from those who were near to his person.

If in his travels at court, or in other places he visited, he met with any from whom he thought he could gain information, more especially captains, or heralds, who in those times were the most usual agents in negotiations, and in affairs of importance; he began a conversation with them, and insensibly led them to speak of those parts of history of which they ought to be best informed, whether in regard to the country where they were, or to other circumstances of their lives: and he never quitted them until he had made them tell all they knew; all of which he immediately set down in writing. Not content to collect all these precious authorities, and to compare very carefully, as he himself informs us, the

information of persons who had been attached to different parties, he sought for proofs still less liable to suspicion. He consulted the treaties which princes had entered into with each other, their challenges or declarations of war, the letters they wrote to each other, and other papers of this nature. He expressly says, that he had seen many which he does not introduce, particularly those of the chancery of the king of England; and some of them are transcribed entire in the course of his history. It appears that he did not choose everything he found as chance offered them, but that he examined them critically, and laid aside all those whose authenticity did not seem to him fully proved.

VII. *What end Froissart proposed to himself in writing his history; and what rules he had laid down to himself in writing it.*—One may easily judge, from the detail of the attentions which Froissart himself tells us he took, that he was acquainted with the rules of sound criticism, and the true method which ought to be followed in writing history. He likewise informs us, that he had not the intention of making a dry chronicle, wherein facts are simply related with their dates, and in the order they happened, but that he was anxious to write what may be called in truth history, in which the events were presented with all the circumstances which had attended them. The details which lay open the secret springs by which mankind act, are precisely those which unveil the character and the very heart of the personages which history places on the stage; and this was one of the essential parts of the design which Froissart had proposed to himself in writing history. Many passages in his work indicate that he had a natural inclination for it, and that he found infinite pleasure in working at it; but another object, which does him much more honour, had greatly strengthened this natural taste: he proposed to preserve, for ages to come, the memory of those men who had made themselves renowned by their courage, or by their virtues; to give to their actions a value, which nothing can efface or alter; and, by amusing usefully his readers, to give birth to, or augment in their hearts, the love of glory, by the most brilliant examples.

This desire, which always animated him in his various inquiries, supported him during forty years of labour, in which he neither spared attention nor time, and for which he feared not expending very considerable sums of money. In effect, nothing can be more proper than the spectacle which Froissart places continually before the eyes of his readers, to inspire them with a love for war; that industrious vigilance, always on its guard against surprises, is incessantly active to surprise others; that activity, which counts as nothing pains and fatigue; that contempt of death which elevates the mind above the fear of danger; in short, that noble ambition which excites to enterprises of the greatest peril. He passes in review all the heroes which, nearly during a whole century, were produced by two warlike nations; one of which was encouraged by successes as flattering as they were uninterrupted; and the other, irritated by its misfortunes, was making exertions to revenge, at whatever price it may be, its own honour and its king. In so great a number of actions, of which many were extremely glorious to each party, it is not possible but that some were to be found of a quite different sort. Froissart does not take the less pains to paint these last, in order to give as much horror for vice, as he wished to inspire love for virtue: but, if all these pictures had been the fruits of his own imagination, they would not have been felt as much as he wished them. In order that their impression on the heart and mind should be perfectly sure and strong, it was necessary that their basis should be founded on the purest truth, disengaged from all flattery, as well as from partiality, or interest.

It is this truth which our historian piques himself with having sought after with the greatest care. However, all I have just said is taken from his own words, spread over an infinity of passages, in his history; and it is this alone that I guarantee. It remains to be seen if he has as faithfully observed this law which he imposes on himself as he has promised it. But before I enter into an examination of this question, I shall make some general observations on his chronology: I shall then speak of the thirty-first years of his history, which are, properly speaking, but an introduction to the forty, and some years which follow them, until the end of the fifteenth century.

VIII. *The Chronology of Froissart.*—I observe in the chronology of Froissart two capital defects, which are the source of all the disorder found in it. The first is, that when he passes from the history of one country to another, he makes the history which he begins go back to a period anterior to what he has just spoken of, without having had the attention to inform his readers of it. The second, which is not less considerable, is, that he has not settled in his own mind the manner of counting the years; he makes them sometimes begin the 1st of January; at other times at Easter; others even at Palm Sunday. Froissart does not confine himself to date by years the events he relates: months, days, hours of the day, are often expressed in his different recitals. I remark, with regard to the days, that he only begins them when night is completely gone, and that day-break begins to appear. With regard to the hours of the day, he gives them a division, of which some examples, but in a small number, are seen in our ancient authors, and to which he very particularly attaches himself. He divides them according to the canonical hours of *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, and *vêpres;* because, perhaps, he was in the ecclesiastical line himself. I observe, that he has not anywhere made use of the word *sexte:* what he means by *prime*, was the morning, the first hour of the day, or the hour which followed next after day-break. *Tierce* seems to me to mark the intermediate time between the morning and mid-day, which he expresses either by the word mid-day, or by that of *none*. Afterwards comes *vêpre*, or, *la vêprée:* it was, as the word points out, the end of the day; after which was reckoned mid-night. Sometimes he adds to these words of *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, *vêpres*, the epithet of *basse*, to mark that the time of these hours was near closing; and sometimes the word *haute*, which, in some instances, appears to have the same signification, and in others quite the contrary. He uses this mode of speech *à l'aube crevant*, to say, that the dawn of day has but just begun to show itself; *au soleil resconsant*, to express the setting sun; *à la relevée*, for the time which follows the hour of mid-day; and *à la remontée*, which seems to me synonymous to *la vêprée*, for the evening, the time at which the day approaches to its end.

IX. *Of the first thirty years which Froissart has treated of at the beginning of his History, after John le Bel; that is to say, from* 1326 *to* 1356.—The first thirty years of the history of Froissart are properly but a preliminary, which serves to give the reader some information relative to the wars which he was afterwards to give an account of. He describes the state of France and of England; and shows the cause of the quarrel between the two crowns, which was the origin of those bloody wars they carried on reciprocally against each other. Froissart cannot be reckoned a contemporary writer of these first thirty years; he was not born, or if he was, he was in his infancy, or of such an age that he could not make any great use of his reason. He therefore scarcely ever mentions these thirty years, as an author who has seen what he relates; and, without doubt, it must be to this period alone that one can refer what he says in the commencement of his history, that he wrote after another who had lived before: it is, as he tells us, "The true Chronicles of John le Bel, canon of Saint Lambert of Liege*." These chronicles have not been handed down to us; and I cannot discover anything more, either concerning the work or its author, but what Froissart tells us. He speaks of him as one who no longer existed; but he boasts his exactness, and the pains he took in comparing his chronicles, and the considerable expenses he was at on this subject. He represents him as the favourite and confidant of John of Hainault, in company with whom he might have witnessed several great events, which, says he, shall in the end be related; for the earl, who was nearly related to several kings, had played a principal part in many of these transactions.

Froissart, in these thirty years, which are anterior to the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, enters more into the detail of the history of the English than of the French, perhaps from having followed in this respect his original author, who had taken a much greater interest in the history of England, from its connexions with the count de Hainault. This certainly is the cause why those manuscripts, which only contain the first years of the Chronicle of Froissart, are called Chronicles of England; and also has given rise to the reproach which has been made to him of being the partisan of England, and ill-inclined towards France; an accusa-

* See note, p. xxx.

tion which I shall examine at the end of this criticism. I do not think Froissart could have chosen a better guide for the history of the thirty years than the author he says he followed. To judge of the information which this historian might have drawn from the intimacy with which he lived with John of Hainault, one must recollect the situation in which this earl then was. The queen of England, Isabella of France, had fled from England with the young prince of Wales, her son, afterwards Edward III., to free herself from the persecutions of the Spencers, and the other favourites of her husband, Edward II.

Charles le Bel, king of France, brother to this queen, was forced to order her to quit his kingdom, after he had afforded her an asylum for some time. The court of the count de Hainault, of whom we are speaking, was the only resource for the mother and son: not only was this open to them, but they found there powerful succours to carry with them to England, and to draw down vengeance on their enemies. The young prince had there met a virtuous and amiable princess (she was one of the daughters of the count), who felt for him those first sentiments of a natural inclination which seem to foretell the most durable attachments: he conceived a strong affection for her, made her his bride, and afterwards she was placed with him on the throne of England. It is the same to whom Froissart presented his History.

Froissart wrote then after an author who was himself personally acquainted with all these facts, and from the persons the best informed; for it was their own history. The writer, who appears to have been brought up at the court of the count de Hainault, was living in the greatest familiarity with those, to whom all the circumstances of this court, which were then recent, would be in their recollection, and perfectly well known to them; and he wrote the history of it for queen Philippa, of Hainault, who had acted so principal a part in it: never was there an historian who had more undeniable witnesses of the facts he relates. Never was there one in whom greater confidence could be placed, than in Froissart in this part of his history. You will, however, recollect the faults which M. Lancelot has corrected in several articles which concern the history of England at this period. His criticism is founded on the original acts which he has had in his hands, and whose authority is unquestionable. I urge this example, because it seems to me more proper than any other, to make a truth, important to our history, more strongly felt, and which has been so much recommended by authors the most versed in this study: I mean, the absolute necessity of accompanying the study of history with the comparing it with the original acts of those times. Some of them enlighten parts which are wanting, while others add to the testimonies of history a degree of authenticity of which they are but in too much need; and it is from this comparison that the certitude of these truths results as much as their nature is susceptible with regard to us. I shall reserve for another opportunity to speak of those forty and some years following, which Froissart wrote as a contemporary historian, and as an eye-witness, I may say, of everything which was then passing in the world. But I shall first examine the different judgments which have been passed on this historian, and particularly the almost universal reproach which has been made to him, of being a violent partisan of the English, and a declared enemy to the French. I shall speak of his partiality in other respects, his credulity in certain articles, his exactness in others, and his mode of writing: I will then enumerate the detail of the editions which we have of his history; I will discuss the merits and faults of each of them; I shall more especially examine whether that of Sauvage has more corrupted and falsified the text, than it has enlightened it.

In short, I shall give a summary account of upwards of forty volumes, in folio, of manuscripts of this history, which I have collated with great attention.

A CRITICISM

ON

THE HISTORY OF FROISSART.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. DE LA CURNE DE ST. PALAYE,

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

I HAVE laid before you the views with which Froissart wrote his Chronicles, the care he took to be informed of all the events which were to make parts of it, and the rules he had imposed on himself in writing it. I shall at present examine if he has been exact in observing these rules; what are the defects and advantages of his history: what is the form and style of it. From thence I shall pass to the manuscripts and editions we have of it; then to the abridgments and different translations which have been published.

Froissart is accused of partiality; and this accusation is become so general, that it seems to have acquired the character of notoriety; whose privilege is to supersede proofs. Froissart is said to have sold his pen to the English, who paid him a considerable pension; and, by a necessary consequence of his affection for them, he is unfavourable to the French. Bodin, Pasquier, Brantôme, Sorel, la Popelinière, le Laboureur, decide against him in the most positive terms. It seems even that his readers, prejudiced by the connexions which Froissart had with the English, may have some reason to distrust everything he relates to their advantage. In truth, he begins by saying, that he had written his history at the solicitations of Robert de Namur, a near relation of the queen Philippa, and a vassal of the crown of England, which he usefully served against France. In another part he informs us, that he was of the household of Edward III. the most cruel enemy of the French; and that his queen, to whom he was secretary, had not only, by her liberalities, enabled him to travel into various parts in order to enrich his history, but that she had generously paid him for his labours in it.

In short, the first twenty-six chapters of his Chronicle solely concern the history of England, which has been the reason why it has been called the "Chronicle of England" in several manuscripts. From thence it has been concluded that Froissart, from his intimate attachment to the court of England, must be a violent partisan of that nation, and the enemy of its enemies. Nothing more was wanted for the most innocent accounts, if given by any other historian, appearing as poisonous if issued from his pen: but, in order to judge if this suspicion has any foundation, I will run over the period of which he has transmitted to us the history, in examining successively the different situations he was in when he wrote the various parts of it.

Froissart cannot be suspected of partiality during the first years of the reign of Edward III. This prince never forgot that his uncle, king Charles le Bel, had given him an asylum in his kingdom; when, with his mother, Isabella of France, he had escaped from the persecutions of the Spencers, who governed the mind of his father, Edward II. The court of France had not any misunderstanding with that of England during the reign of Charles. I pass over for a moment the forty years which followed from 1329, when the succession to the crown of France being opened by the death of Charles le Bel, the bonds which had united the kings of France and England became themselves the source of divisions and of

the most murderous wars; and I come to the times which succeeded the death of queen Philippa in 1369, a period when Froissart, no longer residing in England, had attached himself to Winceslaus, duke of Brabant. This prince, brother to the emperor Charles IV., was, in fact, uncle to Anne of Bohemia, who was afterwards queen of England, by her marriage with Richard II.; but he was also in the same degree of relationship with Charles V. of France, the son of his sister, and preserving a strict neutrality between the two rival crowns, he was invited to the coronations of Charles V. and of Charles VI. He obtained even in the last of these ceremonies the pardon of the count de St. Pol, whom the king's council wished to put to death for the crime of high treason.

Froissart, who informs us of this circumstance, with which he must have been well acquainted, tells us another, which clearly shows that Winceslaus ever preserved the friendship of king Charles, as well as that of his council. During the time the war was carrying on with the greatest obstinacy, he obtained a passport for the princess Anne of Bohemia to go to England, where she was to marry Richard II. Charles and his uncles accompanied this favour with the most obliging letters, adding, they only granted it out of friendship to him. Froissart had not any interest to write against France during the time he passed with this prince; he had, shortly afterwards, still less, when he was secretary to the count de Blois, who crowned a life, completely devoted to the interests of France, by the sacrifice of the interests of his own family. The most trifling marks of ill-will against France would have exposed him to lose not only the good graces of his master, but the fruits of his historical labours, which he had induced him to continue, and which he so generously recompensed. The historian therefore, fearful of the reproaches which might be made him for being too good a Frenchman, reproaches very different from those which have been since made him, thinks himself bound to justify, in the following terms, what he relates of the inviolable attachment of the Bretons to the crown of France against the English, vol. iii. chapter lxv. p. 240, year 1387. "Let no one say I have been corrupted by the favour which the count Guy de Blois (who has made me write this history) has shown unto me, and who has so liberally paid me for it that I am satisfied, because he was nephew to the true duke of Brittany, and so nearly related as son to count Louis de Blois, brother-german to Charles de Blois, who, as long as he lived, was duke of Brittany: no, by my troth, it is not so; for I will not speak at all, unless it be the truth, and go straight forward, without colouring one more than another: besides, the gallant prince and court, who have made me undertake this history, had no other wish but for me to say what is true."

Since Froissart in all these times, which carry us almost to the end of his Chronicle, cannot be suspected of hatred to the French, nor of affection to the English; I return to those years I have omitted from 1329 to 1369, of which he passed a considerable part in England, attached to the king and queen, and living in a sort of familiarity with the young princes, their children: it is in respect to these years, that the suspicion of partiality to the English can subsist with the greatest force. It was difficult, in a court where everything breathed hatred to France, for him to preserve that perfect neutrality which the quality of an historian demands; and that he should not lean towards that passion of princes to whom he owed his present fortune, and from whom he expected more considerable establishments. One might find reasons to weaken this prejudice in the sweetness and moderation which queen Philippa ever preserved in the midst of all these wars; who calmed the fury of her husband at the siege of Calais, and who obtained, by her instances, the pardon of the six generous citizens of that town whom he had condemned to death. I might add, that if Froissart was of the household of king Edward, he was also of the household of king John; and it seems he was attached to this prince even at the time when he was in England.

But, without seeking to combat these prejudices by others, I shall simply consult the text of Froissart, which must, in this respect, be the rule for our judgment. After having read him with all the attention I am capable of, without having remarked one single trace of the partiality they reproach him with, I have examined with the utmost care some principal points, where naturally it ought to have been the most apparent.

The accession of Philip de Valois to the crown had incensed all England, who adopted the chimerical pretensions of Edward III. This was a delicate circumstance for an historian,

who, living in the midst of a court, and a nation so strongly prejudiced, was determined not to quit the line of duty. Now, these are the terms in which Froissart relates this event, after having mentioned the deaths of the kings, Louis Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel: "The twelve peers and barons of France did not give the realm of France to their sister, who was queen of England, because they declared and maintained, and still resolve, that the kingdom of France is so noble, that it ought not to descend to a female, nor consequently to the king of England, her eldest son; for thus they determine, that the son of a female cannot claim any right of succession as coming from his mother, when the mother herself has not any right; so that, for these reasons, the twelve peers and the barons of France unanimously decreed the kingdom of France to my lord Philip, nephew to the good king Philip of France, before-mentioned, and took from the queen of England and her son the right of succeeding to the last king, Charles. Thus, as it appeared to many persons, did the kingdom of France go out of the straight line of succession, which occasioned very great wars in consequence," &c. This whole passage presents nothing but what must make one admire the courage and candour of the historian, when even he should have added these words, "it appeared to many persons;" since it is not any matter of doubt that the succession passed from the straight line to the collateral branch. Nevertheless, some malignant intention was thought to lurk beneath, and the words "took from" having offended some readers, they have added in the margin a sort of correction, which I have seen in two manuscripts in a hand almost as ancient as the manuscripts themselves: "They never could take away what they had never been in possession of, nor had any right to. They never took it away; for neither the foresaid lady, nor her son, had even a right to it; but Froissart shows he was partial to the English."

The homage which king Edward III. paid to the king of France, hurt exceedingly the delicacy of the English: they had disputed for some time, and with great warmth, on the form in which it was to be made; seeking to curtail it of all that was humiliating to them. As the king of France firmly supported the prerogatives of his crown, and obliged Edward to acquit himself of this duty according to the terms which had been practised by his predecessors, an historian who was desirous of being complaisant would have slightly passed over this article. Froissart, however, insists upon it as much as he is able; he neither omits the difficulties which the English made, nor the authorities which king Philip opposed to them; and he accompanies these details with the original acts the most proper to confirm them; so that, if the kings of France should ever have occasion to verify their rights, the deposition alone of Froissart would furnish an authentic and incontestable title.

The English accuse the French of not being very scrupulous in observing treaties; and maintain, that sir Geoffry de Charni acted by the secret orders of the king of France, when, in contempt of a truce which had been made, he attempted to surprise Calais in 1349. Rapin embraces this opinion, and supports it by the testimony of Froissart, whom he quotes in the margin. I know not from what copy, nor what manuscript, he has taken his authority; but, for my part, I read in all the printed and in all the manuscripts these words, which are quite contrary to his sentiments: "I believe, that Geoffry de Charni had never spoken of it to the king of France; for, the king would never have advised him to attempt it, on account of the truce." The English again impute to Charles V. the infraction of the treaty of Bretigny, which they first broke, if we believe the French. Far from finding anything in Froissart which favours the English pretensions, I believe that, if the terms in which he expresses himself were strictly examined, they would at least form a presumption against them. I do not despair but that one day a brother academician will give us all the proofs which a sound criticism, and a mature reading of the historical monuments of that age, can furnish on a point of history which is of equal consequence to the nation and to truth.

The single combat proposed in 1354 between the kings of France and of England, is still a matter of dispute between the historians of the two nations. According to the French, the challenge sent in the name of king John was not accepted by Edward; whilst the English say, their king dared the king of France to battle, but that he refused the combat: Froissart decides formally for the French. "The king of France," says he, "went after him as far as St. Omer, and sent to him (the king of England) by the marshal d'Authain, and by several

other knights, that he would fight with him, if he pleased, body to body, or strength against strength, any day he would name: but the king of England refused the combat, and re-crossed the sea to England; and the king of France returned to Paris."

To these examples I could add a great number of other passages where he gives much praise, as well to the people, as to the lords who signalized themselves by their attachment to the party of the French, and wherein he neither spares those who had declared themselves against, nor those who had cowardly abandoned them. In addition to what he says of the fidelity of the Bretons, and of the counts de Blois, their legitimate sovereigns, he praises the zeal with which several lords in Scotland received the French fleet sent in 1385 to assist them against the English. The earl of Douglas, to whom he appears much attached, and in whose castle he had spent several days in his travels into Scotland, seems to be of this number. At the same time he declaims against those whose bad faith and ingratitude rendered this armament fruitless. He speaks in the strongest terms of the presumption of the duke of Gueldres, who dared to declare war against the king of France (Charles VI.) in 1387, and of the insolence with which he expressed himself in his declaration of war. He applauds the just indignation which induced this monarch to march in person to chastise the pride of this petty prince.

In short, of all the nations whom he speaks of in his history, there are but few whom he has not sometimes marked with odious epithets. According to him, the Portuguese are passionate and quarrelsome; the Spaniards envious, haughty, and uncleanly; the Scots perfidious and ungrateful; the Italians assassins and poisoners; the English vain-boasters, contemptuous, and cruel. There is not one trait against the French; on the contrary, this brave nation supports itself, according to Froissart, by the vigour and strength of its knighthood, which was never so totally overwhelmed by its misfortunes, as not in the end to find some marvellous resources in its courage. The historian also seems to have taken a pride in having been born a Frenchman, in telling us that he owed to this title the good reception which a French esquire gave him, when he lodged with him at Ortez.

It is true, that the king of England, and his son the prince of Wales, seem to have been, as long as they lived, the heroes of his history; and that, in the recital of several battles, he is more occupied with them than with the king of France. But, where is the Frenchman of candour, who will not find himself forced to give these princes the utmost praise? Besides, does not our historian render justice to the valour and intrepidity of king Philip de Valois, and of king John? Nothing can surpass the praises he gives as well to the wisdom as to the ability of king Charles V.; and above all, that glorious testimony which he makes no difficulty to put into the mouth of the king of England: "There never was a king who so little armed himself; and there never was a king who gave me so much to do."

I think I have fully established, by all that you have just read, that Froissart was not that partial historian he has been accused of. Nevertheless, I think it will be more sure to read him with some circumspection, and that one ought, as much as may be possible, never to lose sight, I repeat it, of two objects which I have particularly endeavoured to make observed in the preceding pages: I mean to say, on one hand, the details of his life, his different attachments to divers princes and to certain lords, the connexions he had or the friendships he contracted with various persons; on the other, the situations in which he was placed when he wrote his history, what parts of it were undertaken at the solicitation of the count de Namur, a partisan of the English, and those which he composed by the orders of the count de Blois, a friend to France. For if one is determined to persuade oneself that he ought to be disposed to favour the English in all he relates until 1369, from the same reason he should lean to the French in all the ensuing years until the conclusion of his Chronicle. I ought not to neglect to mention that his prejudices are sometimes visible when he enters into the minuter details, as one may be convinced of by the praise she gives to the piety and other virtues of the count de Foix, strongly contrasted by those actions of cruelty he had just before related. But when an historian, disengaged from all passion, should hold an even balance between the different parties; when to this quality he adds that which cannot be refused to Froissart, I mean, a continual anxiety to be informed of every event, and of every particular, that may interest his readers; he will yet be very far from perfection, if to

these acquirements he does not add sound criticism, which, in the multitude of discordant relations, knows how to separate everything that is distant from truth; or his work will otherwise be less a history, than a heap of fables and popular rumours.

Notwithstanding all Froissart tells us of the care he took to hear both sides, and to compare their different accounts with each other, often with the original pieces, I think he may be accused of some little negligence on this head. His manner of life allowed him but little leisure to make all the reflections and all the comparisons which such an examination would require. In those countries whither his active curiosity carried him, other attentions occupied his mind. Charged sometimes with secret commissions, he endeavoured to insinuate himself into the good graces of those princes he visited, by compositions of gallantry, by romances, by poetry; and the love he ever had for pleasure took such possession of both his time and his heart, that his mind must have been often turned from the serious meditations of the cabinet, of which naturally it was not very capable. I am not afraid to say, that his manner of life is to be found in some sort retraced even in his Chronicles. One sees in them tumultuous meetings of warriors of all ages, degrees, and countries; feasts; entertainments at inns; conversations after supper, which lasted until a late hour; where every one was eager to relate what he had seen, or done: after which, the travelling historian, before he went to bed, hastened to put on paper everything his memory could recollect. One sees in them the history of events which happened during the course of almost a century, in all the provinces of the kingdom, and of all the people in Europe, related without order. In a small number of chapters one frequently meets with several different histories, begun, interrupted, recommenced, and again broken off; and in this confusion the same things repeated, whether in order to be corrected, contradicted, or denied, or whether to be augmented.

The historian seems to have carried even to his composition of the Chronicle his love of romances, and to have imitated the disorder which reigns in these sort of works; from which one might say he has affected even to borrow their syle. Thus, for example, when he begins a narrative, he frequently uses this expression, "Now the tale says;" and when he speaks of the death of any one, or some other melancholy event, he adds, "but amend it he could not;" phrases which are to be met with in almost every page of the romances of the Round Table. However, all I say of this romantic taste of Froissart, which he seems to have preserved in his history, applies solely to the style he makes use of; for I have never once observed that he attempts to embellish it with the marvellous. The faults which are met with contrary to historical exactness, arise solely from the natural confusion of his mind, the precipitation with which he wrote, and the ignorance he must necessarily have been in respecting many things, which would have escaped his inquiries. What he relates of distant countries, such as Africa, Hungary, Tartary, and, in general, the eastern parts of the world, is full of the grossest blunders. In his time commerce had not then formed any connexion with those countries and our own: what was known of them, was founded on the faith of those whom accident had carried thither, and who had resided too short a time among them to gain sufficient information respecting the manners, customs, and history of these people. But if Froissart has committed many faults in what he relates to us, the greatest, without doubt, is to have spoken at all of what he could not but imperfectly know.

All these defects and imperfections do not prevent his Chronicle from being considered as one of the most precious monuments of our history; and that the perusal of it should not be as agreeable as instructive to those who, not confining themselves to the knowledge of general facts, seek in the details, whether of particular events, whether of the usages of that age, to develop the character of mankind, and of the centuries which have passed.

Froissart was born to transmit to posterity a living picture of an age, enemy to repose; and which, amid the intervals of troubles with which it was almost continually agitated, found relaxation only in the most tumultuous pleasures. Besides the wars of so many nations which he describes, and in which he informs us of divers usages respecting the ban and arrier ban, the attack and defence of places, fortifications, detachments, skirmishes, orders of battle, artillery, marine, the armour of those on foot, and those on horseback; one finds in this history everything which can excite curiosity with regard to the nobility

and knighthood, their challenges, their deadly combats, tilts, tournaments, entries of princes, assemblies, feasts, balls, the dresses of both sexes; so that his chronicle is for us a complete body of the antiquities of the fourteenth century. One must own that these details only attract attention from their own singularity; they are related without study, and without art: it is, in truth, the familiar conversation with a man of understanding, who has seen a great deal, and tells his story well. Nevertheless, this amiable story-teller knows how, at times, and in particular when he speaks of any grand event, to unite the majesty of history with the simplicity of a tale. Let any one read, among other things, among so many battles which he has so excellently painted; let him read the recital of the famous battle of Poitiers, they will there see in the person of the prince of Wales a hero, far greater by the generosity with which he made use of his victory, by his attentions to a conquered prince, and by the respect he always paid him, than by those efforts of courage which had made him triumph. I do not believe there is anything which can equal the sublimity of this morsel of history, nothing which can more elevate the heart and mind. Others, of a very different nature, have their value in their simplicity: such is the episode of the love of the king of England for the countess of Salisbury; the tender and affecting recital of which does not yield to the most ingenious and best-written romances. The historian sometimes takes a gay tone; as in the chapter wherein he speaks of the impatience of the young king Charles VI. to receive his new bride; and in that wherein he relates the jokes which this prince made on his uncle, the duke of Berry, who, at a time of life not very suitable for love, married a young and amiable wife.

The taste of the author is very visible in the manner which he treats these subjects; but as the age he lived in knew how to conciliate all things, this taste did not exclude the fund of devotion which runs through the course of his work. It is only to be wished that he had not degraded his religion by a credulity ridiculously superstitious; false miracles, prophecies, enchantments, have nothing in them so absurd as not to find in him an unbounded and blind belief. Every one knows the tale he tells of the demon Gorgon. One can scarcely comprehend how he can connect with Christianity the example which he draws from the fable of Actæon to justify the probability of an adventure of the same sort, which makes part of this tale. He has besides been reproached with having dishonoured history by his too great minuteness. I agree that we readily would have dispensed with his telling us at what sign those lodged of whom he was speaking, and from pointing out the inns where he himself had sometimes taken up his quarters; but I cannot equally condemn the love adventures, the feasts, and ceremonies, of which he has left us descriptions. When his narrations shall not be of subjects sufficiently noble, yet he paints so agreeably and so truly the age of which he writes the history, that it would, I think, be ungrateful to make any complaints.

I have inserted summarily in this judgment a sketch of the opinions which different authors have given of him, and they may be consulted. I will add that of an author who knew better than any other the full value of a ready and natural genius. "I love," says Montaigne, "historians very unaffected or excellent: the unaffected, who have not wherewithal to add of their own, and who are only careful to collect and pick up everything which falls within their notice, and to put down everything without choice and without sorting, giving us the opportunity of wholly judging of their truth. Such for example is the good Froissart, who has gone on with his work with such a frank simplicity, that, having committed a fault, he is no way ashamed of avowing it, and correcting it at the place he is informed of it; and who tells us the diversity of rumours which were current, and the different accounts that were told to him. It is history, naked and unadorned; every one may profit from it, according to the depth of his understanding."

I come now to the editions of Froissart. We have three black-letter ones, and two posterior to them: that which I believe to be the oldest, is by Anthony Verard, at Paris, without a date, three volumes in folio. The second is, Paris, by Michael le Noir, the 15th July, 1505, two volumes in folio, a handsome type. The third is, Paris, by Galliot du Pré, 1530, three volumes in folio. The fourth, Lyons, by John de Tournes, 1559, 1560, 1561, three volumes in folio, revised and corrected by Denys Sauvage. The fifth, which copies

exactly the fourth, is Paris, by Gervais Mallot, 1574, three volumes in folio*. There is reason to believe, from the manner in which father Long expresses himself on the subject of the editions of Froissart, that there may be others where there have been united into one body his Chronicle, with the first continuation, by an anonymous writer, until the year 1498, and with a second continuation until the year 1513. But these works have never been printed together. This is not the only mistake which this learned librarian has made in the same article, as I will some time hence explain, when I speak of these continuations. He also speaks of an historical work, printed under this title: "Order of the entry and happy arrival in the city of Paris of Isabella de Baviere, queen of France, wife of Charles VI. in the year 1389, extracted from the fourth book of the History of Froissart;" without noticing either the date or place of its impression. I am ignorant if this is not an old fragment of Froissart which Sauvage had consulted, that had been printed before the black-letter editions, and of which I have never been able to gain any knowledge. To return to those editions I have pointed out, I shall fix principally on that of Sauvage, and endeavour to show, at the same time, what opinion should be formed of the black-lettered editions which preceded his.

If the historian has been accused of showing too great a hatred against the French in several parts of his Chronicle, the editor has been equally accused of showing too great an inclination to them, by suppressing everything which might displease them. Perhaps this charge is only made in consequence of the first; and readers, prejudiced on one hand that Froissart had been an enemy of the French, surprised on the other at not finding any traces of this pretended enmity in his history, may have judged, without further reason, that Sauvage had retrenched, through love to his country, all that the historian had written through hatred to it. The French, with whom Sauvage, according to this mode of reasoning, ought to have found favour, have not been less hard upon him on another head. According to several, he has altered and disfigured the proper names; he has changed the simple language of the times of Froissart to substitute his own; in which he has rather rendered the history more obscure than he has enlightened it, and has only caused those editions which were prior to his own to become more scarce, and more dear. We shall see if this is the recompense that all the trouble he gave himself deserved: but I ought first to speak of the manner in which he laboured at this edition, and the assistance he had, according to the account which he gives himself.

Sauvage, having first transcribed the printed copy of Galliot du Pré, compared it with the two other black-letter editions, when he found the difference between them so trifling, that he thought he ought to consider all three but as the same. He then collated his text with a printed fragment still more ancient; then with the third volume of "La Mer des Histoires," in which Froissart has been copied from the beginning until the 177th chapter; and lastly, with two abridgments in MS. which he indicates, not being acquainted with the authors, by the names of "La Chaux and de Sala," who had communicated them to him. The editor, in acknowledging that these abridgments, or manuscripts, were so much damaged, that he was frequently obliged to guess the meaning, have been at times very useful to him, gives notice that he did not follow their punctuation; but, persuaded that one cannot be too exact in religiously preserving the language of ancient authors, he follows, with a scrupulous attention, the orthography, the ancient words, and ancient modes of speech, although they were very different from what they were when the first copies came from the hands of Froissart. He, nevertheless, avows that, without derogating from the respect due to the ancient text, he has thought himself justified in making some changes, but solely, when he has been under the indispensable necessity of seeking the aid of better historians, to give a

* M. de St. Palaye does not seem to have known *all* the editions of Froissart. I have three of different dates to those he mentions.

1. A most superb copy on vellum, in four volumes, which originally belonged to the Soubise library, purchased at the sale of the Bibliotheca Parisiana; printed in black letter, by Guillaume Eustace, at Paris, 1514.

2. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed by Michael Sonnius, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Secretary Craggs.

3. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed for Michael de Roigny, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Tyrwhitt.

[All Mr. Johnes's MSS. were destroyed at Hafod by fire.]

meaning to passages which were in want of it. Even in these cases, the only ones in which he has taken the liberty of making any change, he has had the precaution to place in the margin the original reading, however defective it might be; leaving, by these means, the reader the power of judging of the corrections he had made. With regard to proper names, and the names of places, he has not touched them, from the impossibility of correcting them with success. The editor addresses the four volumes of Froissart to the constable de Montmorency, by as many dedicatory epistles. One sees in the first, and by an advertisement to his readers, that the editions he had already given of several of our historians were but preparatory to a general history of the Gauls and of the kingdom of France, which he was then at work on.

Sauvage promises nothing relative to his edition of Froissart which he has not faithfully performed; as one may be convinced of by following the notes which he added. I do not say that he has always well chosen from the different texts he had under his eyes; but, if the corrections he proposes are not all equally just, there are many which offer a clear and very probable meaning of passages which, in the old editions, are a collection of words without connexion, and without sense. With regard to the language, besides his attention never to change anything of the ancient words, he accompanies them with an explanation whenever he thinks them not sufficiently intelligible. His zeal in this respect is more praiseworthy than his intelligence. It is surprising that, after having published several of our old authors, he was not better acquainted with their language, and that he should add such unnatural explanations and etymologies.

As the chronology of Froissart was sometimes defective, Sauvage has reformed it in those places which appeared to him most in need of it. He has often recalled to the reader's memory distant passages, in order to conciliate them, or to show their contradiction; or, in short, to demonstrate the connexion of certain facts to each other; but his attempt in this part is scarcely worth mentioning. Some genealogies, which regard persons of whom Froissart speaks, as well as some remarks on divers places, whose position he attempts to fix, by relating the different names they are called by, show that the editor had not absolutely neglected these two objects. One must not be surprised that so many foreign names should not always be exactly correct; besides their having been changed since then, one should not impute as blame, either to the author or editor, the faults of copyists who have incorrectly read them, and who have written them according to the pronunciation or orthography of their language and age; for not only are the names read in as many different ways as there are manuscripts, but they often vary in the same MS. as often as they are met with. The only means to remedy this is to clear up Froissart by himself, in collating the various passages where the same name is found; and this is what Sauvage has done; and for greater security he has read over five times the text of his author; however, when he could not draw any advantage from this repeated reading, he has made use of every assistance from any quarter he could find. He appears, in fact, to have very carefully studied the maps and descriptions of those countries the historian speaks of, and also to have consulted the people of those countries. One observes, that, when he had retired to Lyons to give himself up more freely to study, he went to reconnoitre in that neighbourhood the field of battle of Brinay, or Brinais, in which the duke of Bourbon had been defeated in 1360 by the free companies. The description he gives of it is very instructive, and serves to clear up the circumstances of that event. An epitaph which he had read in a church at Lyons serves at another time to prove the falsity of a date in Froissart. In short, there is scarcely any historian of importance, of whatever country he might be, whom Sauvage had not seen, in order the better to understand him on whom he was at work, and to make him better understood by others, and to confirm or to rectify his testimony. One may count nearly forty authors whom he cites in his margins, as well relative to the history of France, as to that of England, Scotland, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Turkey. I add, that he had consulted the original acts, since he has inserted in his annotations the ratification of the treaty of Bretigny, done by the prince of Wales at Calais, after having transcribed with his hand upon a copy from the same prince, collated by a "Trésorier des Chartes."

If, then, the edition of Sauvage is still very imperfect, it has not any defects but what the

preceding editions have in common with it; to which, however, it is infinitely superior. The editor, well versed in our antiquities and our history, exact and indefatigable, proves, by the constant use he makes of the two manuscripts, by the judgment he bears of their insufficiency, and by the regrets he utters at not being able to meet with better, that he has been in greater want of assistance, than of good will, good faith, and capacity. In his time manuscripts, buried in the libraries of ignorant monks, or in the archives of private persons, and unknown to their possessors, were lost to the learned world. Times have since changed; thanks to the attention of ministers, who neglect nothing for the public good, there is scarcely a man of letters to whom manuscripts of all ages are not become a sort of property. Nothing would be wanting to the good fortune of this age, if, with such abundant succours, there could be found men as laborious as Sauvage to take advantage of them; for, I have not a doubt but that, if he had had the manuscripts we possess, he would have given us an excellent edition of Froissart.

The number of those known at this day is so considerable, that, after the Bible and the Fathers, I do not believe there is any work of which there have been so many copies; which shows the great esteem it has been held in during every age. In the Royal Library alone, there are upwards of thirty volumes in folio, which contain separately some one of the four books into which this history is divided. The numbers 6760, 8317, 8318, 8319, 8320, 8324, 8331-2, 8332, 8334, 8335 and 36 joined together, 8334; and the numbers of the manuscripts of Colbert, united with those of the Bibliothèque du Roi, 15, 85, and 231, include the first volume. The numbers 8321, 8330, 8333, 8337, and 8338, added together with those of Colbert, 16 and 86, compose the second volume. The numbers 8325, 8328, 8337, and 8338, added to those of Colbert, 87 and 232, the third volume. The numbers 8329, 8331, 8341, 8344, added together, and that of Colbert, 17, compose the fourth volume*.

I should extend this essay to too great a length if I was to describe the form, the age, the titles, the omissions, or imperfections, and other singularities, which distinguish these manuscripts. In regard to other and more essential differences, I shall say in general, that the greater part consist in transpositions of some articles, changes, additions or retrenchments of words, of omissions sometimes considerable; abbreviations of several chapters, or of many events; vague transitions, useless recapitulations of the foregoing chapters; certain phraseology, which, like formulas, are repeated in every page; and some interpolations of the copyists, which, serving only to swell out the volume, have been wisely curtailed by Sauvage in his printed edition. I will not quote any other example but the passage where, speaking of the affection of Edward III. for the princess of Hainault, whom he married, he says, "A fine spark of love therefore struck him;" to which the copyist adds these words, "which madam Venus sent him by Cupid the god of love." However, among these frivolous additions there may have been some of importance, which it would be proper to search for in those parts that offer any difficulty, or in those articles which demand a serious discussion.

After these general observations, I will say one word of the principal singularities which I have noticed in some of these MSS. Those of the numbers 8317, and 15 of Colbert, are remarkable for the correction which has been put on their margins in the article that mentions Philip de Valois's accession to the crown of France. The same hand has also added to this last manuscript a note, which is written on one of the blank leaves which precede the Chronicle: "Two verses which the peers of France sent to king Edward of England, at the time he disputed the succession to the crown of France.

> "Credo Regnorum qui cupis esse duorum
> Succedunt mares huic regno non mulieres†."

In number 8318, one reads in the same hand-writing with the manuscript, that it was

* M. Buchon, in his recent French edition, has made diligent use of all the MSS. which he could hear of, and has settled a text which frequently differs from his predecessors. He has not, however, admitted the additions made by Mr. Johnes from the MSS. in the Hafod Library.—Ed.

† To re-establish the measure and the sense of the first verse, one must, I think, add the word Rex: regnorum qui Rex cupis esse duorum. And to make Edward feel the application, one may, instead of Credo, read Crede, or Credito, of which Credo is perhaps an abbreviation. With regard to the second, the number of syllables are there which an hexameter verse requires; and that should be sufficient not to quarrel with the measure.—St. Palaye.

given to John duke of Berry the 8th November, 1407, by William Boisratier, master of requests, and counsellor to this prince. If it is the same which has since been given by M. de Chandenier to M. le Laboureur, as this last believed, it would be rendered the more precious from this circumstance, that there would be found in it very considerable differences, that he says he has observed in this manuscript, from the printed copies, and more especially from that of Sauvage; or it would convince us of the falsity of this imputation, which appears to me very suspicious. But as the copy of M. le Laboureur, as he himself informs us, contained miniatures representing the principal events of the history, and that the one which Boisratier presented to the duke of Berry does not contain any, it is certain that it cannot be the same. Although the miniatures, head-pieces, capital letters illuminated and embossed with gold, in the MS. 8319, are of great beauty; it must, nevertheless, yield in this respect to number 8320, from which much may be learnt regarding warlike customs, ceremonies, dresses, and other points of antiquity. The reverend father Montfaucon has taken from them the prints of the entry of queen Isabella of France, and the arrest of the king of Navarre, which he has inserted in his "Monuments François." Notwithstanding this I believe, that in these miniatures, which are not, at the most, earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, the painter has confounded the dresses of his own age with those of the times whose history he was painting.

One sees at the beginning of several MSS. the author represented differently dressed, sometimes as a canon, with his surplice and *aumusse**; sometimes in a purple robe, presenting his work to the king of France, or to some other prince, seated on his throne, and crowned. The king of England is known by his robe embroidered with leopards in the number 8331-2, and the queen of England in number 15 of Colbert's collections. The most ancient of all the manuscripts of the first volume are the numbers 8318 and 8331-2, which appear to me to be of the end of the fourteenth century: and though many things are deficient in each of them, their antiquity ought to give them the preference. I have the same opinion respecting the MS. 8333, being the most ancient of the second volume; though it does not seem to me to have been written earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century. The number 8321 is a continuation of number 8320; there are fewer miniatures, but they are equally beautiful; which is the only merit they have; for otherwise they are, properly speaking, but an extract of Froissart, and frequently many chapters are omitted together.

Number 16, which is the same writing as number 15, of which it is a continuation, contains, besides the second volume, a part of the third, as far as these words of the 44th chapter, page 151, of the edition of Sauvage: "Thus was broken off the expedition by sea at this time;" to which it adds, "which cost the kingdom of France C. M. francs, thirty times counted." Number 8330 has for title, "The third volume of the Chronicles of Froissart;" although it contains but the second. By a similar mistake one reads, at the end of number 8325, which concludes the third volume, "Here ends the second volume of the Chronicles of Froissart." This MS., which is but of the middle of the fifteenth century, is that in which the language of old times is the most preserved: perhaps it has been copied from some other more ancient and better than those which remain to us. There is at the end some circumstances concerning Froissart, which are also in the MSS. 8328 and 232, and which are not in the printed copies. It is more from the antiquity of the style, that makes me consider the MS. 8329, although scarce earlier than the end of the fifteenth century, as the best we have for the fourth volume. One finds in it, as in the numbers 8331, 8341, 42, and 17, two important additions. The first is the preface, which I have noticed in the life of Froissart; the second terminates the whole of his Chronicle, when the author, towards the end, speaking of the death of Richard, that he would not enter into any detail of it, from want of having sufficient information. The addition is a sort of letter, true or false, which is addressed to him, and by which he is informed of all the particulars; such as had been written by a man worthy of belief, who was then in England. The manner with which this fact is related has not been forgotten by the English historians, who have mentioned the different rumours which had gone abroad on this subject. Number 17 seems to have been written by the same hand

* "Aumusse" is a sort of bracelet of fur, which canons wear on their arms, when dressed. I cannot find any English word to translate it.

as 15 and 16, and the three added to the MS. of the third book, which is wanting, made perhaps the work complete.

Under the number 169 of the Coislin library, at present in that of St. Germain-des-Prés, are comprehended four volumes, three of which are of the same hand-writing; that is to say, of the middle of the fifteenth century, containing the first, the third, and last book of Froissart. The fourth, which is of the same writing, but more beautiful, is another copy of the last book, with the addition which I have just mentioned, concerning the death of Richard. M. Mahudel has communicated to me a MS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century, without a tile, and which may have been thought written by Froissart; but it is only a very succinct abridgment, in which has been preserved, as much as possible, the original text of the historian until the end of the first volume, where the abridgment ceases. It is divided into six books, of which the first two end with these words, "Here finishes the first (the second) book of this second volume of the Chronicles of England, and consequently the seventh (the eighth) of the four volumes *parciaulx*." One reads also at the end of the sixth, "Here finishes the second volume of the Chronicles of England." This MS. probably made part of four volumes of a compilation of a history of England, divided each into six books; such nearly as our Chronicles of St. Denys. The first volume would have contained events anterior to Froissart; and as the second, which we have, includes an abridgment of his first volume, one may presume that the two following would, in like manner, have contained that of the three other volumes, and perhaps also the history of the times posterior to them. This abridgment, however, is the same as that of La Chaux, which Sauvage has made use of; I discover the marks by which he has pointed it out, with the exception of the first leaf, which may have been lost since that time.

To this great number of MSS. others must be added, which contain only very short abridgments of the Chronicle of Froissart; and which are to be found in the Royal Library, among the MSS. of the Colbert collection. Such are the numbers 169, which includes part of the first and second volumes abridged; 258, nearly conformable to the foregoing: but where they have added at the end four pages, containing "The tenor of the Letters of alliance of France with Scotland" in 1379, with the names of those lords, as well Scots as French, who signed the treaty; and 2444, which comprehends the abridgment of the four volumes. This is preceded by a preface, wherein the abbreviator having said he should follow Froissart "chapter by chapter," adds, "and because this same Master John Froissart has not made an index to his first book; and by means of the index to a book one may, at one glance, see those parts which one may be desirous to read; I have resolved to divide this first book into one hundred and twenty-seven chapters." We see nothing in these MSS. which either establishes the pretended enmity of Froissart against the French, nor which justifies the accusation brought against Sauvage of having altered the text of his historian. But a magnificent MS. at Breslaw furnishes, according to some writers, an incontestable proof of it. The learned world, say they, believe they have an entire Froissart; it has been grossly deceived by Sauvage, who has not preserved the tenth part of it in his edition. One may reply to this charge; 1st, That Sauvage will be always exempt from reproach, since he has given us the text of Froissart, such as he had seen it in the known copies of his time. 2dly, That the description they give us of the miniatures of this MS. of Breslaw, makes us believe that it cannot be much older than towards the end of the fifteenth century; and that, consequently, it is but of very moderate authority. In short, after the agreement of so many other MSS. of which many even have been written in England, or destined for that country, since the author is represented as offering his book to the king and queen of England, it will not be easy to persuade the world that the single MS. of Breslaw contains alone such very considerable differences. At least it becomes our prudence to suspend our judgment, until they shall have published the MS. itself, or some of those passages which are said to have been retrenched. One cannot too eagerly press the possessors of it to allow the public to participate of a treasure so infinitely precious to the lovers of history. If, hitherto, we have been in an error, we will cheerfully turn back; and there is not a man of letters possessing sense, who, laying aside all national interest, would not ardently desire to have the Chronicles of Froissart such as they came from the hands of the author. Many MSS. of Froissart are

to be found in the libraries of foreign countries. There is one in the library of the cathedral of Tournay, according to the report of several Flemish librarians*; three in England, according to the catalogue of MSS. in that kingdom; which also mentions some manuscript notes collected by Mr. Ashmole; and others again, which may be seen in the new catalogue of MSS. by father Montfaucon.

Besides the ancient abridgments of Froissart, Sleidan, full of admiration for this historian, and anxious that the utility which may be drawn from him should be common to all ages and nations, made in 1537 a Latin abridgment, which was afterwards translated into French and English by P. Golin, in 4to. London, 1608. In a preface or epistle, which precedes the Latin edition, the author recommends the study of the History of France above all others, and particularly that of Froissart, whose candour he praises, and whom he only finds fault with for being sometimes too minute in his military details, and in his conversations with princes. Foreign writers have accused Sleidan of not having composed this abridgment with the disinterestedness and fidelity that was to have been expected from a man of so great a reputation, and to have wished to favour the French too much; to have passed over the most brilliant actions of the English, where he quits the sense of his author, in writing otherwise than Froissart had done: this last reproach does not seem to me founded. With regard to omissions, he has taken that liberty which an abbreviator ought to be allowed, to attach himself chiefly in extracting what he thinks suitable for his purpose; and that Sleidan, who at the time was living in France with Frenchmen, may, without any want of candour, have attached himself principally to those facts which concerned them. It will not be so easy to justify Belleforêt, who, giving a French abridgment of Froissart, has contented himself with translating literally Sleidan, without ever mentioning the author whom he translated.

The English, whom the reading of Froissart interests in so particular a manner, have in their language a translation of the Chronicles of Froissart, composed by sir John Bouchier, lord Berners, by order of king Henry VIII., and printed towards the end of his reign. There is also one in Flemish, printed by Guerrit Vander Loo, in folio; without counting that in the same tongue which Vossius had seen in manuscript.

I shall not say anything of these translations, not having met with either. That of Bouchier is, they say, more correct than the French editions, in regard to proper names †; this must, however, be understood to mean English names. The Flemish translation must have the same advantage with regard to proper names, and names of places in Flanders. They may both be of great utility to whoever should wish to give a good edition of Froissart.

* M de St. Palaye is ignorant how rich this country is in MSS. of Froissart. There are many magnificent ones in the British Museum at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other public and private libraries. I have in my library not less than six; but not one is a complete history.

† I am sorry I must contradict M. de St. Palaye, in his opinion of lord Berners's translation. Had it been as he imagines, I should not have attempted to offer a new translation to the public; but, so far from being correct as to names, he mangles them nearly as bad as old Froissart. I cannot flatter myself with having succeeded to my own satisfaction, although I have taken every possible pains to make it as complete as the difficulties would allow me.

SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

PREFACE

TO HIS

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, &c.

THAT the honourable enterprises, noble adventures, and deeds of arms, performed in the wars between England and France, may be properly related, and held in perpetual remembrance—to the end that brave men taking example from them may be encouraged in their well-doing, I sit down to record a history deserving great praise; but, before I begin, I request of the Saviour of the world, who from nothing created all things, that he will have the goodness to inspire me with sense and sound understanding to persevere in such manner, that all those who shall read may derive pleasure and instruction from my work, and that I may fall into their good graces.

It is said, and with truth, that all towns are built of many different stones, and that all large rivers are formed from many springs; so are sciences compiled by many learned persons, and what one is ignorant of is known to another: not but that every thing is known sooner or later. Now, to come to the matter in hand, I will first beg the grace of God and the benign Virgin Mary, from whom all comfort and success proceed; and then I will lay my foundation on the true Chronicles formerly written by that reverend, wise, and discreet man, John le Bel, canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege; who bestowed great care and diligence on them, and continued them, as faithfully as he could, to his death, though not without much pains and expense: but these he minded not, being rich and powerful. He was also a man of courteous manners, generous, and a privy counsellor, well beloved by sir John de Hainault; who is spoken of in these books, and not without reason, for he was the chief of many

noble enterprises, and nearly related to several kings; and by his means the above-mentioned John le Bel could see as through a perspective the many gallant actions recorded in the following sheets.

The true reason of my undertaking this book was for my amusement, to which I have ever been inclined, and for which I have frequented the company of many noblemen and gentlemen, as well in France as in England and Scotland, and in other countries, from whose acquaintance I have always requested accounts of battles and adventures, especially since the mighty battle of Poictiers, where the noble king John of France was taken prisoner; for before that time I was young in years and understanding: however, on quitting school, I boldly undertook to write and relate the wars above mentioned—which compilation, such as it was, I carried to England, and presented to my lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who most graciously received it from me, to my great profit. And perhaps as this book is neither so exactly nor so well written as such feats of arms require—for such deeds demand that each actor who therein performs his part nobly should have due praise—in order to acquit myself to all, as in justice is due, I have undertaken this present work on the ground before mentioned, at the prayer and request of my dear lord and master, sir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort, to whom I owe all love and obedience, and God give me grace to do always according to his pleasure.

THE

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.—OF THE BRAVEST KNIGHTS OF THIS PRESENT BOOK.

To encourage all valorous hearts, and to show them honourable examples, I, John Froissart, will begin to relate, after the documents and papers of master John le Bel, formerly canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege, as followeth: That whereas various noble personages have frequently spoken of the wars between France and England, without knowing any thing of the matter, or being able to assign the proper reasons for them; I, having perceived the right foundation of the matter, shall neither add nor omit, forget, corrupt, nor abridge my history: but the rather will enlarge it, that I may be able to point out and speak of each adventure from the nativity of the noble king Edward of England, who so potently reigned, and who was engaged in so many battles and perilous adventures, and other feats of arms and great prowess, from the year of grace 1326, when he was crowned in England.

KNIGHTS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—From original authorities in the British Museum.

Although he, and also those who were with him in his battles and fortunate rencounters, or with his army when he was not there in person, which you shall hear as we go on, ought to be accounted right valiant; yet as of these there is a multitude some should be esteemed

supereminent. Such as the gallant king himself before named; the prince of Wales, his son; the duke of Lancaster; sir Reginald lord Cobham; sir Walter Manny of Hainault, knight; sir John Chandos; sir Fulke Harley; and many others who are recorded in this book for their worth and prowess: for in all the battles by sea or land, in which they were engaged, their valour was so distinguished that they should be esteemed heroes of highest renown—but without disparagement to those with whom they served. In France also was found good chivalry, strong of limb and stout of heart, and in great abundance; for the kingdom of France was never brought so low as to want men ever ready for the combat. Such was king Philip of Valois, a bold and hardy knight, and his son, king John; also John, king of Bohemia, and Charles, count of Alençon, his son; the count of Foix; the chevaliers de Santré, d'Arnaud d'Angle, de Beauveau, father and son, and many others that I cannot at present name; but they shall all be mentioned in due time and place: for, to say the truth, we must allow sufficient bravery and ability to all who were engaged in such cruel and desperate battles, and discharged their duty, by standing their ground till the discomfiture.

CHAPTER II.—OF SOME OF THE PREDECESSORS OF KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND.

THE better to understand the honourable and eventful history of the noble king Edward of England, who was crowned in London on Christmas-day, in the year 1326, in the life-time of the king and queen his parents, we must remark a common opinion of the English, of which there have been proofs since the time of the gallant king Arthur, that between two valiant kings of England there is always one weak in mind and body; and this is apparent in the example of the gallant king Edward, of whom I now speak; for true it is that his grandfather, called the good king Edward the First, was brave, wise, very enterprising, and fortunate in war. He was much engaged against the Scots. He conquered them three or four times without their being able to gain any advantage over him.

EDWARD THE SECOND.—From a painting in the Bodleian Lib. Oxford.

When he died, his son by his first marriage succeeded to the crown, but not to the understanding or prowess of his father, for he governed his kingdom very unwisely, through the evil counsels of others, the ill consequences of which he afterward suffered severely, as you will see; for, soon after his coronation, Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had given so much and such frequent trouble to king Edward above mentioned, and who well knew his valour, reconquered all Scotland, and took besides the good town of Berwick. He burnt and destroyed great part of the country, four or five days' march within the realm at two

different times: he afterward defeated the king and all the barons of England *, at a place in Scotland, called Stirling, in a pitchèd battle, when the pursuit lasted two days and two nights, and the king of England, accompanied with a few followers, fled to London. But, as this is no part of our matter, I shall here leave off.

CHAPTER III.—OF THE RELATIONS OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

King Edward the Second, father of our gallant king, had two brothers: one was the Earl Marshal, of a wild and disagreeable temper; the other was called lord Edmund of Kent: he was very wise and affable, and much beloved.

This king had married the daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France, who was one of the greatest beauties in the world. He had by this lady two sons and two daughters. The elder son was the noble and valiant king Edward, of whom this history speaks; the other was called John, and died young. The elder of the two daughters was called Isabella, and was married to the young king, David of Scotland, son of king Robert Bruce. They were affianced from their earliest youth, with the consent of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, as a bond to cement the peace. The other was married to the count Reginald, subsequently called duke of Guelderland, who had by this lady two sons; one named Reginald, the other Edward, who afterwards reigned with great power.

CHAPTER IV.—THE OCCASION OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

History tells us that Philip, king of France, surnamed the Fair, had three sons, beside his beautiful daughter Isabella married to the king of England. These three sons were very handsome. The eldest, Lewis, king of Navarre, during the lifetime of his father, was called Lewis Hutin; the second was named Philip the Great, or the Long; and the third, Charles. All these were kings of France, after their father Philip, by legitimate succession, one after the other, without having by marriage any male heirs; yet, on the death of the last king, Charles, the twelve peers and barons of France did not give the kingdom to Isabella, the sister, who was queen of England, because they said and maintained, and still do insist, that the kingdom of France is so noble, that it ought not to go to a woman; consequently neither to Isabella, nor to her son, the king of England; for they hold that the son of a woman cannot claim any right of succession, where that woman has none herself. For these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France unanimously gave the kingdom of France to the lord Philip of Valois, nephew to king Philip, and thus put aside the queen of England, who was sister to Charles, the late king of France, and her son. Thus, as it seemed to many people, the succession went out of the right line, which has been the occasion of the most destructive wars and devastations of countries, as well in France as elsewhere, as you will learn hereafter; the real object of this history being to relate the great enterprises and deeds of arms achieved in these wars, for from the time of good Charlemagne, king of France, never were such feats performed.

CHAPTER V.—HOW EARL THOMAS OF LANCASTER AND TWENTY-TWO OF THE GREATEST NOBLES IN ENGLAND WERE BEHEADED.

King Edward the Second, father to the noble king Edward the Third, of whom our history speaks, governed his kingdom very indifferently, by the advice of sir Hugh Spencer, who had been brought up with him from his youth.

* By batel arengyd the day of Saynt John Baptyst, in the 7th yere of y^e^ reigne of the same kyng Edward, in the yere of our Lorde 1314. The chase of this discõfeture endured 2 dayes and two nyghtys. And the kyng of Ingland wēt w̃ a small company to London. And on Mydlentsonday in the yere of our Lorde 1316 the Scottis wan agayne the cite of Berwyk by treason."—*Lord Berners.*

This passage of Lord Berners', though given in his text, appears to be an interpolation of his own, correcting the error of Froissart, whose statement leads to the idea that the capture of Berwick was immediately subsequent to the battle, whereas two years intervened. The battle spoken of was that of Bannockburn.

This sir Hugh had managed matters so, that his father and himself were the great masters of the realm, and were ambitious to surpass all the other great barons in England; for which reason, after the great defeat at Stirling, the barons and nobles, and even the council of the king, murmured much, particularly against sir Hugh Spencer, to whom they imputed their defeat, on account of his partiality to the king of Scotland. The barons had many meetings on this matter, to consult what was to be done; the chief of them was Thomas, earl of Lancaster, uncle to the king. Sir Hugh soon found it would be necessary for him to check them; and he was so well beloved by the king, and so continually in his presence, that he was sure of gaining belief, whatever he said. He soon took an opportunity of informing the king, that these lords had entered into an alliance against him, and that, if he did not take proper measures, they would drive him out of the kingdom; and thus operated so powerfully on the king's mind, that his malicious intentions had their full effect. The king caused all these lords to be arrested on a certain day when they were met together, and, without delay, ordered the heads of twenty-two of the greatest barons to be struck off, without assigning any cause or reason. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, suffered the first. He was a discreet and pious man; and since that time many miracles have been performed at his tomb in Pomfret, where he was beheaded. The hatred against sir Hugh Spencer was increased by this deed, particularly that of the queen and of the earl of Kent, brother to the king; which when he perceived, he fomented such a discord between the king and the queen, that the king would not see the queen, or come to any place where she was. This quarrel lasted some time; when the queen and the earl of Kent were secretly informed that, if they did not speedily quit the court, they would repent it, for sir Hugh was endeavouring to stir up much mischief against them. Then the queen, having made preparations for passing secretly to France, set out as if to go on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury; whence she went to Winchelsea, and that night embarked on board a vessel prepared for her reception, accompanied by her young son Edward, the earl of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer. Another vessel was loaded with luggage, &c., and, having a fair wind, they landed the next morning at Boulogne.

CHAPTER VI.—THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND GOES TO COMPLAIN OF SIR HUGH SPENCER TO HER BROTHER THE KING OF FRANCE.

When the queen Isabella landed at Boulogne, with her son and her brother-in-law, the earl of Kent, the governor of the town and the abbot waited on her, and conducted her to the abbey, where she and her suite were joyfully received and remained two days; on the third she continued her route towards Paris.

King Charles, her brother, being informed of her coming, sent some of the greatest lords at that time near his person to meet her; among whom were, sir Robert d'Artois, the lord of Crucy, the lord of Sully, and the lord of Roy, and many others, who honourably received and conducted her to Paris, to the king her brother. When the king perceived his sister (whom he had not seen for a long time) entering his apartment, he rose to meet her, and taking her in his arms, kissed her, and said, "You are welcome, my fair sister, with my fine nephew, your son;" then taking one in each hand he led them in. The queen, who had no great joy in her heart, except being near her brother, would have knelt at his feet two or three times, but the king would not suffer it, and holding her by the right hand, inquired very affectionately into her business and affairs. Her answers were prudent and wise; and she related to him all the injuries done to her by sir Hugh Spencer, and asked of him advice and assistance.

When the noble king Charles had heard the lamentations of his sister, who with many tears had stated her distress, he said, "Fair sister, be appeased—for, by the faith I owe to God and to St. Denis, I will provide a remedy." The queen then kneeled down, in spite of the king, and said to him, "My dear lord and brother, I pray God may second your intentions*." The king then taking her by the hand, conducted her to another apartment, which

* Lord Berners' version is more affecting, and is almost word for word with the original; it runs thus—

When the noble kyng Charles of Fraunce had harde his susters lamentation, who *weepingly* had shewed hym all her nede and besynesse, he sayd to her, "Fayre suster, appease yourselfe, for, by the faith I owe to God and to saynt

was richly furnished for her and her young son Edward; he then left her, and ordered that every thing should be provided becoming the state of her and her son from his treasury.

QUEEN ISABELLA'S VISIT TO HER BROTHER AT PARIS.—From an illumination in an M.S. Froissart.

In a short time afterwards Charles assembled many great lords and barons of his kingdom, to have their advice what was most proper to be done in the business of his sister, the queen of England. Their advice was, that the queen should be allowed to purchase friends and assistance in the kingdom of France, and that he should appear ignorant of this enterprise, lest he should incur the enmity of the king of England, and bring a war upon his country —but that underhand he should assist her with gold and silver, which are the metals wherewith the love of gentlemen and poor soldiers is acquired.

The king acceded to this advice, and caused his sister to be informed of it by sir Robert d'Artois, who was at that time one of the greatest men in France.

CHAPTER VII.—SIR HUGH SPENCER CAUSES THE QUEEN ISABELLA TO BE SENT OUT OF FRANCE.

Now let us speak a little of this sir Hugh Spencer.—When he saw that he had the king of England so much in his power, that he objected to nothing he said or did, he caused many noblemen and others to be put to death without law or justice, but merely because he suspected them of being ill-inclined to him. His pride was also become so intolerable, that the barons who remained alive in England, neither could nor would suffer it any longer. They required and entreated that all private quarrels should be made up; and sent secretly to inform the queen (who had at this time remained in Paris three years), that if she could collect about a thousand men-at-arms, and would come at the head of them herself, with her son, into England, they would immediately treat with her, and obey him as their lawful sovereign *.

Denyce, I shall right well purvey for you some remedy." The quene then kneled down whether the kyng wold or not, and sayd, "My ryght dere lord and fayre brother, I pray God reward you." [Dieu vous en veuille ouïr.]

* John le Bel, according to what M. Lancelot says in one of his memoirs respecting Robert d'Artois, has been much mistaken in the object of Isabella's journey to France, and the time she went thither. It related to the homage due from Edward the Second to Charles, king of France.

Charles had seized on parts of Guyenne, and the Spencers sent the queen to France to make up the matter with her brother, and also to keep her at a distance, as they knew she disliked them. There is a letter in Rymer, from king Edward to pope John XXII., dated

The queen showed these private letters that she had received from England to the king, her brother, who replied, "God be your help! your affairs will prosper so much the better. Take of my subjects as many as your friends desire; I freely give my consent, and I will order the necessary sums of money to be distributed among them." The queen had already been very active, and what with entreaties, gifts, and promises, had gained over many great lords, young knights, and esquires, who had engaged to carry her back to England with a great power.

The queen made all her preparations for her expedition very secretly, but not so much so as to prevent its coming to the knowledge of sir Hugh Spencer, who thought, that his most prudent plan would be to win over to his interest the king of France; for this effect he sent over trusty and secret messengers, laden with gold, silver, and rich jewels. These were distributed among the king and his ministers with such effect, that the king and his council were in a short time as cold towards the cause of Isabella, as they had before been warm. The king disconcerted the expedition, and forbade any person, under pain of banishment, to aid or assist the queen in her projected return to England.

Sir Hugh also endeavoured to get the queen into his and the king's power, and to this effect made the king write an affectionate letter to the pope, entreating him to order the king of France to send him back his wife, as he was anxious to acquit himself towards her before God and the world; since it was not his fault that she had left him, for he was all love and good faith towards her, such as ought to be observed in marriage. There were similar letters written at the same time to the cardinals, and many subtle means devised to ensure their success, which it may not be so proper here to mention. He sent also plenty of gold and silver to many cardinals and prelates, the nearest relations of the pope, and those most in his councils, by able and adroit messengers, who managed the pope in such a manner, by their presents and address, that he wrote to the king of France to send back Isabella, queen of England, to her husband, under pain of excommunication. These letters were carried to the king of France by the bishop of Xaintes, whom the pope sent thither as his legate.

The king, on the receipt of them, caused his sister to be acquainted with their contents (for he had held no conversation with her for a long time), and commanded her to leave the kingdom immediately, or he would make her leave it with shame.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE QUEEN ISABELLA LEAVES FRANCE AND GOES TO GERMANY.

When the queen heard this account, she knew not what to say, or what measures to adopt, for the barons had already withdrawn themselves by the king's command, and she had no resource or adviser left but in her dear cousin Robert of Artois: and he could only advise and assist her in secret, for, as the king had forbidden it, he could not act otherwise.

March 8th, 1324, in which he says he has determined to send the queen to France to treat with her brother. This date is remarkable, because Froissart places the journey of the queen two years earlier: for he says the queen of England remained at Paris three years. Now it is certain she returned to England the 22nd of September, 1326; she must, therefore, have arrived in France in 1323. But Froissart is mistaken;—her journey was posterior to the expedition against Guyenne, which lasted from May, 1324, to the end of September in the same year; consequently her residence in France and Hainault was only about eighteen months. The same historian mistakes the object of her journey. He supposes her sole motive for going to France was to demand protection from the king, her brother, against the Spencers; that her departure was secret; and that she carried the young prince of Wales with her. All the documents which remain prove this to be groundless.

She left England by the desire of Edward; she succeeded in her mission, and a treaty was concluded the 31st of May, 1325. The Spencers were afraid of suffering Edward to pay the homage in person, and therefore they persuaded him to give the duchy of Guyenne and county of Ponthieu to the prince of Wales; which was done on the 2nd and 10th of September, 1325. The prince of Wales embarked at Dover the 12th of the same month, to pay the homage, upwards of six months after the passage of the queen his mother.

It is true, that when he arrived at the court of Charles the Fair, she prevailed on him to stay longer than Edward and his favourites wished. She exerted herself as much as possible to procure men and money, which she intended to employ in forcing the king, her husband, from the hands of the Spencers. For further particulars, which, however, do not seem to me very material to this part of the history, I must refer to the Memoir itself, in vol. xi des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c.

He well knew, that the queen had been driven from England through malice and ill-will, at which he was much grieved. This was sir Robert's opinion; but he durst not speak of it to the king, for he had heard the king say and swear, that whoever should speak to him in her behalf should forfeit his land, and be banished the kingdom. He was also informed, that the king was not averse* to the seizure of the persons of the queen, her son Edward, the earl of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and sir Hugh Spencer. He therefore came in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the peril she was in. She was thunder-struck† at the information—to which he added, "I recommend you to set out for the empire, where there are many noble lords who may greatly assist you, particularly William, earl of Hainault, and his brother, who are both great lords, and wise and loyal men, and much dreaded by their enemies."

The queen ordered her baggage to be made ready as secretly as she could; and having paid for every thing, she quitted Paris, accompanied by her son, the earl of Kent, and all her company, and took the road to Hainault. After some days she came into the country of Cambray. When she found she was in the territories of the empire, she was more at her ease, passed through Cambresis, entered l'Ostrevant, in Hainault, and lodged at the house of a poor knight called sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who received her with great pleasure, and entertained her in the best manner he could; insomuch that afterward the queen of England and her son invited the knight, his wife, and all his children, to England, and advanced their fortunes in different ways‡.

The arrival of the queen in Hainault was soon known in the house of the good earl of Hainault, who was then at Valenciennes. Sir John, his brother, was also informed of the hour when she alighted at the house of the lord of Ambreticourt. This sir John, being at that time very young, and panting for glory like a knight-errant, mounted his horse, and, accompanied by a few persons, set out from Valenciennes for Ambreticourt, where he arrived in the evening, and paid the queen every respect and honour.

The queen was at that time very dejected, and made a very lamentable complaint to him of all her griefs; which affected sir John so much, that he mixed his tears with hers, and said, "Lady, see here your knight, who will not fail to die for you, though every one else should desert you; therefore will I do every thing in my power to conduct you and your son, and to restore you to your rank in England, by the grace of God, and the assistance of your friends in those parts; and I, and all those whom I can influence, will risk our lives on the adventure, for your sake; and we will have a sufficient armed force, if it please God, without fearing any danger from the king of France." The queen, who was sitting down, and sir John standing before her, rose, and would have cast herself at his feet, out of gratitude for the great favour he had just offered her; but the gallant sir John, rising up quickly, caught her in his arms, and said, "God forbid that the queen of England should ever do such a thing! Madam, be of good comfort to yourself and company, for I will keep my promise—and you shall come and see my brother, and the countess his wife, and all their fine children, who will be rejoiced to see you, for I have heard them say so." The queen answered, "Sir, I find in you more kindness and comfort than in all the world besides, and I give you five hundred thousand thanks for what you have said and offered me. If you will keep what you have promised me with so much courtesy, I and my son shall be for ever bound unto you, and we will put the kingdom of England under your management, as in justice it ought to be."

After this conversation, sir John de Hainault took leave for the night, and went to Douay, where he slept at the abbey. The next day, after having heard mass and taken some refreshment, he returned to the queen, who received him with great joy. She had finished her dinner, and was going to mount her horse, when sir John arrived. The queen of England quitted the castle of Ambreticourt, and, in taking leave of the knight and his lady, she thanked them for their good cheer, adding, that she trusted a time would come, when she and her son would not fail to remember their courtesy.

* Was in mynde & will *to make his suster be taken, &c.—Lord Berners.*

† Then y^e^ quene was greatly abasshed [ebahie] and required hym all wepyng of his good counsaile. Then he sayed, &c.—*Lord Berners.*

‡ His son was one of the first knights of the garter. See Ashmole's History of the Garter.

The queen then set off, accompanied by sir John, lord of Beaumont, who with joy and respect conducted her to Valenciennes. Many of the citizens of the town came out to meet her, and received her with great humility. She was thus introduced to William, earl of Hainault, who, as well as the countess, received her very graciously. Many great feasts were given on this occasion, as no one knew better than the countess how to do the honours of her house. This earl William had at that time four daughters, Margaret, Philippa, Joan, and Isabella: the young king Edward paid more court and attention to Philippa than to any of the others; the young lady also conversed more frequently with him, and sought his company oftener than any of her sisters. The queen remained at Valenciennes during eight days with the good earl and countess Joan of Valois; in the mean time the queen made every preparation for her departure, and sir John wrote very affectionate letters unto certain knights, and those companions in whom he put the most confidence, in Hainault, Brabant, and Bohemia, beseeching them, from all the friendship that was between them, that they would accompany him in this expedition to England.

There were great numbers in these countries who were willing to go with him from the love they bore him, and many who refused, notwithstanding his request; and even sir John himself was much reproved by the earl, his brother, and by some of his council, because it seemed to them that this enterprise was of much hazard, on account of the great divisions and enmities which at that time subsisted among the great barons and commons in England; and also because the English are always very jealous of strangers, which made them doubt whether sir John de Hainault and his companions would ever return. But, notwithstanding all their blame and all their advice bestowed upon him, the gallant knight would not change his purpose, saying, that he could die but once; that the time was in the will of God; and that all true knights were bound to aid, to the utmost of their power, all ladies and damsels driven from their kingdoms comfortless and forlorn.

CHAPTER IX.—QUEEN ISABELLA ARRIVES IN ENGLAND WITH SIR JOHN DE HAINAULT.

Thus was sir John de Hainault strengthened and encouraged in his resolution. He earnestly entreated the Hainaulters to be at Halle, the Brabanters at Breda, the Hollanders (of whom he had a few) at Dordrecht, and the Bohemians at Gertruydenberg, by a fixed and limited day. The queen of England took leave of the earl and countess, thanking them much for the honour and entertainment they had shown her, and kissed them at her departure. The queen, her son, and suite, set off, accompanied by sir John, who with great difficulty had obtained his brother's permission. He said to him, when he took his leave, "My dear lord and brother, I am young, and believe that God has inspired me with a desire of this enterprise for my advancement; I also think and believe for certain, that this lady and her son have been driven from their kingdom wrongfully and sinfully. If it is for the honour and glory of God, and of the world, to comfort the afflicted and oppressed, how much more so is it, to help and succour one of such high birth, who is a daughter of a king descended from royal lineage, and to whose blood we ourselves are related! I would have preferred renouncing every expectation I have here, and gone and served my God beyond seas, without ever returning, rather than that this good lady should have left us without comfort and aid. If you will permit me to go, and grant me a willing leave, I shall do well, and thereby the better accomplish my purpose."

When the good earl had heard his brother, and perceived the great desire he had for this enterprise, and that possibly it might turn out not only to his own honour, but to that of his descendants; he said to him, "Dear brother, God forbid that there should be any hindrance to your wish: therefore I give you leave in the name of God!" He then kissed him, and squeezed his hand, in sign of great affection.

Sir John set out, and went that night to Mons, in Hainault, where he slept, as did the queen of England.—Why should I lengthen my story?—They travelled in such a manner as to arrive at Dordrecht by the time limited for their friends to meet them. At that place they provided themselves with vessels of different sizes, and having embarked their

cavalry, baggage, &c. they set sail, having first recommended themselves to the care of the Lord. In this expedition there were the following knights and lords of Hainault: first, sir John de Hainault, lord of Beaumont, sir Henry d'Antoing, sir Michael de Ligne, the lord of Gommegines, sir Percival de Semeries, sir Robert de Bailleuil, sir Sanxen de Bouissoit, the lords of Vertaing, de Pocelles, de Villers, de Hein, de Sars, de Boisiers, d'Ambreticourt, de Sermuel, sir Oulphart de Guistelle, and many other knights and esquires, all eager to serve their master. When they left the harbour of Dordrecht, the fleet, considering its force, made a beautiful appearance, from its good order, and from the weather being clear and temperate. They came opposite to the dykes of Holland the first tide after their departure. The next day they cast anchor and furled their sails, intending to follow the coast of Zealand, and to land at a port which they had descried; but they were prevented by a violent tempest, which drove them so far out of their course, that for two days they knew not where they were. In this God was very merciful to them; for, had they landed at the port they intended, they would have fallen into the hands of their enemies, who, apprised of their coming, waited for them at that place to put them to death. At the end of two days the storm abated, and the sailors descrying England, made for it with great joy, and landed upon the sands, having neither harbour nor safe port. They remained there three days at a short allowance of provisions, whilst they disembarked their cavalry, and landed their baggage. They were ignorant in what part of England they were, and whether that part of the country was friendly to them or not. The fourth day they began their march, putting themselves under the protection of God and St. George, having suffered much from cold and hunger in addition to their late fears, of which they had not yet divested themselves. They marched over hill and dale until they came to some villages; soon afterwards they saw a large monastery of black friars, called St. Hamons, where they refreshed themselves during three days *.

CHAPTER X.—THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND BESIEGES HER HUSBAND IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

The news of her arrival being spread abroad, soon came to the knowledge of those lords by whose advice she had returned: they got themselves ready as soon as possible to join her son, whom they wished to have for their sovereign. The first who came was Henry, earl of Lancaster, surnamed Wryneck, brother to the earl Thomas, who had been beheaded, and father of the duke of Lancaster, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the following history. This earl Henry was attended by a great number of men at arms. After him came, from different parts, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, and with such an armed force, that they no longer thought they had any thing to apprehend. As they advanced, their forces were still increased; so that a council was called to consider if they should not march directly to Bristol, where the king and the two Spencers then were.

Bristol was at that time a large town, well enclosed, and situated on a good port. Its castle was very strong, and surrounded by the sea. The king, and sir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was about ninety years of age, and sir Hugh Spencer, his son, the chief governor of the king, and adviser of all his evil deeds, shut themselves up in it. The earl of Arundel, who had married the daughter of the younger Spencer, was also there, as well as divers knights and esquires, attending the king's court.

The queen, with all her company, the lords of Hainault, and their suite, took the shortest road for that place; and in every town through which they passed were entertained with every mark of distinction. Their forces were augmenting daily until they arrived at Bristol, which they besieged in form. The king and the younger Spencer shut themselves up in the castle; old sir Hugh, and the earl of Arundel, remained in the town.

When the citizens saw the queen's force, and the affections of almost all England on her

* P: Vir: says that this company landed in the county of Suffolk, and mentions a village called Orwel, in which they refreshed themselves. The Chronicle of Flanders calls it Norwell, and adds that it is a sea-port.—*Annotations from Denis Sauvage's edition.*

side, alarmed at their own perilous situation, they determined in council to surrender the town, on condition that their lives and property should be spared. They sent to treat with the queen on this subject; but neither she nor her council would consent to it, unless sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were delivered up to her discretion, for she had come purposely to destroy them.

The citizens seeing they had no other means of saving the town, their lives, and their fortunes, acceded to the queen's terms, and opened their gates to her. She entered the town, accompanied by sir John de Hainault, with all her barons, knights, and esquires, who took their lodging therein; the others, for want of accommodation, remained without. Sir Hugh Spencer, and the earl of Arundel, were delivered to the queen to do with them as it should please her. Her children were also brought to her—John and her two daughters, found there in the keeping of sir Hugh Spencer. As she had not seen them a long time, this gave her great joy, as well as to all her party.

The king and the younger Spencer, shut up in the castle, were much grieved at what passed, seeing the whole country turned to the queen's party, and to Edward, his eldest son.

CHAPTER XI.—SIR HUGH SPENCER THE ELDER, AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL, ARE ADJUDGED TO DEATH.

As soon as the queen and the barons were lodged at their ease, they made their approaches to the castle as near as they could. The queen then ordered sir Hugh Spencer the elder, and the earl of Arundel, to be brought before her eldest son, and the barons assembled, and said to them, that she and her son would see that law and justice should be done unto them according to their deeds. Sir Hugh replied, "Ah! madam, God grant us an upright judge and a just sentence; and that if we cannot have it in this world, we may find it in another!" Then rose up sir Thomas Wager, a good knight, wise and courteous, and marshal of the army: he read, from a paper in his hand, the charges against them, and then addressed himself to an old knight, seated on his right hand, to decide the punishment due to persons guilty of such crimes. This knight consulted with the other barons and knights, and reported it as their opinion, that they deserved death for the many horrible crimes with which they had been charged, and which they believed to be clearly proved; that they ought, from the diversity of their crimes, to suffer in three different manners: first, to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, and afterwards to be hung on a gibbet. Agreeably to this sentence, they were executed before the castle of Bristol, in the sight of the king, sir Hugh Spencer, and all those within it. This execution took place in October, on St. Denis's day, 1326.

CHAPTER XII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR HUGH SPENCER ARE TAKEN AT SEA AS THEY WERE ENDEAVOURING TO ESCAPE FROM THE CASTLE OF BRISTOL.

This act of justice performed, the king and sir Hugh Spencer, seeing themselves so closely pressed, and being ignorant whether any succour was coming to them, embarked one morning with a few followers, in a small boat behind the castle, intending, if possible, to reach the principality of Wales: they were eleven or twelve days in this small boat, and notwithstanding every effort to get forward, the winds proved so contrary, by the will of God, that once or twice a day they were driven back within a quarter of a league of the castle whence they set out. At length sir Henry Beaumont, son of the viscount Beaumont of England, espying the vessel, embarked with some of his companions in a barge, and rowed so vigorously after it, that the king's boatmen, unable to escape, were overtaken. The king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought back to Bristol, and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoners. Thus ended this bold and gallant enterprise of sir John de Hainault and his companions, who, when they embarked at Dordrecht, amounted to no more than three hundred men at

arms. By their means* queen Isabella recovered her kingdom, and destroyed her enemies; at which the whole nation, except some few who were attached to the Spencers, was greatly rejoiced.

When the king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristol by sir Henry Beaumont, the king was sent, by the advice of the barons and knights, to Berkeley castle, under a strong guard. Many attentions were paid to him, and proper people were placed near his person, to take every care of him, but on no account to suffer him to pass the bounds of the castle. Sir Hugh Spencer was delivered up to sir Thomas Wager, marshal of the army.

The queen and all the army set out for London, which is the principal city in England. Sir Thomas Wager caused sir Hugh Spencer to be fastened on the poorest and smallest horse he could find, clothed with a tabart, such as he was accustomed to wear. He led him thus in derision, in the suite of the queen, through all the towns they passed, where he was announced by trumpets and cymbals, by way of greater mockery, till they reached Hereford, where she and her suite were respectfully and joyfully received. The feast of All Saints was there celebrated with the greatest solemnity and magnificence, out of affection to her son, and respect to the noble foreigners that attended him.

CHAPTER XIII.—SIR HUGH SPENCER JUDGED AND EXECUTED.

When the feast was over, sir Hugh, who was not beloved in those parts, was brought before the queen and knights assembled; the charges were read to him—to which he made no reply; the barons and knights then passed the following sentence on him: first, that he should be drawn on a hurdle, attended by trumpets and clarions, through all the streets in the city of Hereford, and then conducted to the market-place, where all the people were assembled; at that place he was to be bound upon a high scaffold†, in order that he might be more easily seen by the people. First, his private parts were cut off, because he was deemed a heretic, and guilty of unnatural practices, even with the king, whose affections he had alienated from the queen by his wicked suggestions. His private parts were then cast into a large fire kindled close to him; afterwards, his heart was thrown into the same fire, because it had been false and traitorous, since he had by his treasonable counsels so advised the king, as to bring shame and mischief on the land, and had caused some of the greatest lords to be beheaded, by whom the kingdom ought to have been supported and defended; and had so seduced the king, that he could not nor would not see the queen, or his eldest son, who was to be their future sovereign, both of whom had, to preserve their lives, been forced to quit the kingdom. The other parts of sir Hugh thus disposed of, his head was cut off and sent to London.

After the execution, the queen and all the lords, with a great number of common people, set out for London. As they approached it, great crowds came out to meet them, and received both her and her son, as well as those who accompanied her, with great reverence.

The citizens presented handsome gifts to the queen, as well as to those of her suite, where they thought them best bestowed. After fifteen days passed in feasts and rejoicings, the companions of sir John de Hainault were impatient to return home, for they thought they had well performed their duty, and acquired great honour. They took leave of the queen and of the nobles of the country, who besought them to tarry a little longer, to consider what ought to be done with the king, then a prisoner; but they had so great a desire to return home, that entreaties were of no avail. When the queen and her council saw this, they addressed themselves to sir John de Hainault, and requested him to remain only till after Christmas, and that he would detain as many of his followers as possible. That gallant knight, wishing to leave nothing undone that depended on him, courteously complied with the queen's request. He detained as many of his companions as he could; but small was the number, the greater part refusing to stay on any account, which angered him much.

Though the queen and her council saw that no entreaties could prevail on his companions

* Lord Berners adds "& the lordes in Inglande," not thinking it right that all the praise should be given to the Hainaulters.

† Tyed on high upon a ladder [eschelle].—*Lord Berners.*

to stay, they showed them every mark of respect. The queen ordered a large sum of money to be given them for their expenses, besides jewels of high price, which she presented to each according to his rank; so that all were perfectly satisfied. She also paid to each, in ready money, the value of their horses that they chose to leave behind, according to their own estimation, without any demur.

Sir John and a few of his companions remained in England, according to the queen's desire, and the English paid to him and his companions all the respect in their power.

There was at that time a great number of countesses and other noble ladies and damsels attendant on the queen, as well as others who came there daily, who were not behindhand in their attentions to sir John, thinking the gallant knight very deserving of them.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

Most of the followers of sir John de Hainault having returned home, the lord of Beaumont however remaining, the queen gave leave to many of her household, as well as others, to return to their country-seats, except a few of the nobles, whom she kept with her as her council, expressly ordering them to come back at Christmas to a great court, which at that time she intended to hold. They took leave, promising to be there at the time appointed, as well as many others who had notice of the feast. When Christmas came, she held the court above mentioned, and it was very fully attended by all the nobles and prelates of the realm, as well as by the principal officers of the chief cities and towns. In this assembly it was determined, that the kingdom could no longer remain without a sovereign, and that all the acts of the king, then in prison, proceeding from his own will, or the evil counsel of others, and ill government of the realm, should be stated in writing, and read aloud to all the nobles and sages of the country, in order that they might take advice, and resolve how, and by whom, the country in future should be governed: and when all the acts done by the king, or having his consent, as well as his conduct in private life, had been read, the chiefs of the assembly consulted together, and agreeing, from their own knowledge, that the greater part of what they had just heard read was true, that such a man was not worthy to be a king,

Edward the Third.—From the tomb at Westminster Abbey.

neither to bear a crown, nor the title of king, they unanimously resolved, that his elder son and true heir, then present, should be crowned instead of the father; and that he should take good and loyal counsel, that the kingdom might be henceforward better governed. They ordered that his father should be kept a prisoner, having every attention paid to his rank, as long as he should live. All was done, as agreed to by the chief nobles of the country and the principal officers of the great towns.

The young king Edward, since so fortunate in arms, was crowned with a royal diadem, in

the palace of Westminster, on Christmas-day, 1326. He completed his sixteenth year on the feast of the conversion of St. Paul following.

At this coronation, sir John de Hainault, and all his companions, noble or otherwise, were much feasted, and many rich jewels were given to him and those that stayed with him. He and his friends remained during these grand feasts, to the great satisfaction of the lords and ladies that were there, until Twelfth-day, when he received information that the king of Bohemia, the earl of Hainault his brother, and many great lords of France, had ordered a tournament to be proclaimed at Condé: sir John, therefore, would no longer stay, notwithstanding their entreaties, from the great desire he had to attend this tournament, to see his brother and the other princes, especially that gallant and generous prince, Charles, king of Bohemia.

When the young king Edward, his mother, and the barons, saw that it was not possible to detain him any longer, they gave him permission to depart very much against their will. The king, by the advice of the queen, granted him an annuity of four hundred marks sterling, hereditable rent, to be held of him in fee, payable in the city of Bruges. He gave also to Philip de Chateaux, his principal esquire and chief counsellor, a hundred marks sterling of rent, to be paid at the same time and place. He likewise gave a considerable sum to defray his expenses, and those of his attendants, on their return home. He ordered many knights to accompany him to Dover, and that his passage should be free of all cost. He presented the countess de Garennes, sister to the count de Bar, and some other ladies who had accompanied the queen to England, with many rich jewels, on their taking leave.

Sir John and his company immediately embarked on board the vessels prepared for them, to be in time for the tournament. The king sent with him fifteen young and hardy knights, to attend him at this tournament, there to try their skill, and to get acquainted with the lords and knights that were to be there. Sir John and his company paid them all the attention in their power, and on this occasion tournayed at Condé.

CHAPTER XV.—ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, DEFIES KING EDWARD.

After the departure of sir John de Hainault, king Edward and his mother governed the kingdom, by the counsels of the good earl of Kent, and of sir Roger Mortimer, who possessed vast estates in England, to the amount of 700*l.* sterling a-year. Both of them had been banished with the queen. They also took the advice of sir Thomas Wager, and of others, who were esteemed the wisest in the land. This, however, created much envy, which never dies in England, but reigns there as well as in other places. Thus passed the winter and Lent in perfect peace, until Easter; when it happened that Robert, king of Scotland, who, though brave, had suffered much in his wars with England, having often been defeated by king Edward, grandfather of the young king, being at this time very old, and afflicted with leprosy, hearing that the king had been taken prisoner and deposed, and his counsellors put to death, thought it a favourable opportunity to send a defiance to the present king, as yet a youth, whose barons were not on good terms with each other, and to attempt the conquest of some part of England. About Easter, 1327, he sent a defiance to king Edward and all the country, informing them that he would enter the kingdom, and burn it as far as he had done before after the defeat of Stirling, in which the English suffered so much.

When the young king and his council received this challenge, they published it throughout the kingdom, and ordered that all the nobles and others should come properly accoutred and accompanied, according to their different ranks, to York, the day of Ascension following. He also sent a considerable body of men-at-arms to guard the frontiers of Scotland, and messengers to sir John de Hainault, begging him very affectionately to assist and accompany him in this expedition, and to meet him at York on Ascension-day, with as many companions at arms as he could bring with him.

When the lord of Beaumont received this request, he dispatched letters and messengers into Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, or wherever he thought he could collect good companions, praying them to meet him, well equipped, at Wissan *, there to embark for England.

* Wissan is a town in the Boulonois, generality of Calais. It is believed by Camden to be the *Portus Iccius* from which Cæsar embarked for Britain. This is discussed in one of the dissertations at the close of the Mémoires de Joinville.—Fifth volume of the Collection of Historical Memoirs relative to the History of France.

Such as he sent to came, as well as others that had heard of it, in the expectation of gaining as large sums as those who had accompanied him in his former expedition to England.

When the lord of Beaumont came to Wissan, he found vessels ready to transport him and his company. They embarked with their cavalry as expeditiously as possible, and crossed over to Dover, whence, without halting, they continued their march till they reached York. The king, his mother, and a number of other lords and barons were there assembled, as well to advise as to attend the king. They waited at York the arrival of sir John, of the men at arms and archers, and of the common people from the different towns and cities. As they came in large bodies, they were quartered in the villages around York, at the distance of two or three leagues, and thence marched towards the borders.

Sir John and his company reached York by the appointed time, and were welcomed and magnificently entertained by the king, queen, and all the barons. The handsomest suburbs of the city were assigned them for their quarters, and a monastery of white friars was allotted for him and his household. In company with the knight, came from Hainault, the lord of Anghien called sir Walter, sir Henry, lord of Antoing, the lord of Seignoles, and the following knights: sir Fastres de Reu, sir Robert de Bailleul, sir William de Bailleul, his brother, the lord of Havereth castellan of Mons, sir Alart de Briseil, sir Michael de Ligne, sir John de Montigny the younger and his brother, sir Sause de Boussac, sir Percival de Severies, the lords of Gommegines, de Biaurien and de Folion. There came also from Flanders; first, sir Hector de Vilains, sir John de Rhodes, sir Vaufflat de Guistelle, sir James de Guistelle, his brother, sir Gossuin de la Muelle, and the lord of Tarces. Many came from Brabant; as the lord of Dusle, sir Thierry de Vaucourt, sir Rasses de Gres, sir John de Cassebegne, sir John Pilestre, sir William de Courterelles, the three brothers de Harlebeque, sir Walter de Hautebergue, and several others. Of the Bohemians were, sir John de Libeaux, Henry his brother, sir Henry de la Chappelle, sir Hugh de Hay, sir John de Limies, sir Lambert des Prez, sir Gilbert de Hers. There came also other volunteer knights out of Cambresis and Artois, in hopes of advancement; so that sir John had five hundred good men in his company, well apparelled and richly mounted.

After the feast of the Pentecost, sir William, who was afterwards duke of Juliers, by the death of his father, and sir Thierry de Hamberque, since earl of Los, arrived with a gallant company, to do honour to sir John de Hainault.

CHAPTER XVI.—A DISSENSION BETWEEN THE ARCHERS OF ENGLAND AND THE HAINAULTERS.

The king of England, in order to entertain and feast the strangers and their company, held a great court on Trinity-Sunday, at the house of the Black Friars, where he and the queen were lodged, and where each kept their household separate; the king with his knights, and the queen with her ladies, whose numbers were considerable. At this court the king had five hundred knights, and created fifteen new ones. The queen gave her entertainment in the dormitory, where at least sixty ladies, whom she had invited to entertain sir John de Hainault and his suite, sat down at her table. There might be seen a numerous nobility well served with plenty of strange dishes, so disguised that it could not be known what they were. There were also ladies most superbly dressed, who were expecting with impatience the hour of the ball, or a longer continuance of the feast: but it fell out otherwise; for, soon after dinner, a violent affray happened between some of the grooms of the Hainaulters, and the English archers, who were lodged with them in the suburbs. This increased so much that the archers collected together, with their bows strung, and shot at them so as to force them to retreat to their lodgings. The greater part of the knights and their masters, who were still at court, hearing of the affray, hastened to their quarters. Those that could not enter them were exposed to great danger; for the archers, to the number of three thousand, aimed both at masters and servants. It was supposed that this affray was occasioned by the friends of the Spencers, and the earl of Arundel, in revenge for their having been put to

death through the advice of sir John de Hainault. The English also, at whose houses the Hainaulters lodged, barricaded their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter: nevertheless, some of them got admittance at the back doors, and quickly armed themselves, but durst not advance into the street, for fear of the arrows. The strangers immediately sallied from behind their lodgings, breaking down the hedges and enclosures, until they came to a square, where they halted, waiting for their companions, till they amounted to a hundred under arms, and as many without, who could not gain admittance to their lodgings. United thus, they hastened to assist their friends, who were defending their quarters in the great street in the best manner they could: they passed through the hotel of the lord of Anghien, which had great gates before and behind open into the street, where the archers were dealing about their arrows in a furious manner. Many Hainaulters were wounded with them *.

Here we found the good knights, sir Fastres de Rue, sir Percival de Severies, and sir Sause de Boussac, who, not getting admittance into their lodgings, performed deeds equal to those that were armed. They had in their hands great oaken staffs, taken from the house of a carter: they dealt their blows so successfully that none durst approach them, and, being strong and valiant knights, beat down, that evening, upwards of sixty men. At last the archers were discomfited and put to flight. There remained on the ground dead three hundred men, or thereabouts, who were all from the bishoprick of Lincoln. I believe that God never showed greater grace or favour to any one than he did in that day to sir John de Hainault and his company; for these archers certainly meant nothing less than to murder and rob them, notwithstanding they were come upon the king's business. These strangers were never in such great peril as during the time they remained at York: nor were they in perfect safety until their return to Wissan; for, during their stay, the hatred of the archers was so greatly increased against them, that some of the barons and principal knights informed the lords of Hainault, that the archers and others of the commonalty of England, to the number of six thousand, had entered into an agreement to massacre and burn them and their followers in their lodgings either by night or day, and there was no one on the part of the king, or of the barons, that could venture to assist them. The Hainaulters, therefore, had no other resource left than to stand by each other, and to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They made many prudent regulations for their conduct, were frequently obliged to lie on their arms, to confine themselves to their quarters, and to have their armour ready, and their horses always saddled. They were also obliged to keep detachments continually on the watch in the fields and roads round the city, and to send scouts to the distance of half a league, to see if those people, of whom they had received information, were coming, with orders, that, if they perceived any bodies in motion advancing towards the town, they were immediately to return to the detachments in the fields, in order that they might be quickly mounted, and collected together under their own banner, at an appointed alarm-post. They continued in the suburbs four weeks in this distressing situation, and none, except a few of the great lords, who went to court to see the king and his council, or to the entertainments to hear the news, ventured to quit their quarters or their arms. If this unfortunate quarrel had not happened, they would have passed their time very pleasantly; for there was such plenty in the city and surrounding country, that during more than six weeks, while the king and the lords of England, with upwards of forty thousand men at arms, remained there, the provisions were not dearer; for as much was to be bought for a penny as before their arrival. Good wines from Gascony, Alsace and the Rhine, were in abundance and reasonable; poultry and other such provisions at a low price. Hay, oats, and straw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.

* In Leland's Collectanea, there is a different account of the cause of this affray. Part second of volume first, p. 307:—

"Anno Domini 1328, Hunaldi apud Eboracum combuserunt de suburbio civitatis fere unam parochiam, quæ vocatur S. Nicholai in Ousegate, propter contumeliam motam inter burgenses et illos, quia ceperunt uxores burgensium, et filias, et ancillas, per vim in suburbio civitatis. Burgenses vero suburbii indignati de tali facinore, congressi sunt cum Hunaldis more bellico: et ex utraque parte bene armati una die Martis *in Septembri* ante solis, ortum in Watelingate dormiente tota civitate summo mane. Ibi ceciderunt de Hunaldis 527, præter eos qui letaliter vulnerati sunt et obierunt in 3 die et in 4 sequenti. De Anglis ceciderunt 242. Submersi in Ouse, flu. de Hunaldis, inventi sunt 136."

CHAPTER XVII.—OF THE MANNERS OF THE SCOTS, AND HOW THEY CARRY ON WAR.

AFTER remaining three weeks from the time of this affray, the king issued a proclamation by his marshals, that every one in the course of the ensuing week should be provided with carts, tents, and every thing necessary for their march towards Scotland: when every one was properly equipped, the king and all his barons marched out of the city, and encamped six leagues from it. Sir John de Hainault and his company were encamped near the king, as a mark of distinction, and to prevent the archers from taking any advantage of him, the king and this first division remained there two days and two nights, waiting the arrival of money for his expenses, as well as to examine whether any thing were wanting. On the third day the army dislodged, and before day-break marched till they came to the city of Durham, a long day's journey, at the entrance of a country called Northumberland, which is wild, full of deserts and mountains, and poor in every thing except cattle. The river Tyne runs through it, full of flints and large stones. Upon this river is situated the town called Newcastle upon Tyne. The lord marshal of England was there, with a numerous army to guard the country against the Scots. At Carlisle was a considerable body of Welsh, under the command of lord Hereford and lord Mowbray, to defend the passage of the Eden; for the Scots could not enter England without passing one of these rivers. The English could get no certain information of the Scots until they arrived at this place: they had passed the river so privately, that neither those of Carlisle nor those of Newcastle had the smallest knowledge of it. These towns are said to be distant from each other four-and-twenty English leagues.

The Scots are bold, hardy, and much inured to war. When they make their invasions into England, they march from twenty to four-and-twenty leagues without halting *, as well by night as day; for they are all on horseback, except the camp followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses, the common people on little galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland; neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread or wine; for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine. They have, therefore, no occasion for pots or pans; for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off: and, being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal; behind the saddle, a little bag of oatmeal: when they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknel or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs: it is therefore no wonder, that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers. In this manner the Scots entered England, destroying and burning every thing as they passed. They seized more cattle than they knew what to do with. Their army consisted of four thousand men at arms, knights and esquires, well mounted; besides twenty thousand men, bold and hardy, armed after the manner of their country, and mounted upon little hackneys, that are never tied up or dressed, but turned, immediately after the day's march, to pasture on the heath or in the fields. This army was commanded by two valiant captains. The king of Scotland himself, who had been very brave, yet being old, and labouring under a leprosy, appointed for one that gallant prince, so renowned in arms, the earl of Moray, who bore upon his banner argent three pillows gules; the other was sir James Douglas, esteemed the bravest and most enterprising knight in the two kingdoms: he bore for arms azure on a chef argent. These two lords were the greatest barons, and most renowned for their prowess and other feats of arms.

* Wherever English leagues are mentioned, lord Berners translates them, and probably correctly, miles; it is incredible that a body of men armed at all points, should travel from sixty to eighty miles a day on horseback, which the Scots must have done if we are here to read leagues.—ED.

CHAPTER XVIII.—KING EDWARD'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCOTS.

When the English king and all his host had seen the smoke of the fires, which the Scots had made, the alarm was immediately sounded, and every one ordered to dislodge and to follow his banners: they all, therefore, withdrew to the fields, armed for immediate combat. Three battalions of infantry were formed; each battalion having two wings, composed of five hundred men at arms, who were to remain on horseback.

It was said, that there were eight thousand men at arms, knights and esquires, and thirty thousand men armed and equipped, half of whom were mounted on small hackneys; the other half were countrymen on foot, sent by the towns and paid by them. There were also twenty-four thousand archers on foot, beside all the crew of followers of the army. Thus being drawn up, they marched in battle-array after the Scots, towards the place from whence the smoke came, until it was night. The army halted in a wood, by the side of a small river, to rest themselves, and to wait for their baggage and provision.

EDWARD THE THIRD'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCOTS.—From an illuminated Froissart.

The Scots had burnt and pillaged all the country within five leagues * of the place where they were, without the English being able to come up with them.

At day-break the next morning every one was armed, and, with banners displayed, marched in good order over mountains and through valleys, but could never approach the Scots, who were advanced before them; for there were so many marshes and dangerous places, that it was ordered, under pain of death, that no one should quit his banner, except the marshals. When it drew towards night, the cavalry, and those who attended the baggage, more especially the infantry, were so fatigued, that they could march no further.

The lords saw that they followed the Scots to no purpose; and that, if the Scots were willing to wait for them, they might post themselves on some mountain, or in some dangerous pass, where they could not be attacked but at extreme disadvantage.

The king then ordered the marshals to encamp the army there for the night, in order that

* Lord Berners again translates "lieues" miles. Mr. Johnes's translation does not give so lively an idea of the audacity of the Scots, who destroyed the country as it were in bravado, as that of Lord Berners; his words are: "*And all that day* [et tout le jour] the Scottis had brent, and wasted and pilled ye coūtry about within v myle of the Inglysshe oste, but the Inglysshmen coulde nat overtake them * * * * they coulde neuer aproche nere to the Scottis, who went wastyng the countroy before them."—Ed.

they might consider what was to be done the next day. The army lay in a wood upon the banks of a small river, and the king was lodged in a poor monastery hard by. The men at arms, horses and baggage, were much fatigued. When each had chosen a spot of ground to encamp himself on, the lords retired apart, to consider what would be the best method to force the Scots to battle, considering the situation of the country in which they were. It appeared to them, that the Scots were sheering off to their own country, burning and pillaging as they went, and that it would be impossible to fight with them in these mountains, without a manifest disadvantage, supposing they should overtake them, which they could not; but, as they must repass the Tyne, it was determined in full council, that if they were to get themselves ready about midnight, and hasten their march next day, they might cut off the passage of the river, and force them to fight to a disadvantage, or remain shut up prisoners in England.

After this resolution had been entered into, each retired to his quarters, to eat and drink what he could find there; and they desired their companions to be silent, in order that the trumpets might be heard: at the first sounding of which, the horses were to be saddled and made ready; at the second, every one was to arm himself without delay; and, at the third, to mount their horses immediately, and join their banners. Each was to take only one loaf of bread with him, slung behind him after the manner of hunters. All unnecessary arms, harness, and baggage, were ordered to be left behind, as they thought they should for a certainty give battle the next day, whatever might be the consequences, whether they should win or lose all. As it had been ordered so was it executed, and all were mounted and ready about midnight. Some had but little rest, notwithstanding they had laboured hard the day before. Day began to appear as the battalions were assembled at their different posts: the banner-bearers then hastened on over heaths, mountains, valleys, rocks, and many dangerous places, without meeting any level country. On the summits of the mountains, and in the valleys, were large marshes and bogs, and of such extent, that it was a miracle many were not lost in them; for each galloped forwards without waiting for either commander or companion: those who fell into them found difficulty in getting any to help them. Many banners remained there, and several baggage and sumpter horses never came out again.

In the course of the day, there were frequent cries of alarm, as if the foremost ranks were engaged with the enemy; which those behind believing to be true, they hurried forward as fast as possible, over rocks and mountains, sword in hand, with their helmets and shields prepared for fighting, without waiting for father, brother, or friend. When they had hastened about half a league towards the place from which the noise came, they found themselves disappointed, as the cries proceeded from some herds of deer or other wild beasts, which abounded in these heaths and desert places, and which fled before the banners, pursued by the shouts of the army, which made them imagine it was something else.

In this manner, the young king of England, agreeably to the advice of his council, rode all that day over mountains and deserts, without keeping to any fixed road, or finding any town. About vespers, and sorely fatigued, they reached the Tyne, which the Scots had already crossed, though the English supposed they had it still to repass. Accordingly, they went over the ford, but with great difficulty, owing to the large stones that were in the river.

When they had passed over, each took up his lodging on its banks as he could; and at this time the sun was set. There were few among them that had any hatchets, wedges, or other instruments, to cut down trees, to make themselves huts; many of them had lost their companions, and even the foot had remained behind, not knowing what road to ask for. Those who were best acquainted with the country said, that they had travelled that day twenty English leagues * on a gallop, without stopping, except to arrange the furniture of their horses, when it had been loosened by the violent exercise. They were forced to lie this night on the banks of the river in their armour, and at the same time hold their horses by their bridles, for there was not any place where they could tie them. Thus the horses had nothing to eat, neither oats nor any forage; and the men had only their loaf that was tied behind them, which was wetted by the sweat of the horses. They had no other beverage

* Berners has "xxiv English miles," and D. Sauvage's edition, "*vingt-huit* lieues Anglesche."—Ed.

but the water of the river, except some great lords, who had bottles among their baggage: nor had they fire or light, not having any thing to make them of; except some few lords, who had some torches, which they had brought on sumpter horses. In such a melancholy manner did they pass the night, without taking the saddles from off the horses, or disarming themselves. And when the long-expected day appeared, when they hoped to find some comfort for themselves and horses, or to fight the Scots, which they very much wished for, to get out of their disagreeable situation, it began to rain, and continued all the day, insomuch that the river was so increased by noon, that no one could pass over, nor could any one be sent to know where they were, or to get forage and litter for their horses, or bread and wine for their own sustenance; they were therefore obliged to fast another night. The horses had nothing to subsist on but the leaves of the trees and grass. They cut down with their swords young trees, and tied their horses to them. They also cut down brushwood to make huts for themselves.

Some poor peasants, coming that way in the afternoon, informed them they were fourteen leagues from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and eleven from Carlisle, and that there was not a town nearer whence they could get any accommodations. When this intelligence was brought to the king and the principal lords, they directly sent off messengers with horses to bring them provision, and they caused a proclamation to be made in the king's name in Newcastle, that whoever wished to get money, he had only to bring provision, wine, &c., for which he should be instantly paid, and a safe conduct granted him. They were also informed, that they should not move from their present quarters, until they had information where the Scots were. The next day the messengers which the lords had sent for provision returned about noon with what they had been able to procure for them and their households; but it was not much: and with them came people of the country, to take their advantage of the situation of the army, and brought with them on mules and small horses bread badly baked, in baskets, and poor thin wine, in large barrels, and other kind of provision to sell, with which the army was tolerably refreshed, and their discontent appeased. This was the case during the seven days that they remained on the banks of this river, among the mountains, expecting the return of the Scots, who knew no more of the English than they did of them.

Thus they had remained for three days and three nights without bread, wine, candle, oats, or any other forage: and they were afterwards for four days obliged to buy badly baked bread, at the price of sixpence the loaf, which was not worth more than a penny, and a gallon of wine for six groats, scarcely worth sixpence. Hunger, however, was still felt in the camp, notwithstanding this supply; and frequent quarrels happened from their tearing the meat out of each other's hands. To add to their unpleasant situation, it had rained all the week, by which all their saddles and girths were rotted, and the greater part of the cavalry were worn down. They had not wherewithal to shoe their horses that wanted it; nor had they any thing to clothe themselves, or preserve them from the rain and cold, but their jerkins or armour, and the green huts: nor had they any wood to burn, except what was so green and wet as to be of small service.

Having continued for a whole week, without hearing any tidings of the Scots, who they imagined must pass that way, or very near it, in their return home, great murmurs arose in the army: and many laid the fault on those who had given such advice, adding, that it was done in order to betray the king and his host. Upon which, the lords of council ordered the army to make ready to march, and cross the river seven leagues higher up, where the ford was better; and it was proclaimed, that every one was to be in readiness to march the next day, and to follow his banners. There was another proclamation made, that whoever chose to take pains and find out where the Scots were, and should bring certain intelligence of it to the king, the messenger of such news should have one hundred pounds a-year in land, and be made a knight by the king himself. When this was made known among the host, many knights and esquires, to the number of fifteen or sixteen, eager to gain such rewards, passed the river with much danger, ascended the mountains, and then separated, each taking different routes.

The next day the army dislodged; marched tolerably well, considering that they were but ill clothed; and exerted themselves so much, that they repassed the river, though with

much danger, from its being swollen by the rains. Many were well washed, and many drowned. When they had crossed over, they remained there for that night, finding plenty of forage in the fields near to a small village, which the Scots had burnt as they passed. The next day they marched over hill and dale till about noon, when they came to some burnt villages, and some fields where there were corn and hay, so that the host remained there that night. The third day they marched in the same manner; but many were ignorant where they were going, nor had they any intelligence of the enemy.

They continued their route the fourth day in this order; when, about three o'clock, an esquire*, galloping up hastily to the king, said, "Sire, I bring you news of the Scots: they are three leagues from this place, lodged on a mountain, where they have been this week, waiting for you. They knew no more where you were than you did of them: and you may depend on this as true; for I approached so near to them, that I was taken and led a prisoner to their army, before their chiefs. I informed them where you were, and that you were seeking them, to give them battle. The lords gave me up my ransom, and my liberty, when I informed them that you had promised one hundred pounds a-year as a reward for whoever should first bring intelligence of them, upon condition that he rested not until he gave you this information; and I now tell you that you will find them in the place I have mentioned, as eager to meet you in battle as yourself can be." As soon as the king heard this news, he ordered his army to be prepared, and turned his horses to feed in the fields, near to a monastery of white monks, which had been burnt, and which was called in king Arthur's time Blanche Land. Then the king confessed himself, and each made his preparations according to his abilities. The king ordered plenty of masses to be said, to housel such as were devoutly inclined. He assigned one hundred pounds value of land, yearly, to the esquire, according to his promise, and made him a knight with his own hands, in the presence of the whole army. When they had taken some repose, and breakfasted, the trumpets sounded; and all being mounted, the banners advanced as the young knight led them on; but each battalion marched by itself in regular array, over hill and dale, keeping their ranks according to order. Thus they continued marching, when about twelve o'clock they came within sight of the Scots army.

As soon as the Scots perceived them, they issued forth from their huts on foot, and formed three good battalions, upon the descent of the mountain on which they lodged. A strong rapid river† ran at the foot of this mountain, which was so full of large rocks and stones, that it was dangerous to pass it in haste. If the English had passed this river, there was not room between it and the mountain for them to draw up their line of battle. The Scots had formed their two first battalions on the two sides of the mountain, and on the declivity of the rock, which was not easy to climb to attack them: but they themselves were posted so as to annoy them with stones, if they crossed the river: which if the English effected, they would not be able to return.

When the English lords perceived the disposition of the Scots, they ordered their men to dismount, take off their spurs, and form three battalions as before. Many new knights were made; and, when the battalions were formed, some of the chief lords brought the young king on horseback along the lines, to encourage the men. The king spoke most graciously to all, and besought them to take every pains to do him honour and preserve their own. He ordered, under pain of death, that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals, or move without orders. Shortly afterward, the battalions were commanded to advance towards the enemy in slow time, keeping their ranks. This was done; and each battalion moved on a considerable space, and came to the ascent of the mountain, where the Scots were posted. This manœuvre was intended in order to see whether the enemy would retire or make any movement; but neither one nor other was to be perceived: and the armies were so near each other, that they could see the arms on their shields. The army was ordered to halt to consider what was to be done; and some companions were mounted to skirmish with the enemy, and to examine the passage of the river and their

* In Rymer is an order for Thomas de Rokesby to receive half yearly, at Michaelmas and Easter, 100*l.* at the Exchequer, until he was provided with 100*l.* in land for his life. Signed by the king at Lincoln, Sept. 28, 1327.

† The Were.

appearance more clearly. They sent heralds to make an offer of retiring on the morrow, if they would pass the river, and fight upon the plain; or, if the Scots would not consent to this, that they would do the same.

When the Scots received this proposal, the chiefs retired to counsel, and returned for answer by the heralds, that they would do neither the one nor the other; that the king and his barons saw that they were in his kingdom, and had burnt and pillaged wherever they had passed; and that, if it displeased the king, he might come and amend it; for they would tarry there as long as it pleased them. When the council of the king of England heard the answer, he ordered it to be proclaimed, that each should take up his quarters where he was, without quitting the ground or his arms; they therefore lay that night very uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and stones, with their armour on: nor could they get any stakes for the purpose of tying their horses, or procure either litter, or forage, or any bushes to make fires.

The Scots, seeing the English thus take up their quarters, ordered part of the army to remain where the battalions had been drawn up; and the remainder retired to their huts, where they made marvellously great fires, and, about midnight such a blasting and noise with their horns, that it seemed as if all the great devils from hell had been come there. Thus were they lodged this night, which was the night of the feast of St. Peter, the beginning of August, 1327, until the next day, when the lords heard mass: afterward, every one armed himself, and the battalions were formed as on the preceding day. When the Scots saw this, they came and lodged themselves on the same ground they had done before; and the two armies remained thus drawn up until noon, when the Scots made no movement to come towards the English, nor did these on their part make any advances, for they dared not to attempt it with so great disadvantage. Several companions passed the river on horseback, as did some of the foot, to skirmish with the Scots, who also quitted their battalions to meet them, and many on each side were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. In the afternoon the lords ordered every one to retire to their quarters, as it seemed to them that they were drawn up to no purpose: in this manner they remained for three days. The Scots, on their side, never quitted the mountain; but there were continued skirmishes on both sides, and many killed and taken prisoners: in the evenings they made large fires, and great noises with their horns and with shouting. The intention of the English lords was to keep the Scots besieged there; for, as they could not well fight with them, they hoped to starve them: they knew from the prisoners that they had neither bread, wine, salt, nor other provision, except cattle, of which they had plenty, that they had seized in the country;—of these they might eat, indeed without bread, which would not be very palatable. But they had some little flour to make such cakes as have been before mentioned, and which some of the English use on their inroads beyond the borders.

The fourth day, in the morning, the English looked for the Scots on the mountain, but saw none of them, for they found they had decamped secretly at midnight. Scouts of horse and of foot were immediately despatched through the mountains to know what was become of them; they found them about four o'clock posted upon another mountain, much stronger than that they had left, upon the same river, near a large wood, to be more concealed, and in order more privately to advance or retreat at pleasure.

As soon as this was known, the English had orders to dislodge, and to march in battle array towards the place where the enemy was posted; and they encamped on a mountain opposite. They formed their battalions, and seemed as if they meant to advance to them. The Scots no sooner perceived this, than they sallied out of their quarters, and came and posted themselves by the side of the river, directly in front; but they were unwilling to advance or come nearer. The English could not attack them in such a situation without great disadvantage and loss; they remained full eighteen days in this situation upon this mountain, whence the lords sent frequent heralds to the Scots, to offer to give them full place of plain ground to draw up their battalions, or else they would accept the same from them; but they would not agree to either of these proposals.

The two armies had little comfort during the time they remained in this position. The

first night * that the English were posted on this second mountain, the lord James Douglas took with him about two hundred men at arms, and at midnight crossed the river, at such a distance from the camp that he was not noticed, and fell upon the English army most valiantly, shouting, "Douglas for ever! Ye shall die, ye thieves of England!" He and his companions killed more than three hundred; and he galloped up to the king's tent, and cut two or three of its cords, crying, at the same time, "Douglas! Douglas for ever!" when he set off; and in his retreat, he lost some of his followers, but not many;—he returned to his friends on the mountain. Nothing more of the sort was attempted from that time; but the English in future kept a strong and attentive guard, for they were fearful of another attack from the Scots, and had placed sentinels and scouts to give notice of the smallest movement of the enemy; the chief lords also slept in their armour. There were frequent skirmishes, and many lives lost on both sides. The twenty-fourth day from the time they had received intelligence of the enemy, a Scots knight was taken prisoner, who sore against his will gave an account to the lords of the state of the enemy. He was so closely examined, that he owned his lords had given orders that morning for every one to be armed by vespers, and follow the banner of lord James Douglas; that it was to be kept secret; but he was not, for a certainty, acquainted with their intentions further. Upon this the English lords held a council; and they judged, from the information of the Scots knight, that the enemy might perhaps come in full force at night to attack them on both sides at once, and, from their sufferings by famine, which they could endure no longer, make it a very bloody and doubtful combat. The English formed into three battalions, and posted themselves before their quarters, on three separate spots of ground; they made large fires, in order to see better, and left their pages in their quarters to take care of their horses. They remained under arms all the night, and each was placed under his own standard or banner.

Towards day-break two Scots trumpeters fell in with one of the patrols, who took them, and brought them before the lords of the council, to whom they said, "My lords, why do you watch here? You are losing your time; for we swear, by our heads, that the Scots are on their march home since midnight, and are now four or five leagues off—and they left us behind, that we might give you the information." The English said, that it would be in vain to follow them, as they could never overtake them; but, fearing deceit, the lords ordered the trumpeters to close confinement, and did not alter the position of the battalions until four o'clock. When they saw that the Scots were really gone, they gave permission for each to retire to his quarters, and the lords held a council to consider what was to be done. Some of the English, however, mounted their horses, passed the river, and went to the mountain which the Scots had quitted, and found more than five hundred large cattle, which the enemy had killed, as they were too heavy to carry with them, and too slow to follow them, and they wished not to let them fall into the hands of the English alive. They found there also more than three hundred caldrons, made of leather with the hair on the outside, which were hung on the fires full of water and meat, ready for boiling. There were also upwards of a thousand spits with meat on them, prepared for roasting; and more than ten thousand pairs of old worn-out shoes, made of undressed leather, which the Scots had left there. There were found five poor English prisoners, whom the Scots had bound naked to the trees, and some of them had their legs broken; they untied them, and sent them away, and then returned to the army, just as they were setting out on their march to England, by orders from the king and council.

They followed all that day the banners of the marshals, and halted at an early hour in a beautiful meadow, where there was plenty of forage for their horses; and much need was there of it, for they were so weakened by famine, that they could scarce move †. The next day they decamped betimes, and took up their quarters still earlier, at a large monastery

* The fyrst nyght that the englisshe ost was thus lodged on the secund moũtaigne, the lorde William Duglas toke with hym aboute cc men at armes, & past the ryver farre afro the oste, so that he was not parceyued; and sodẽly he brake into the englysshe ooste about mydnyght, crying, "Duglas! Duglas! ye shall all dye, theues of Inglande." And he slewe or he seased ccc men, some in their beddes, and some skan redy, and he *strake his horse with the spurres & came to the kyngis owne tent*, alwayes crying Duglas, and stake a sundre ii or iii cordis of the kyng tent, & so departed.—*Lord Berners.*

† Lord Berners here adds, "The englisshe cronicle

within two leagues of Durham. The king lay there that night, and the army in the fields around it, where they found plenty of grass, pulse, and corn. They remained there quiet the next day; but the king and lords went to see the church of Durham. The king paid his homage to the church and the bishoprick, which he had not before done, and gave largesses to the citizens.

They found there all their carriages and baggage, which they had left in a wood thirty-two days before, at midnight, as has been related. The inhabitants of Durham finding them there, had brought them away at their own cost, and placed them in empty barns. Each carriage had a little flag attached to it, that it might be known. The lords were much pleased at finding them again.

The king and nobles reposed two days at Durham, and the army in its environs, for there would not have been sufficient room to lodge them in that city. They had all their horses well shod, and set out on their march towards York. They made such haste, that in three days they arrived there, and found the queen mother, who received the king and nobles with great joy, as did all the ladies of the court and city. The king disbanded his army, and gave permission for every one to return to his home, and made many acknowledgments to the earls, barons, and knights, for the services they had rendered him by their advice and prowess. He kept near his person sir John de Hainault and his company, who were much feasted by the queen and all the ladies. The knights made out their accounts for horses, which had been ruined or lost, or had died, and gave them in to the council; and also a statement of their own expenses, which sir John de Hainault took upon him as his own debt towards his followers, for the king and his ministers could not immediately collect such a sum as their horses amounted to; but he gave them sufficient for their own expenses, and to carry them back to their own country *. They were afterwards all paid within the year the full amount of their losses.

When the Hainaulters had received their demand for horses, they purchased small hackneys to ride more at their ease, and sent their carriages, sumpter horses, trunks, and servants, on board of two ships, which the king had provided for them, and which landed them at Sluys, in Flanders. They took leave of the king, queen, the earls of Kent and Lancaster, and of all the barons, who paid them many honours; and the king had them escorted by twelve knights and two hundred men at arms, for fear of the archers, of whom they were not well assured, as they must pass through the bishoprick of Lincoln. Sir John and all his company set out, escorted as above, and by easy journeys came to Dover, where they embarked on board vessels ready provided for them. The English who had accompanied them took their leave, and returned to their homes. The Hainaulters arrived at Wissan, where they tarried two days, in order to deck out their horses and the remains of their armour; during which time sir John de Hainault and some other knights went on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. They returned together to Hainault, when they separated, and each went to his own house; but sir John went to his brother, who was at that time at Valenciennes: he was received by him with great joy, as he was much beloved by him. The lord of Beaumont then related to him all the abovementioned history.

CHAPTER XIX.—KING EDWARD MARRIES THE LADY PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT.

SHORTLY afterwards, the king, queen, the earl of Kent, his uncle, earl Henry of Lancaster, the earl of Mortimer, and all the barons who were of the council, sent a

myth that the scottis had been fought withall if syr Roger Mortymer a lorde of Inglande had nat betraied the kyng, for he toke mede and money of the scottis, to thentent they myght departe pryuely by nyght unfoughte with all."—ED.

* In Rymer there is an order from king Edward to his treasurer to pay sir John de Hainault seven thousand pounds, in part of fourteen thousand, the subsidy for himself and companions; dated York, June 28, 1327. In the same year, dated July 4, William d'Irland is ordered to provide carriages for sir John de Hainault and his company. This order, &c. is to continue in force until the following Michaelmas. There is another order to the treasurer from York, August 20, 1327, to pay sir John de Hainault on his arrival in London, four thousand pounds, on account of his loss in horses, and to pawn the jewels in the Tower, if there were not a sufficiency of money for the purpose. A passport, of the same date, commanding none to do any harm, &c. to sir John de Hainault. An order, signed by the king at Evesham, June 28, 1328, for seven thousand pounds to sir John de Hainault, as part of the fourteen thousand pounds.

bishop *, two knights bannerets †, and two able clerks, to sir John de Hainault, to beg of him to be the means that the young king, their lord, should marry; and that the count of Hainault and Holland would send over one of his daughters, for he would love her more dearly on his account, than any other lady. The lord of Beaumont feasted and paid many honours to these messengers and commissioners from the English king. He then took them to Valenciennes, where his brother received them right honourably, and gave them such sumptuous entertainments as would be tiresome to relate. When they had told the cause of their mission, the count said he gave many thanks to the king, queen, and the lords by whose counsel they were sent thither, to do him so much honour; and who on such an occasion had sent such able men that he most willingly complied with their request, if the pope and the holy church of Rome were agreeable to the demand.

This answer was fully satisfactory to them, and they immediately despatched two of the knights and the clerks to the pope at Avignon, to entreat his dispensation and consent to this marriage; for without the pope's dispensation it could not be done, on account of their near relationship, being in the third degree connected, for their two mothers were cousins-german, being the issue of two brothers. As soon as they came to Avignon their business was done, for the pope and the college gave their consent most benignantly.

When these gentlemen were returned to Valenciennes from Avignon with all their bulls, this marriage was directly settled and consented to on each side, and immediate preparations were made for the dress and equipage of such a lady, who was to be the queen of England. She was then married by virtue of a procuration, which the king of England had sent thither, and went on board a ship at Wissan, and landed at Dover with all her suite. Her uncle, sir John de Hainault, conducted her to London, where she was crowned; and there were great crowds of the nobility, and feastings, tournaments, and sumptuous entertainments every day, which lasted for three weeks ‡.

After some days sir John took his leave, and set out with his company richly loaded with jewels, which had been presented to them from different quarters. But few of our countrymen remained with the young queen; among whom was a youth called Wantelet de Manny, to attend on and carve for her, who performed afterward so many gallant deeds of arms, in such various different places, that they are not to be counted.

CHAPTER XX.—ROBERT, KING OF SCOTLAND, DIES.

After the Scots had in the night quitted the mountain, where the young king Edward and the nobles of England had held them besieged, as you have before heard, they marched twenty-two leagues from that desert country without halting, and crossed the Tyne pretty near to Carlisle, where by the orders of the chiefs all disbanded, and went to their own homes. Shortly afterward some of the lords and barons so earnestly solicited the king of England, that a truce was agreed on between the two kings for three years.

During this truce, it happened that king Robert of Scotland, who had been a very valiant knight, waxed old, and was attacked with so severe an illness §, that he saw his end was approaching; he therefore summoned together all the chiefs and barons, in whom he most

* Dr. Roger Northborough, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.—*Ashmole.*

† On knights bannerets, translated from a manuscript which was in the Lamoignon library, but is now at Hafod; vol. iv. p. 227, first part:—

"Knights bannerets were formerly gentlemen of great power, by landed possessions, and vassals, of whom they formed companies in times of war: they were called bannerets from their having the right of bearing banners.

"It was necessary, in order to obtain the prerogative, to be not only a gentleman by name and arms, but also to have for vassals gentlemen who would follow their banners to the wars, under the command of the banneret.

"Ducange cites an ancient manuscript ceremonial, which points out the manner of making a knight banneret, and the number of men he was to have follow him.

"Knights bannerets, according to father Daniel, do not appear in our history before Philip Augustus; they continued until the formation of companies of ordonnance by Charles the Seventh; and from that period there were no longer any banners or knights bannerets.

‡ The englisshe cronicle saith this marriage and coronation of the quene was done at Yorke with moche honour the sonday in the euyn of the cõuersion of saynt Paule in ye yere of our Lord mcccxxvii.—*Lord Berners.*

§ *La grosse maladie*—leprosy.

confided, and, after having told them, that he should never get the better of this sickness, he commanded them, upon their honour and loyalty, to keep and preserve faithfully and entire the kingdom for his son David, and obey him and crown him king when he was of a proper age, and to marry him with a lady suitable to his station.

He after that called to him the gallant lord James Douglas, and said to him, in presence of the others, "My dear friend lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have suffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to support the rights of my crown: at the time that I was most occupied, I made a vow, the nonaccomplishment of which gives me much uneasiness—I vowed, that, if I could finish my wars in such a manner, that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war against the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the adversaries of the Christian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned; but our Lord was not willing, and gave me so much to do in my lifetime, and this last expedition has lasted so long, followed by this heavy sickness, that, since my body cannot accomplish what my heart wishes, I will send my heart in the stead of my body to fulfil my vow. And, as I do not know any one knight so gallant or enterprising, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourself, I beg and entreat of you, dear and special friend, as earnestly as I can, that you would have the goodness to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my soul to our Lord and Saviour; for I have that opinion of your nobleness and loyalty, that, if you undertake it, it cannot fail of success—and I shall die more contented; but it must be executed as follows:—

"I will, that as soon as I shall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have it well embalmed; you will also take as much money from my treasury as will appear to you sufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all those whom you may choose to take with you in your train; you will then deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, since my body cannot go there. You will not be sparing of expense—and provide yourself with such company and such things as may be suitable to your rank—and wherever you pass, you will let it be known, that you bear the heart of king Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond seas by his command, since his body cannot go thither."

All those present began bewailing bitterly; and when the lord James could speak, he said, Gallant and noble king, I return you a hundred thousand thanks for the high honour you do me, and for the valuable and dear treasure with which you intrust me; and I will most willingly do all that you command me with the utmost loyalty in my power; never doubt it, however I may feel myself unworthy of such a high distinction."

The king replied, "Gallant knight, I thank you—you promise it me then?"

"Certainly, sir, most willingly," answered the knight. He then gave his promise upon his knighthood.

The king said, "Thanks be to God! for I shall now die in peace, since I know that the most valiant and accomplished knight of my kingdom will perform that for me which I am unable to do for myself."

Soon afterwards the valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, departed this life, on the 7th of November, 1337. His heart was embalmed, and his body buried in the monastery of Dunfermline. Shortly after died also the noble earl of Moray, who was one of the most gallant and powerful princes in Scotland: he bore for arms, argent, three pillows gules*.

* Thomas Randolph, first earl of Moray, was very eminent in the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted him the earldom of Moray, together with the seigniory of the Isle of Man, as a fief, and great estates in Scotland, about the year 1315. He was appointed by the parliament in 1315 governor of Scotland, in the probable event of the minority of the successor, and entered on that office on the death of Robert.

Lord Hailes says, in his Annals of Scotland, anno 1332: "Randolph, in consequence of the English preparations, assembled an army, and advanced to Colbranspath, on the frontier of East Lothian; but having received intelligence of the naval armament, he marched northwards, to provide for the defence of the interior parts of the kingdom. Amidst the excruciating pains of a confirmed stone, he ceased not to discharge the duties of his office with activity and vigilance. He expired on the march (20th July). A man he was to be remembered while integrity, prudence, and valour, are held in esteem among men."

I have quoted the above as a more probable reason for his death than the report of some of the chroniclers, who have said he was poisoned by a monk, with the knowledge of Edward III. Lord Hailes has added a note to this passage, vol. ii. p. 146, which completely disproves it.

Early in the spring, the lord James Douglas, having made provision of every thing that was proper for his expedition, embarked at the port of Montrose, and sailed directly for Sluys in Flanders, in order to learn if any one were going beyond the sea to Jerusalem, that he might join companies. He remained there twelve days, and would not set his foot on shore, but staid the whole time on board, where he kept a magnificent table, with music of trumpets and drums, as if he had been the king of Scotland. His company consisted of one knight banneret, and seven others of the most valiant knights of Scotland, without counting the rest of his household. His plate was of gold and silver, consisting of pots, basins, porringers, cups, bottles, barrels, and other such things. He had likewise twenty-six young and gallant esquires of the best families in Scotland to wait on him; and all those who came to visit him were handsomely served with two sorts of wine and two sorts of spices—I mean those of a certain rank. At last, after staying at Sluys twelve days, he heard that Alphonso, king of Spain, was waging war against the Saracen king of Granada. He considered, that if he should go thither he should employ his time and journey according to the late king's wishes; and when he should have finished there he would proceed further to complete that with which he was charged. He made sail therefore towards Spain, and landed first at Valentia; thence he went straight to the king of Spain, who was with his army on the frontiers, very near the Saracen king of Granada.

It happened, soon after the arrival of the lord James Douglas, that the king of Spain issued forth into the fields, to make his approaches nearer the enemy; the king of Granada did the same; and each king could easily distinguish the other's banners, and they both began to set their armies in array. The lord James placed himself and his company on one side, to make better work, and a more powerful effort. When he perceived that the battalions on each side were fully arranged, and that of the king of Spain in motion, he imagined they were about to begin the onset; and as he always wished to be among the first rather than last on such occasions, he and all his company stuck their spurs into their horses, until they were in the midst of the king of Granada's battalion, and made a furious attack on the Saracens. He thought that he should be supported by the Spaniards; but in this he was mistaken, for not one that day followed his example. The gallant knight and all his companions were surrounded by the enemy: they performed prodigies of valour; but they were of no avail, as they were all killed. It was a great misfortune that they were not assisted by the Spaniards *.

About this time, many of the nobles and others, desirous of a settled peace between the Scots and English, proposed a marriage between the young king of Scotland and the sister of the king of England. This marriage was concluded, and solemnized at Berwick, with great feasts and rejoicings on both sides.

* Mariana says, lib. xv. cap. 21, that the king of Arragon, although joined in alliance with the king of Castile against the Moors, did not bring his troops to the field.

Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, anno 1330:—"The detached troops fought with equal advantage, and the Moorish cavalry fled. Douglas with his companions eagerly pursued the Saracens. Taking the casket from his neck, which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him and cried, '*Now pass thou onward as thou wast wont, and Douglas will follow thee, or die!*' The fugitives rallied—surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers, Douglas fell, while attempting to rescue sir William St. Clare, of Roslin, who shared his fate. Robert and Walter Logan, both of them knights, were slain with Douglas. His friend, sir William Keith, having had his arm broke, was detained from the battle. His few surviving companions found his body in the field, together with the casket, and reverently conveyed them to Scotland. The remains of Douglas were interred in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the church of Douglas, and the heart of Bruce was deposited at Melrose.

"His natural son, Archibald Douglas, erected a marble monument to his memory; but his countrymen have more effectually perpetuated his fame, by bestowing on him the name of 'the good sir James Douglas.' Fordun reports, that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty-seven times victorious.

"Perhaps my readers will not dislike to see the portrait of Douglas, drawn by Barbour, p. 13.

"In visage was he some deal gray,
And had black hair, as I heard say;
But then, of limbs he was well made,
With bones great, and shoulders braid;
His body well made and lenzie,
As they that saw him said to me.
When he was blyth, he was lovely,
And meek, and sweet in company;
But who in battle might him see,
Another countenance had he;
And in his speech he lispt some deal,
But that set him right wonder well."

CHAPTER XXI.—PHILIP OF VALOIS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.

CHARLES, king of France, son of Philip the Fair, had been thrice married, and yet died without heirs male. The first of his wives, a daughter of the count of Artois, was one of the most beautiful women in the world; however, she kept her marriage vow so ill, and behaved so badly, that she was long confined in prison at Chateau Gaillard, before her husband was king. When the kingdom of France devolved upon him, he was crowned by the twelve peers of France and all the barons, who were not willing that such a kingdom should be deprived of male heirs; they therefore strongly recommended his marrying again, with which he complied, and took to wife the daughter of the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, sister to the gallant king of Bohemia. His first marriage, with the lady in prison, was dissolved by the pope of that day. By this second wife, the lady of Luxemburgh, who was modest and prudent, the king had a son, who died very young, and the mother soon afterward, at Issoudun, in Berry. The cause of their deaths was much suspected, and many were inculpated in it, and privily punished.

The king was afterwards married a third time, to the daughter of his uncle, Lewis, count of Evreux and sister to the king of Navarre. She was called queen Joan. She was soon afterward with child, and at the same time the king fell sick on his death-bed. When he perceived that he could not recover, he ordered, that, if the child should be a son, Philip of Valois, his cousin, should be his guardian, and regent of the whole kingdom, until such time as his son should be of age to reign; that, if it should happen to be a girl, then the twelve peers and great barons were to assemble to take counsel together, and to give the kingdom to him who appeared to them to have the clearest right. About Easter 1326, the king died; and it was not long before the queen was brought to bed of a beautiful girl.

The twelve peers and barons of France assembled at Paris without delay, and gave the kingdom, with one consent, to Philip of Valois. They passed by the queen of England, and the king her son, although she was cousin-german to the king last deceased; for they said,

PHILIP DE VALOIS, KING OF FRANCE.—From an ancient picture, engraved in Mezeray's Hist. of France.

that the kingdom of France was of such great nobleness, that it ought not to fall by succession to a female. They crowned the lord Philip king of France, at Rheims, the Trinity Sunday following. Immediately he summoned his barons and men at arms, and went with a powerful army to Cassel, to make war upon the Flemings, especially those of Bruges,

Ypres, and of the Franc *, who would not willingly obey their lord, the count of Flanders, but rebelled against him, and had driven him out of the country, so that he could reside no where but at Ghent, and there miserable enough.

King Philip discomfited full twelve thousand Flemings †, who had for their captain one Colin Dannequin, a bold and courageous man. The above-mentioned Flemings had put the garrison of Cassel under the command of the aforesaid towns, and at their charges, to guard the frontiers at that place. I will inform you how the Flemings were defeated, and all through their own bad conduct.

CHAPTER XXII.—THE BATTLE OF CASSEL, IN FLANDERS.

Those that were in the garrison at Cassel set out one day, about vespers, with a design to defeat the king and all his army. They marched very quietly without noise in three divisions; the first of which advanced straight to the tents of the king, and was near surprising him, as he was seated at supper, as well as his whole household. The second went to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and almost found him in the same situation. The third division attacked the quarters of the count of Hainault, and nearly surprised him: they pressed him so closely, that he and his people had scarce time to arm themselves; and the lord of Beaumont, his brother, and his company, were in a similar situation. All the three divisions came so quickly up to the tents, that neither the lords nor soldiers had time to assemble or properly arm themselves, and they would all have been slain, if it had not been, as it were, a miracle of God: but, by his grace, each of these lords defeated their enemies, and so completely, that, in the space of an hour, out of twelve thousand Flemings not one escaped. Their captain was also killed. Nor did any of these lords receive any intelligence of the other until the business was finished. Of all the Flemings not one turned his back; but they were all slaughtered on the spot and lay in three large heaps, one upon the other. This battle happened in the year of grace 1328, on St. Bartholomew's day.

The French came then to Cassel, and placed there the banners of France, the town having surrendered to the king. Afterward Poperingue, and then Ypres, and all the castlewick of Bergues followed, and received the count Lewis their lord, and swore fidelity and loyalty to him for the time to come. The king soon after set out with his troops towards Paris, where, and in the neighbourhood, he staid some time. He was much praised and honoured for this enterprise, and for the service he had rendered to the count Lewis, his brother. He lived in great prosperity and increased the royal power. No king of France, it was said, had ever kept so royal a state as king Philip.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE EARL OF KENT AND SIR ROGER MORTIMER PUT TO DEATH.

The young king Edward of England was governed for a long time, as you have before seen by the counsels of his mother, the earl of Kent his uncle, and sir Roger Mortimer; at last a jealousy arose between the earl of Kent and sir Roger, insomuch that sir Roger, with the consent of the queen mother, gave the king to understand that the earl of Kent would shorten his life by poison, if he was not upon his guard, to inherit the kingdom as next heir; for the young brother of the king, called John of Eltham, was lately dead ‡. King Edward believed these tales but too readily, and ordered his uncle, the earl of Kent, to be arrested and publicly beheaded, before any could come to intercede for him. The whole country were much concerned at it, and bore an ill will to the lord Mortimer ever after. Not long after, great infamy fell upon the queen mother—whether with just cause or not I am ignorant,

* "Le Franc, Francomatus, Terra Franca. It is part of French Flanders, and was yielded to the French by the peace of the Pyrenees; it comprehends the bailiwicks of Bourbourg, Bergue, St. Winox, and Furnes, and beside the capital towns of these bailiwicks, those of Dunkirk and Gravelines."—*Dictionnaire Géographique*, par Baudran.

† Lord Berners here and in the previous chapter says sixteen thousand; Dr. Sauvage has twelve thousand in one place and sixteen thousand in another.

‡ Froissart mistakes. John of Eltham lived more than six years after the death of the earl of Kent. There were, beside his elder brother, Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, living, as well as the two sisters of the king, Joan and Eleanor.

but it was commonly said, that she was with child, and in this was the lord Mortimer inculpated. The king was likewise informed, that the lord Mortimer had been the author of all the charges respecting the earl of Kent, and consequently was the author of his death, through jealousy; and that the whole country believed him loyal and honest.

The king then ordered the lord Mortimer to be arrested and brought to London, before him and a very great number of barons and nobles of the realm. A knight, by the king's command, recited all the deeds of the lord Mortimer, from a declaration which he held in his hand. Every one was then asked, by way of counsel, what sentence should be passed. Judgment was soon given; for each had perfect knowledge of the facts, from report and good information. They replied to the king's question, that he ought to suffer the same death as sir Hugh Spencer, which sentence had neither delay of execution or mercy. He was immediately drawn upon a hurdle through the city of London, and placed on a ladder in the midst of the market-place; when he had his private parts cut off, and cast into a fire, because he had thought and acted treasonably. His body was then quartered, and sent to the four principal cities in England; his head remained in London *. The king, soon after, by the advice of his council, ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly castle, and gave her plenty of ladies to wait and attend on her, as well as knights and esquires of honour. He made her a handsome allowance to keep and maintain the state she had been used to; but forbade that she should ever go out or show herself abroad, except at certain times, when any shows were exhibited in the court of the castle. The queen thus passed her time there meekly; and the king, her son, visited her twice or thrice a year.

CHAPTER XXIV.—KING EDWARD PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE FOR THE DUCHY OF GUIENNE.

After king Edward had administered these two great acts of justice †, he took new counsellors, the wisest and best beloved by his people. About a year after the coronation of king Philip of France, when all the barons and tenants of the crown had done him fealty and homage, except the young king, Edward, who had neither appeared, nor had even been summoned, the king of France, by the advice of his council, sent to him the lord of Ancenis, the lord of Beausault, and two clerks learned in the laws, and of the parliament of Paris, named master Peter of Orleans, and master Peter of Maisiers. These four left Paris, and travelled on to Wissan, where they embarked, passed over, and landed at Dover; there they remained one whole day, waiting for the disembarkation of their horses and baggage. They then went forwards and came to Windsor, where the king and young queen resided. They sent to inform the king of the cause of their journey; when king Edward, to do honour to his cousin the king of France, invited them to his presence, and treated them with much favour. After they had delivered their message to the king, he replied, that he had not then his council with him, but he would send for them, and they might now return to London, where such an answer would be given to them as should be sufficient. Upon hearing this, and after they had dined, to their great satisfaction, in the king's apartment, they set out, and lay that night at Coldbrook: the next day they arrived in London.

The king did not delay long in following them, but came to his palace of Westminster, and ordered his council to assemble. They sent for the messengers from France, who, when they had told why they were come, and had given the letters sent by the king their lord, withdrew. The king having asked of his council what was to be done, it was resolved to give an answer according to the ordinances and style of his predecessors, and that the bishop of London should deliver it, which was done as follows:—"Gentlemen, who are come here by the orders of the king of France, I bid you welcome: we have heard your speech, and

* This is not correct.—His body, after hanging for two days and two nights by the king's special command, through his favour, was granted to the Friars Minors, or Grey Friars, in London, who buried him in their church, now called Christ Church; whence, many years afterwards, it was translated to Wigmore.—*Dugdale.*

† Lord Berners says "executions;" a fitter term. The death of the earl of Kent can scarcely be deemed *an act of justice.* The original reads—"ces deux grans justices," which last word is properly rendered executions.

read your letters. We inform you, that we advise the king, our lord, to pass over to France to see his cousin, who so kindly has sent to him; and, moreover, to perform his homage and loyalty, for in truth he is bounden to it by his duty. You will tell the king, your lord, that our king and master will shortly be with him, and do all that is proper and right for him to do."

After the messengers had been well entertained, and received many rich presents and jewels from the king, they took their leave, and returned to Paris, where they found king Philip, to whom they related all that had passed. The king said, he should be very happy to receive his cousin, king Edward, whom he had never seen. When this news was spread over France, dukes, counts, and all the nobility, made great and rich preparations. The king of France sent letters to king Charles of Bohemia and the king of Navarre, to inform them of the day that the king of England was expected to appear, and to desire they would be present. Accordingly they came in very great magnificence. The king of France was advised to receive the king of England in the city of Amiens. There were great preparations made to get apartments, houses, and provision for him and his attendants, as well as for the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, who were provided for by him, and the duke of Burgundy. The dukes of Bourbon and Lorraine, and lord John of Artois, were to be there, with upwards of three thousand horse; and the king of England's suite was to consist of six hundred horse.

The young king did not forget, in this journey to France, to equip himself becoming his rank: he set out from England, accompanied by two bishops with the bishop of London *; four earls—Henry, earl of Derby, his cousin-german, son of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, his uncle, surnamed Wryneck, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Hereford; and six barons—lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Wager, the marshal of England, lord Percy, the lord of Manny, lord Mowbray, and more than forty other nobles and knights †.

There were upwards of a thousand horse attending on and provided for by the king. They were two days in passing from Dover to Wissan. Then the king and his company rode to Boulogne, where he staid one day:—it was about mid-August when the king arrived at Boulogne ‡.

News being soon carried to king Philip, that the king of England was at Boulogne, he directly sent his constable, and a number of knights, to meet him;—they found him at Montreuil sur Mer. After many congratulations and professions of love, the king of England rode on, accompanied by the constable, and he and all his company arrived at Amiens, where king Philip was in all pomp ready to receive him, attended by the kings of Bohemia, Majorca, and Navarre, and a number of dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles. The twelve peers of France were also present, as well to do personal honour to the king of England, as to be witnesses when he should perform his homage.

The king of England was most magnificently received, and he and his company remained there fifteen days, during which time many conferences were held and ordinances framed.

It appears to me, that king Edward at that time did homage by mouth and words, but without placing his hands in the hands of the king of France, or any prince, prelate, or deputy doing it for him. And the king of England, by the advice of his council, would not proceed further in this business, until he should be returned to England, and have examined the privileges of old times, to clear up this homage, and see by what means a king of England was a vassal to the king of France.

The king of France replied, "Cousin, we do not wish to deceive you; what you have hitherto done has been very agreeable to us, and we will wait until you shall have returned into your own country and seen, from the deeds of your predecessors, what you ought to do."

The king of England, taking a friendly leave of the king of France, and of the other princes who were present, returned to England. He journeyed on to Windsor, where the queen received him with much pleasure. She made inquiries after king Philip her uncle, and after her other relations in France. The king, her husband, related to her all that had passed, and the particulars of his magnificent reception, and the great honours that were paid to him in France; which were such that no other country could pretend to do the like.

* Dr. Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London; Dr. John Stratford, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Henry Burwash, bishop of Lincoln.

† See Rymer, anno 1329, for the names of those who passed over to France with king Edward.

‡ In Rymer, there is a memorandum that the king embarked at Dover for France, at mid-day, the 26th of May, 1329.

It was not long before the king of France sent into England the following privy councillors, the bishops of Chartres and of Beauvais, the lord Louis de Clermont, the duke de Bourbon, the count de Harcourt, the count de Tancarville, and other knights and clerks learned in the laws, to attend the conference that was to be holden at London on the subject above mentioned. The king of England had examined in what manner his predecessors had done their homage for what they held in Acquitaine, of which they were styled dukes. Many in England murmured, that their king should do homage to Philip, who had not so near a right to the crown of France as himself. Neither the king nor his council was ignorant of this;—however, a great parliament and assembly were holden on the subject of his homage. The ambassadors from the king of France remained all the winter, till the month of May following, without being able to obtain any definitive answer. At last, the king of England, in conformity to his privileges, in which he put much faith, was advised to write letters in the manner of patents, sealed with his great seal, acknowledging what sort of homage he owed, and ought to pay to the king of France, which letters were in the following terms:

"Edward, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Acquitaine, to all by whom these present letters shall be seen and heard, greeting.

"We make known, that when we paid our homage to our excellent and well-beloved lord and cousin, Philip, king of France, at Amiens, it was required by him of us, that we should acknowledge such homage to be liege, and that we, in paying him such homage, should promise expressly to be faithful and true to him—which things we did not then do, as we were ignorant if they were due, and only paid him general homage in such terms, as saying, we entered into his homage in the same manner as our predecessors, the dukes of Guienne, had in former days entered into homage to the kings of France who for that time were, and being since better informed as to the truth, acknowledge by these presents, that the homage, which we paid to the king of France in the city of Amiens, by general words, was, is, and ought to be considered as liege homage, and that we owe him loyalty and truth, as duke of Acquitaine, peer of France, earl of Poitou, and Montreuil; and we promise to bear him loyalty and truth. That from henceforward no more disputes may arise, we promise for ourselves and our successors, dukes of Acquitaine, that the above-mentioned homage shall be performed in the manner following.

"The king of England, as duke of Acquitaine, shall hold his hands in the hands of the king of France; and the person who shall address his speech to the king of England as duke of Acquitaine, and who shall speak for the king of France, shall say thus: You become liegeman to the king my lord, here present, as duke of Acquitaine, and a peer of France, and you promise to bear him faith and loyalty—Say Yea: and the king of England, duke of Guienne, as well as all their successors, shall say Yea: and then the king of France shall receive the king of England, duke of Guienne, by faith and mouth, saving any other their reciprocal rights.

"Moreover, when the said king and duke shall enter upon his homage to the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montreuil, he shall put his hands into the hands of the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montreuil; and the person who shall speak for the king of France shall address these words to the king as earl, and say as follows: You become liegeman to the king of France, my lord, here present, as earl of Poitou and Montreuil, and you promise to be faithful and loyal to him—Say Yea: and the king, as count of Poitou and Montreuil, shall say Yea: and then the king of France shall receive the said king and earl as liegeman by faith and mouth, saving any other his right. And in this manner shall all future homages be paid. For this cause we deliver over, for us and for our successors, dukes of Guienne, after homages done, letters patent, sealed with our great seal, if the king of France shall require it; and with this we promise to keep on our faith the peace and concord most amicably between the kings of France and the above-mentioned kings of England, dukes of Guienne *."

These letters were carried to France by the aforesaid lords, and the king of France ordered them to be preserved in his chancery.

* See the copy of the original instrument of the homage and the witnesses to it, in Rymer, anno 1329. Also another, of which this in Froissart seems a copy, signed at Eltham, March 31, 1331.

CHAPTER XXV.—ROBERT, COUNT D'ARTOIS, BANISHED FRANCE.

ROBERT, count d'Artois, was the man above all others who had most assisted king Philip to gain possession of the crown; he was one of the wisest and greatest barons in France, of the highest birth, being descended from kings. His wife was sister-german to Philip, whose special companion and friend he had been in all his fortunes; and for the space of three years he managed every thing in France—so that nothing was done without his knowledge.

It happened afterward that king Philip took a violent hatred against the lord Robert, on account of a suit, which was brought before him, that regarded the county of Artois; and the said lord Robert was desirous of obtaining it by means of a letter that he produced, and which, by all accounts, was forged. Had he been arrested in the first movements of the king's anger, he would infallibly have been put to death; he therefore thought it prudent to quit the kingdom of France, and go to his nephew earl John, at Namur. The king ordered his sister, wife of lord Robert, and her two sons, his nephews, John and Charles, to be arrested and shut up in a close prison, out of which he swore they should never come as long as he lived; and since that time, though many spoke in their behalf, they had not greater liberty, for which he was afterward much blamed behind his back.

The king, in his warmth, sent to Raoul, bishop of Liege, begging of him to challenge and make war upon the earl of Namur, if he did not put away the lord Robert from his court.

The bishop, who loved exceedingly the king of France, and little respected his neighbours; did immediately as the king desired. The earl of Namur was therefore advised to send away the lord Robert, which he did much against his inclinations. Lord Robert then went to his cousin, the duke of Brabant, who received him with great joy, and gave him every comfort.

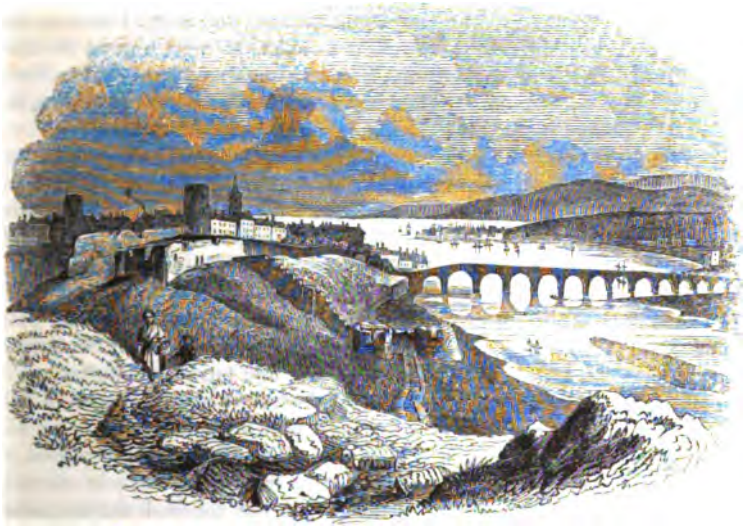
As soon as the king of France knew it, he sent to say, that, if he supported him, or suffered him to remain in his territories, he should not have a worse enemy than himself, and that he would oppress him by every means in his power. The duke, upon this, sent him very privately to Argentau, until he should know in what manner the king would take it. The king, who had spies everywhere, was soon informed of what had passed in Brabant; and was so vexed, that he stimulated by money the king of Bohemia, who was cousin-german to the duke, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis Juliers, the earl of Bar, the lords of Los and Fauquemont, and many other lords, who were soon allied together against the duke, whom they challenged, and entered his territories near Esbaing. They advanced as far as Hannut, and burnt the country at two different times, according to their pleasure. The king of France sent with them the earl of Eu, his constable, with a great company of men at arms. The earl William of Hainault then thought it time to interfere, and sent the countess, his lady, who was sister to king Philip, and the lord of Beaumont, his brother, to France, to intercede with the king for a respite and truce between him and the duke of Brabant. The king made many difficulties, but at last consented, upon condition that the duke should submit himself to whatever he and his council might judge proper for him to do towards the king of France, and towards those lords who had waged war against him. He was also ordered to dismiss the lord Robert from his territories within a certain time, which he was forced to perform, though much against his will *.

CHAPTER XXVI.—KING EDWARD TAKES THE CITY OF BERWICK.

YOU have heard related all that passed between the English and Scotch, during the three years that the truce lasted:—and for one year more the two nations were at peace. This had not happened before for two hundred years, during which they had been constantly at war with each other.

* For further particulars respecting Robert d'Artois, his crimes, trial, &c. see the 8th and 10th volumes of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c., where there are three interesting memoirs concerning him by M. Lancolot, very different from this account of Froissart, or rather of John le Bel. They are too long to be inserted as notes.

It fell out that king Edward was informed, that the young king David of Scotland, who had married his sister, kept possession of Berwick, which of right belonged to his kingdom, and which king Edward his ancestor had held, and the king his father also, very peaceably for a long time afterward. He was also informed, that the kingdom of Scotland was dependent on his crown as a fief, and that the young king of Scots, his brother-in-law, had never acknowledged it, or done homage for it. The king of England therefore sent ambassadors to the king of Scots, to request, that he would withdraw his people from the city of Berwick, and give him possession of it, as it was his just inheritance, and had always appertained to the kings of England his predecessors. They also summoned him to come and do his homage for the kingdom of Scotland, which he ought to hold from the crown of England as a fief.



Berwick upon Tweed.—shewing the remains of the old fortifications.

The king of Scotland took the advice and opinions of his council and chief barons, and made this reply to the ambassadors:

"My lords, I and my barons marvel greatly at the claim you have preferred; for we do not find that any of our ancestors acknowledged the kingdom of Scotland as a fief, or in any ways subject to the crown of England, either by homage or otherwise: my lord, the king our father, of happy memory, would never do homage to any preceding kings of England, whatever wars may have been made on the subject—neither have I any intention or inclination to do it. As for the town of Berwick, king Robert, our father, conquered it from the late king of England by open war, and kept possession of it during his lifetime as his true heritage—I also hope and mean to keep possession of it, and shall do every thing in my power for that end. I shall request of you, that you would have the goodness to entreat the king, whose sister we have married, that he would allow us to enjoy the same liberties as our ancestors have done, and to keep what our father won and held peaceably all his life; and that he would not listen to any evil counsellors; for, if any other prince should wish to do us wrong, he ought to aid and defend us, from the love he must bear to his sister, our queen."

The ambassadors replied, "Sir, we have well heard your answer, and will report it to the king, our lord, in the manner you have told it to us." They then took their leave, and returned to their king, to whom this answer was not very agreeable. He summoned to a parliament, to be holden at London, barons, knights, and councillors, from the chief towns in the kingdom, to have their advice in the present state of affairs.

During the term of parliament, the lord Robert of Artois arrived in England, disguised as

a merchant. The king received him very kindly, appointed him one of his councillors, and assigned to him the earldom of Richmond, which had belonged to his ancestors*

When the day of the meeting of parliament came, and the chiefs of the country were assembled in London, the king ordered what he had written to the king of Scotland to be read, and the answer to it from that king. He then desired they would give him such advice that the dignity of his crown might be preserved. After they had consulted together, it appeared to them, that the king could no longer with honour endure the wrongs which the king of Scots did to him; and they offered him such advice, that he immediately gave orders for every preparation to be made, not only to enable him to regain the good town of Berwick, but to penetrate into Scotland with so powerful an army, that the king of Scotland should think himself happy, if permitted to do his homage, and make satisfaction. They added, that they were willing and desirous to accompany him in this expedition. The king gave them many thanks for their willingness to assist him, and begged of them to be ready, and properly prepared, according to their different ranks, to meet him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by a day fixed. Each returned to his home to make preparations. The king was not idle; and sent other ambassadors to the king of Scotland, his brother-in-law, to give him public notice, and, if he had not altered his mind, to bid him defiance.

The day fixed on drew near; king Edward and all his host came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and waited there three days for the rear and followers of his army. The fourth day he advanced with his whole army towards Scotland, and passed over the lands of the lords Percy and Neville, who are two great barons in Northumberland, and marched forward to meet the Scots. Lord Roos, lord Mowbray, and lord Lisle, did the same. The king with his army drew towards the town of Berwick; for the king of Scotland had not sent any other answer by the second ambassadors than he did by the first; therefore he had been publicly summoned, and defied. The king advanced with his army, and entered Scotland. He was advised not to stop at Berwick, but to march forward, and burn the country, as his grandfather had done before; he therefore marched and destroyed in this excursion all the plain country, and ruined many towns that were enclosed with dikes and palisades. He took the strong castle of Edinburgh, and placed his own garrison therein. He passed the second river in Scotland below Dunfermline; and his people overran the whole country as far as Scone, and destroyed the good town of Dunfermline, but touched not the abbey, for the king had strictly forbidden it. They conquered the country as far as Dundee, and took Dunbarton, a very strong castle on the borders of the Highlands, whither the king, and the queen, his consort, had retired†. No one dared to oppose the English; for the Scots had all retreated to the forests of Jedworth, which are impenetrable, except to those well acquainted with the country. They had carried all their moveables with them, and placed them in safety, and held not what was left behind of any account. It was not to be wondered that the Scots were thus dismayed; their king was but about fifteen years old;

* This seems to be a considerable mistake: for the earldom of Richmond, according to Dugdale, had been in the family of the dukes of Brittany a long time.

"In the 1st of Edward III. John, duke of Brittany, obtained leave to grant the earldom of Richmond, with the castle, and likewise the castle of Bowes, unto Arthur, his brother and heir. On the death of this John, John de Dreux, son of Arthur, did homage for this earldom of Richmond. He died the 16th of May, in the 15th of Edward III. John, duke of Brittany, and earl of Monfort, soon after this event did his homage for it. It continued in this family until John, surnamed the Valiant, united himself to the king of France, contrary to his allegiance, and forfeited it in the second year of Richard II."—*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. i. p. 46.

† "Edward appears to have been at Belford on his march northward, 7th May; Fœdera, tom. iv. p. 557. So that it is probable, that, in a day or two after, he came to Berwick. Froissart relates, that Edward, leaving Baliol with his forces before Berwick, invaded Scotland, wasted the country, penetrated as far north as Dundee, and from thence marched across the island to the neighbourhood of Dunbarton; that he took the castles of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, and placed garrisons in them; and that, after having employed six months in this expedition, he returned to the siege of Berwick. This story has been transcribed by divers historians, who could not distinguish when Froissart was well informed, and when not.

"Froissart has placed in 1333, events which, as to many particulars, occurred afterwards. This *course of six months* is an impossibility; for Edward did not come to the siege of Berwick before May, and the place surrendered on the 20th of July. Besides, it appears from the Fœdera, tom. iv. pp. 558, 564, that Edward was in the neighbourhood of Berwick, May 27th and 30th, the 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 26th June, and the 2d, 6th, and 15th of July: so that he never could have been three weeks absent, and indeed, it is not probable that he was ever absent, from the siege. An invasion of Scotland at that time could have served no purpose of conquest, and, by dividing the army, might have had fatal consequences."—*Lord Hailes' Annals.*

the earl of Moray was still younger; and a youth, named William Douglas, nephew of him who was killed in Spain, was of a similar age: so that the kingdom of Scotland was destitute of good captains.

When the king of England had run over and scoured the plains of Scotland, and had remained there for three months, not seeing any come to oppose him, he garrisoned many castles which he had taken, and thought by their means to make war upon all that remained. He then made a handsome retreat towards Berwick, and in his way he took the castle of Dalkeith, which was the patrimony of the earl of Douglas, situate five miles from Edinburgh; he appointed a governor, with a good garrison. By short marches he came before the good town of Berwick, which is situate at the end of Northumberland, at the entrance into Scotland. The king surrounded it on every side, and said he would never quit the spot until he had reduced it, or the king of Scotland came to force him to raise the siege at the head of his army. It was well supplied with provision, and had a good garrison of men at arms from the king of Scotland, and, besides, was partly surrounded by an arm of the sea. There were assaults and skirmishes every day before the walls of the town, for those of the garrison refused to surrender themselves unconditionally, expecting succour to arrive, in which however they were disappointed. True it is that some Scottish knights formed an expedition to attack the English camp in the evenings, or before day-break; but they made little impression, for the English army was so much on its guard, that the Scots could not make any attack with effect, or without loss of men.

When those who were within the town saw that they had not any hopes of assistance, that their provision began to fail, and that they were so closely besieged by sea and land that nothing could enter, they began to treat with the king; who was prayed to grant them a truce for one month upon condition that if, within that time, neither king David, their lord, nor any one from him, should come with a sufficient force to raise the siege, they should surrender up the town, upon having their lives and fortunes spared, and the soldiers liberty to return whither they would into their own country, without loss or hindrance. This treaty, however, was not immediately concluded, for the king was desirous of avoiding any conditions, to punish those who had held out so obstinately against him: at last he was persuaded to it, by the advice of his council, and particularly of the lord Robert d'Artois, who took a great deal of pains to bring it about. He had accompanied the king in this expedition; and being always near his person, had often told him, from the opinions of several lawyers, that the crown of France belonged to him by right of blood, as he was the immediate heir, by his mother, to the last king. The lord Robert was anxious for the king's leaving Scotland, in hopes that he would carry his arms into France. By these and such like speeches the king was induced to consent to the ratification of the treaty of Berwick.

The Berwickers made the king of Scotland and his council acquainted with their distressful situation, who, after much consideration, could not find out any means to send them succours or assistance: the town of Berwick was therefore surrendered to the king at the end of the month, as well as the castle, which was very handsome and strong, and stood without the town. The marshals of the army took possession of them both, in the name of the king. The citizens then came out to swear homage and fidelity to king Edward, and to acknowledge that they held the town from him. The king made his public entry into Berwick with great pomp and sounding of trumpets, and tarried there twelve days. He appointed as governor thereof a knight, called sir Edward Balliol, with whom he left, when he quitted Berwick, many young knights and esquires, to assist him in keeping the conquests he had made from the Scots, and to guard the frontiers. The king and all his people then returned towards London, and he gave full liberty for every man to go to his own home. He himself went to Windsor, where he chiefly resided, and the lord Robert accompanied him, who never ceased, day or night, from telling him how just his right was to the crown of France; to which the king opened a willing ear, and thought of it with much satisfaction.

Thus ended the king's expedition against the king of Scots. He destroyed the greatest part of the country, and took many more forts than his people had achieved from the Scots for a long time. He placed in them several able and expert knights and esquires; among whom were sir William Montacute and sir Walter Manny, who made many severe skirmishes

and attacks upon the Scots, and according to custom were always victorious. In order the better to secure their entrance and retreat from Scotland, and to harass the country, sir William Montacute fortified the tower of Roxburgh, upon the borders of Scotland, and made it a strong castle, able to resist any attack. He gained so much favour by his enterprises, that the king created him earl of Salisbury, and married him to a noble and honourable lady. The lord of Manny also, who was knighted on this expedition, was nominated a privy councillor, and highly advanced at court. True it is, that the Scots did greatly disturb the English; they kept themselves in the wild parts of Scotland, among marshes and forests, where no one could follow them, and harassed the English so constantly, that there were skirmishes almost every day; in one of which the earl of Salisbury lost an eye, by his too great boldness. In the same forests where the Scots now hid themselves, the gallant king Robert had been forced to seek refuge, when king Edward, grandfather to the present king, overran and conquered the Scottish realm: and many times was he so hard driven, that he could find none in his kingdom who dared to lodge him, or give him succour from any castle or fortress, through fear of this king Edward.

The gallant Robert, after the king had returned to England, collected his people together where he could find them, and reconquered his castles, fortresses, and cities, even as far as Berwick; some by force of arms, others by fair speeches, and through affection. When king Edward heard of this he was sorely vexed, and summoned his host, and never ceased until he had discomfited the Scots, and reconquered the kingdom. Thus it happened between these two kings: and I have heard it related, that king Robert recovered his kingdom five different times. In such manner did these two kings, who were looked upon as the two most gallant knights of their time, bear themselves, until the death of king Edward, at Burgh on the Sands.

When he perceived he could not recover, he called to him his eldest son, who was afterward king, and made him swear, in presence of all his barons, by the Saints, that, as soon as he should be dead, he would have his body boiled in a large caldron until the flesh should be separated from the bones; that he would have the flesh buried and the bones preserved; and that every time the Scots should rebel against him, he would summon his people, and carry with him the bones of his father: for he believed most firmly, that as long as his bones should be carried against the Scots, those Scots would never be victorious. His son, however, did not fulfil what he had sworn; but had his father carried to London and buried—for which much evil befel him, as you have before heard.

CHAPTER XXVII.—KING PHILIP OF FRANCE AND SEVERAL OTHER KNIGHTS PUT ON THE CROSS.

About this time king Philip of France quitted Paris, accompanied by the king of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and a numerous company of dukes, earls, and other lords—for he kept a sumptuous table, and at a great expense—to visit his kingdom. After passing through Burgundy, he came to Avignon, where he was most honourably received by pope Benedict, and by all the college of cardinals, who treated him as magnificently as they could. He remained some time with the holy father and the cardinals, and was lodged at Villeneuve, out of the town. The king of Arragon came also at this time to the court of Rome, to witness these entertainments. There were great feasts and solemnities at their meeting, and they all remained there the whole of Lent.

Whilst they were there, certain intelligence came to the court of Rome, that the enemies of God were marching in great force against the Holy Land, and had reconquered almost the whole kingdom of Rasse*, and taken the king, who had been baptised, and put him to the most cruel death. The infidels also threatened the holy church and all Christendom.

* *Query*, if not Rascie, Rascia, which is a country in Turkey in Europe. It is the northern part of Servia, and takes its name from the river which empties itself into the Morawe. Its principal towns are Belgrade, Semendric, and Galombaz. This country had formerly kings of its own.—Audran. Dic. Geo. Rasse may also be mistaken for *Lyas*, in Armenia, where Cassanus, king of Tharsis, and seven thousand Christians, were slain by the Pagans about this period. *Barnes*, p. 56.

The holy father preached, on the sacred festival of Good Friday, before these two kings, on the sufferings of our Saviour, and exhorted them greatly to put on the cross against these Saracens. The king of France was so much affected, that he took the cross, and entreated the pope to grant him his consent, which he did, and confirmed it by giving him absolution for all sins and faults, if confessed and truly repented of, and the same to all those who should accompany him in this holy expedition. The kings of Bohemia and Navarre, and the king of Arragon, put on the cross, as well as a number of dukes, barons, and other nobles, who were there: the cardinals of Naples, of Perigord, of Ostia, and the cardinal Blanc, adopted it also. The croisade was preached and published over the world, which gave much pleasure to many, especially to those who wished to spend their time in feats of arms, and who at that time did not know where otherwise to employ themselves.

After the king of France and the lords above named had passed a considerable time with the pope, and had settled and managed the business, they took their leave and departed. The king of Arragon returned into his own country. The king of France and his company went to Montpelier, where they remained a long time. During his stay there king Philip completed the peace which was in agitation between the kings of Arragon and Majorca. After having finished this, he set out on his return towards Paris, by short day's journeys, and at much expense, visiting his towns and castles, of which he had great numbers. He passed through the provinces of Auvergne, Berry, Beauce, and Gatinois, and came to Paris, where he was received with much joy.

The kingdom of France was at that time powerful, rich, and compact, the inhabitants at their ease, and wealthy, and no talk of war. This croisade, which the noble king of France had undertaken to lead beyond sea, and of which he had declared himself the chief, was followed by many lords, and by some of them through devotion. King Philip made the greatest and most magnificent preparations that were ever seen to pass the seas;—those of the time of Godfrey of Boulogne, or any others, were not to be compared to them. He had engaged and placed in the different ports of Marseilles, Aiguesmortes, and Narbonne, and in the neighbourhood of Montpelier, such a quantity of ships, carracks, galleys, and barges, as might transport forty thousand men at arms and their stores. He laid in a large stock of biscuit, wines, fresh water, salt meat, and all other provisions, in such plenty, that there might be sufficient, even if they remained there three years.

He sent ambassadors to the king of Hungary, who was a right valiant man, to request that he would make himself ready, and open his country to the pilgrims of God. The king of Hungary consented to it, and very willingly returned him answer that he was prepared. In the same manner the king sent information of it to the king of Cyprus, Hugh de Lusignan, and to the king of Sicily, who made to this end the necessary preparations. The king sent also to the Venetians, to beg that their frontiers might be opened, and sufficient guards and provisions collected, which they complied with, as did the Genoese, and all that coast. He despatched the great prior of France into the island of Rhodes to make preparations there; and the knights of St. John made an agreement with the Venetians for them to victual the island of Candia, which was under their dependence. In short, there were proper provisions made every where to receive the pilgrims of God; and upwards of three hundred thousand persons put on the cross, to undertake this holy voyage beyond sea.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—KING EDWARD IS ADVISED BY HIS COUNCIL TO MAKE WAR AGAINST KING PHILIP OF FRANCE.

At the time when nothing but this croisade was talked of, the lord Robert d'Artois was in England, very near the king's person, whom he was continually advising to make war upon the king of France for wrongfully withholding his inheritance. The king held many councils upon this subject, and consulted with his most special and privy councillors by what means he could maintain his right, for he would gladly amend himself if he knew how. The question was argued, supposing he should demand his right, and it was refused, as it was probable it would be, and he afterwards to sit quiet and not support his claim, he would be

more blamed than if he had never moved in it. He saw clearly that it was impossible for him, and all the force he could bring from his own country, to subdue such a great kingdom as that of France, if he did not obtain powerful friends and assistance in the empire, and in other parts, by means of his money; he therefore frequently demanded of his privy council what opinion they had on this subject.

They at length gave this as their unanimous answer,—"Dear sir, the question is of such importance, that we dare not advise you definitively upon it, but recommend to you, dear sir, to send ambassadors sufficiently instructed to the gallant earl of Hainault, whose daughter you have married, and to lord John, his brother, who has before so valiantly assisted you, to entreat their lordships to advise you how to act, for in such a matter they are better informed than we can be: if they agree with you in opinion, they will give you counsel who are the lords most able to assist you, and also point out the most proper means of gaining them to your interest." The king agreed to this proposal, and entreated the bishop of Lincoln to undertake this journey through affection to him, and desired two knights bannerets, and two counsellors learned in the law, to accompany him on the embassy. They set out as soon as they could, embarked and landed at Dunkirk; whence they rode through Flanders to Valenciennes, where they found William, earl of Hainault, so sorely afflicted with the gout and gravel that he could not move. The lord John, his brother, was there also, by whom they were much feasted: and to them they explained the object of their mission. Upon which the gallant earl said,—"I vow to God, if the king can succeed in this, I shall be much rejoiced; for as you may easily imagine, I feel more interested for him who has married my daughter than for king Philip, who has never done any thing for me although I am married to his sister. He also prevented, clandestinely, the marriage of the young duke of Brabant with my daughter; on which account I will not fail my dearly beloved son, the king of England, in any respect, if his council should advise the undertaking of it. I will also give him every aid, as will John, my brother, now present, who has before assisted him. But know, that you must seek for other supporters more powerful than we are, for Hainault is too small a territory to measure itself with the kingdom of France, and England lies too far off to be of help to it."

"Certainly, sir, you have given us very excellent advice, and testified great love and good will, for which, in the name of our lord and king, I return you my thanks," replied the bishop of Lincoln; "but, dear sir, tell us the names of those lords that you think can best help our master, that we may report them to him."

"Upon my soul," replied the earl, "I cannot think of any lords, that can so powerfully assist him as the duke of Brabant, his cousin-german, the bishop of Liege, the duke of Gueldres, who married his sister, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the lord of Fauquemont:—these are the lords that can, in a short time, furnish greater numbers of men at arms than any I know;—they are very warlike themselves, and, if they choose, can easily make up ten thousand men completely armed and equipped; but you must give them money beforehand, for they are men who love to gain wealth. If by your means the king, my son-in-law and your lord, could ally himself with the lords whom I have just mentioned, and were on this side of the sea, he might pass the river Oise to seek king Philip, and offer him battle."

The ambassadors returned to London with the answer they had received, which, when king Edward heard it, gave him much pleasure and comfort. News of what was going forward was soon carried to France, and by degrees magnified, so that king Philip grew very indifferent to this croisade which had been preached, and of which he had undertaken to be the chief. He countermanded his officers (who were making very great preparations), and gave them directions not to proceed further, until he should see upon what footing the king of England meant to act, as he was incessantly employed in assembling men at arms.

The king of England ordered ten knights bannerets, and forty knights bachelors, in company with the bishop of Lincoln, who was a right valiant man, to cross the sea, and to go straight to Valenciennes, to treat with those lords of the empire, whom the earl of Hainault had named, and to act as he and his brother John might advise. When they were arrived at Valenciennes, all were emulous of the state they should hold, and spared no expenses; for if

the king of England had been there in person, they could not have done more, by which they gained great renown and reputation. There were among them many young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth so that they could not see with it. It was said they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France; nor would they make any reply to whatever questions were asked them; so that all marvelled at their strange demeanour. After they had been sufficiently feasted and honoured at Valenciennes, the bishop of Lincoln and the greater number of them drew towards the duke of Brabant, by the advice of the earl of Hainault. The duke treated them magnificently, and agreed afterward to promise his support and assistance to the king of England, to whom he was cousin-german, with all the means in his power, and to allow him to enter and quit his territories, armed or disarmed, as often as he pleased. He had also promised, by the advice of his council, and for a round sum of florins, that if the king of England, his cousin, would defy the king of France, and enter his territories with a sufficient force, and could obtain the aid of the lords before mentioned, he would defy him also, and join him with a thousand armed men.

The ambassadors then returned to Valenciennes:—by their negotiations and gold, they prevailed upon the duke of Gueldres, brother-in-law to king Edward, the marquis of Juliers for himself, and for the archbishop of Cologne, and his brother Waleran, and the lord of Fauquemont, to come to Valenciennes, to treat with them before the earl of Hainault, who was unable to ride on horseback; and before his brother John. They managed matters so well, by a plentiful distribution of florins among the principals and others, that they agreed to defy the king of France, and to go with the king of England whenever and wherever he pleased, and that each would serve him with a certain number of men at arms with helmets surmounted with crests. Now is the time come when we must speak of lances, swords and coats of mail; and I inform you, that the above named lords promised the ambassadors from England, that they would ally themselves with the lords on the other side of the Rhine, who had the power to bring a large number of men at arms, but they must first be furnished with the means to fix them. These lords from Germany then took their leave, and departed to their own country; the English lords remained some little time longer with the earl of Hainault. They sent many messages to Raoul, bishop of Liege, and would most willingly have drawn him over to their own party; but he would do nothing against the king of France, whose liegeman he was, and to whom he had sworn fealty. The king of Bohemia was not sent to, because they knew he was so connected with the king of France, by the marriage of John, duke of Normandy, with the lady Bona, daughter of that king, that he would never act against him.

CHAPTER XXIX.—JACOB VON ARTAVELD GOVERNS ALL FLANDERS.

During these times of which I am speaking, there were great dissensions between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings; for they would not obey him; nor could he venture to remain in Flanders without great danger to himself.

There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of metheglin, called Jacob Von Artaveld, who had gained so much popular favour and power over the Flemings, that every thing was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with such authority, that no one dared to contradict his orders. Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four score armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his secrets; if he met any man whom he hated or suspected, he was instantly killed; for he had ordered those who were in his confidence to remark whenever he should make a particular sign on meeting any person, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This happened very frequently; so that many principal men were killed; and he was so dreaded, that no one dared to speak against his actions, or scarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handsomely.

When his companions before mentioned had conducted him to his hotel, each went home

to his dinner, and immediately after returned to the street before his house, where they remained making a noise and brawling, until he pleased to come out and go round the town, to pass his time and amuse himself; and thus was he escorted until he chose to go to supper. Each of these soldiers had four Flemish groats a day, as wages, and for his expenses, which he had paid to him very regularly every week. He had also in every town and

Ghent.

castlewick, through Flanders, sergeants and soldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and serve him as spies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel against him, and to give him information. The instant he knew of any such being in a town, he was banished or killed without delay, and none were so great as to be exempted, for so early did he take such measures to guard himself. At the same time he banished all the most powerful knights and esquires from Flanders, and such citizens from the principal towns as he thought were in the least favourable to the earl; seized one half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and support of their children. Those that were banished, of which the number was very considerable, resided for the most part at St. Omer, and were called *les avolez*. To speak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince, who had such perfect command as Jacob von Artaveld. He collected the rents, the duties on wines, and other taxes belonging to the earl, though they were the earl's lawful revenue, in whatever part of the county of Flanders he might reside; he raised also extraordinary subsidies, which he spent and gave away, without rendering account to any one. When he said he was in want of money, he was immediately believed—and well it was for them who did believe him—for it was perilous to contradict him; and if he wished to borrow money of any of the citizens, there was no one that dared to refuse him.

The ambassadors from England, and who kept such honourable state at Valenciennes, as you have before heard, thought among themselves, that it would give their king great comfort and assistance in what he was anxious to undertake, if they could get the aid of the Flemings, who at that time were ill with the king of France, and with the earl their lord. They consulted the earl of Hainault on the subject; who told them, that, in truth, it would be the greatest support they could get; but he did not see how it could be obtained, unless they previously could win the friendship of Jacob von Artaveld. They replied, that they would directly do all in their power to obtain it, and soon after set out from Valenciennes for Flanders, by three or four different roads. One party of them went to Bruges, another to Ypres; but the largest went to Ghent, where they spent such sums, that gold and silver seemed to fly out of their hands. They sought friendship from all, promised largely to some

flattered others, where they thought it would have more effect in gaining their ends. The bishop of Lincoln, however, and his companions, acted their part so well in Ghent, that, by fine speeches and otherwise, they acquired the friendship of Jacob von Artaveld, and great favour in the city, particularly with an old knight who lived in Ghent, where he was much beloved: he was called my lord le Courtisien *, was a banneret, and was looked upon as the most gallant knight and warlike man in all Flanders, who had served his lords right valiantly. This lord having kept company with the English lords, and much honoured them (and every loyal knight should honour strangers), he was criminally accused to the king of France for these distinctions he had paid the English, who instantly sent an order to the earl of Flanders, commanding him by some means or other to get hold of this knight, and to cut off his head. The earl, who dared not refuse obedience to this command, managed so that Courtisien, coming to the place which he had appointed, was immediately arrested and beheaded. This caused infinite grief to many, for he was much beloved by the gentry of the country, and it created much ill will against the earl. The English lords were so active in Flanders, that Jacob von Artaveld assembled several times the chiefs of the principal cities to confer with them on the business they were come about, as well as on the franchises and friendship which the king of England offered to them. The matter being fully discussed, was brought to this conclusion; the chiefs of the principal towns gave their consent that the king of England and his army might pass through Flanders whenever he pleased; but as they were so much obliged to the king of France, they could not annoy him, or enter his kingdom, without suffering too heavy a penalty in a large sum of florins, and entreated the ambassadors to be satisfied with this answer for the present. They returned to Valenciennes much pleased with what they had done. They frequently informed the king, their master, how things were going; and he sent them large sums of money, as well for their own expenses, as to distribute among the lords of Germany, who did not wish for any thing more agreeable.

About this time the gallant William, earl of Hainault, died, on the sixth day of June, 1337. He was buried in the church of Cordeliers, at Valenciennes;—the bishop of Cambray performed the funeral service, and sang the mass. There was a great attendance of dukes, earls, and barons, for he was exceedingly honoured during his life by all ranks of men. After his decease, the lord William, his son, entered upon the countries of Hainault Holland, and Zealand: he had to wife the daughter of duke John of Brabant; her name was Joan, heiress of the rich and valuable lands of Binch †. The lady Joan, her mother, went and resided at the monastery of Fontenelles upon the Scheld, where she passed her days in a devout and charitable manner.

CHAPTER XXX.—CERTAIN NOBLES OF FLANDERS DEFEND THE ISLAND OF CADSANT AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

King Philip, informed of these alliances, and of the influence which the king of England had acquired on that side of the water, would most willingly have attached the Flemings to his party; but Jacob von Artaveld had so entirely subjected them, that none dared to act contrary to his will: even the earl, their lord, could not remain there in safety, and had sent his wife, and Lewis his son, into France. However, certain knights and esquires in garrison on the island of Cadsant, which lies between the havens of Sluys and Flushing, among whom were sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles, son of the lord de l'Estrief, kept possession of it as lords paramount, and defended the passage. They made war underhand upon the English, of which the lords that were in Hainault had information, and also, that if they passed that way into England, they might be encountered, the consequences of which would be disagreeable to them. Notwithstanding this, they rode over the country of Flanders according to their pleasure, and to all the large towns; but they were indebted for this to Jacob von Artaveld, who showed them every honour and support.

* "M. de Siger, a nobleman of Courtray; by allusion to his lands of Contresain, commonly styled the lord of Courtesy."—*Carte*, vol. ii. p. 429.

† A town in the Low Countries, three leagues from Mons, and four from Maubeuge.

These lords went afterward to Dordrecht, where they embarked to cross the sea, and to avoid the passage of the island of Cadsant, where the aforesaid knights and Flemings were in garrison, under the king of France and the earl of Flanders, as has been already related.

The Englishmen returned in the best manner and as privately as they could, to their own country, and to king Edward, who was right glad to see them, and happy in the success of their mission. When he heard how the garrison of Cadsant harassed his people, he said he would shortly settle that business, and immediately ordered the earl of Derby, sir Walter Manny, and some other English knights and esquires, to make themselves ready. They collected a number of men at arms and archers, and embarked them in vessels on the Thames at London: there might be six hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers. When they were all on board, they weighed anchor, and with that tide came to Gravesend, where they lay that first night. The next day they weighed and came to Margate. At the third tide, they hoisted and set their sails, and took to the deep, and passed over to Flanders when, having assembled and properly arranged their vessels, they approached near to Cadsant.

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE BATTLE OF CADSANT, BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FLEMINGS, ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

When the English saw the town of Cadsant, whither they were bending their course to attack those that were within it, they considered, that, as the wind and tide were in their favour, in the name of God and St. George they would run close up to it. They ordered the trumpets to sound, and each made himself quickly ready; they ranged their vessels, and placing the archers on the prows, made full sail for the town. The sentinels and guards at Cadsant had plainly perceived the approach of this large fleet, and taking it for granted that it must be English, had already armed and placed themselves upon the dykes and the sands, with their banners in their proper position before them. They had also created a number of knights upon the occasion, as many as sixteen: their numbers might be about five thousand, taking all together, very valiant knights and bachelors, as they proved by their deeds. Among them were sir Guy of Flanders, a good knight, but a bastard*, who was very anxious that all in his train should do their duty; sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles de l'Estrief, sir Simon and sir John de Bouquedent, who were then knighted, and Peter d'Aglemoustier, with many other bachelors and esquires, valiant men at arms. There was no parley between them, for the English were as eager to attack as the Flemings were to defend themselves. The archers were ordered to draw their bows stiff and strong, and to set up their shouts; upon which those that guarded the haven were forced to retire, whether they would or not, for this first discharge did much mischief, and many were maimed and hurt. The English barons and knights then landed, and with battle-axes, swords, and lances, combated their enemies. Many gallant deeds of prowess and courage were done that day:—the Flemings fought valiantly, and the English attacked them in all the spirit of chivalry. The gallant earl of Derby proved himself a good knight, and advanced so forward at the first assault, that he was struck down: and then the lord of Manny was of essential service to him; for, by his feats of arms, he covered him and raised him up, and placed him out of danger, crying, "Lancaster for the earl of Derby!" They then closed with each other;—many were wounded, but more of the Flemings than of the English; for the English archers made such continual discharges, from the time they landed, that they did them much damage.

The battle was very severe and fierce before the town of Cadsant, for the Flemings were good men, and expert in arms; the earl had selected and placed them there to defend the passage against the English, and they were desirous of performing their duty in every respect, which they did. Of the barons and knights of England, there were, first, the earl of Derby, son of Henry of Lancaster, surnamed Wryneck; the earl of Suffolk, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Lewis Beauchamp, lord William, son of the earl of Warwick, the lord William

* Guy de Rickenburg, bastard brother to the earl of Flanders.—*Carte.*

Beauclerk, sir Walter Manny, and many others, who most vigorously assaulted the Flemings. The combat was very sharp and well fought, for they were engaged hand to fist; but at length the Flemings were put to the rout, and more than three thousand killed, as well at the haven as in the streets and houses. Sir Guy, the Bastard, of Flanders, was taken prisoner. Of the killed, were sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John of Rhodes, the two brothers Bouquedent, sir Giles de l'Estrief, and more than twenty-six other knights and esquires. The town was taken and pillaged: and when every thing was put on board the vessels with the prisoners, it was burnt. The English returned without accident to England. The king made the lord Guy of Flanders pledge his troth, that he would remain a prisoner; but in the course of the year he turned to the English, and did his homage and fealty to the king.

CHAP. XXXII.—KING EDWARD MAKES GREAT ALLIANCES IN THE EMPIRE.

The news of the discomfiture at Cadsant was soon spread abroad;—the Flemings said, that they were not sorry for it, as the earl had placed that garrison there without their consent or advice; nor was Jacob von Artaveld displeased at the event. He instantly sent over ambassadors to king Edward, recommending himself to his grace with his whole heart and faith. He signified to the king, that it was his opinion he should immediately cross the sea, and come to Antwerp, by which means he would acquit himself towards the Flemings, who were very anxious to see him; and he imagined, if he were on that side of the water, his affairs would go on more prosperously, and to his greater advantage. The king of England, upon this, made very great preparations; and when the winter was over, he embarked, accompanied by many earls, barons, and knights, and came to the city of Antwerp, which at that time was held for the duke of Brabant: multitudes came thither to see him, and witness the great state and pomp in which he lived. He sent to the duke of Brabant, his cousin, to his brother-in-law, the duke of Gueldres, to the marquis of Juliers, the lord John of Hainault, and to all those from whom he expected support and assistance, that he should be happy to have some conversation with them. They all therefore came to Antwerp between Whitsuntide and St. John's day; and when the king had sufficiently entertained them, he was eager to know from them when they could enter upon what they had promised, and entreated them to make dispatch: for this was his reason of coming to Antwerp; and as he had all his preparations ready, it would be a great loss to him if they were tardy. These lords of Germany had a long consultation together, and finally made this their answer:—

"Dear sir, when we came hither, it was more for the pleasure of seeing you, than for any thing else; we are not yet in a situation to give a positive answer to your demand; but we will return home, and come again to you whenever you please, and give you so full an answer, that the matter shall not remain with us."

They fixed upon that day three weeks after St. John's day. The king of England remonstrated with them upon the great expenses and loss he should be at by their delays, for he thought they would all have been ready with their answers by the time he had come thither; and added, that he would never return to England, until he knew what their intentions were. Upon this the lords departed, and the king remained quietly in the monastery of St. Bernard: some of his lords staid at Antwerp, to keep him company; the rest went about the country amusing themselves in a magnificent style, and were well received and feasted wherever they came. The duke of Brabant went to Louvain, and made a long stay there; thence he sent (as he had done before) frequently to the king of France, to entreat that he would not pay attention to any reports that were injurious to him, for he should be very sorry to form any connexion or alliance contrary to his interests; but the king of England being his cousin-german, he could not forbid his passing through his country. The day came when the king expected the answers from the above-mentioned lords: they sent excuses, saying, they were not quite ready, neither themselves nor their men; that he must exert himself to make the duke of Brabant prepare to act with them, as he was much nearer to France, and seemed to them very indifferent in the matter; and that

as soon as they should for a certainty be informed that the duke was ready, they would put themselves in motion, and be as soon in action as he should be.

Upon this the king of England had a conference with the duke of Brabant, and showed him the answers he had received, and begged of him, by his friendship and his kindred, that no delay might come from him, for he suspected that he was not warmly inclined to the cause, and added, that, if he were so cool and indifferent, he much feared he should lose the aid of these German lords. The duke replied, that he would summon his council. After long deliberations, he told the king, that he would be ready the moment the business required it—but that he must first see these lords; to whom he wrote, to desire they would meet him at whatever place was the most agreeable to them. The day for this conference was fixed for the middle of August, and it was unanimously agreed to be held at Halle, on account of the young earl of Hainault, who was to be there, as well as the lord John, his uncle.

When all these lords of the empire were assembled in the city of Halle, they had long deliberations together, and said to the king of England, "Dear sir, we do not see any cause for us to challenge the king of France, all things considered, unless you can procure the consent of the emperor, and that he will command us so to do on his account, which may easily be done; for there is an ordinance of a very old date, sealed, that no king of France should take and keep possession of any thing that belongs to the empire. Now king Philip has gotten possession of the castles of Crevecœur, in Cambresis, and of Arleux, in Artois, as well as the city of Cambray, for which the emperor has good grounds to challenge him through us, if you will have the goodness to obtain it from him, in order to save our honour." The king of England replied, that he would very cheerfully conform himself to their advice.

It was then determined, that the marquis of Juliers should go to the emperor, and with him knights and counsellors from the king, and some from the duke of Gueldres: but the duke of Brabant would not send any; he lent, however, his castle of Louvain to the king for his residence. The marquis of Juliers and his company found the emperor at Nuremberg: they obtained by their solicitations the object of their mission; for the lady Margaret of Hainault, whom the lord Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, had married, took great pains and trouble to bring it about. The marquis was then created an earl, and the duke of Gueldres, who was but an earl, was raised to the dignity of a duke. The emperor gave a commission to four knights and two counsellors in the law, who were members of his council, investing them with powers to make king Edward his vicar over all parts of the empire; and these lords took out sufficient instruments, publicly sealed and confirmed by the emperor.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—DAVID, KING OF SCOTLAND, FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH PHILIP, KING OF FRANCE.

About this time, the young king David of Scotland, great part of whose kingdom was seized by the English, which he could not recover from the power of the king of England, quitted Scotland, with his queen and a few followers. They arrived at Boulogne, and thence came to Paris, where the king magnificently received them, gave them one of his castles to reside in as long as they chose, and supplied them with money for their expenses, upon condition that the king of Scotland would never make peace with the king of England but with his consent; for the king of France knew well that king Edward was taking every measure to make war upon him *. The king of France detained the king and queen of Scotland a

* "In such circumstances, it became necessary to provide a safe place of refuge for the young king and his consort; Malcolm Fleming found means to convey them from the castle of Dunbarton into France, where they were honourably entertained."

"Whether David II. was conveyed into France, after the battle of Duplin, in 1332, or after the battle of Halidon, 1333, is a question of little importance. Our later authors have decided in favour of 1333, and not without probable reasons: the chief is, that Baliol, the 23rd November, 1332, offered to marry Johanna, the infant consort of David Bruce; Fœd. tom. iv. pp. 536—539; which he would not have done, had she been conveyed to France immediately after the battle of Duplin, 12th August, 1332. This is a more specious argument than any thing drawn from the Chronicle of Froissart, where dates and facts are strangely misplaced and confounded, as the manner is in colloquial history."—*Lord Hailes' Annals.*

long time; they had every thing they wanted delivered to them, for but little came from Scotland to support their state. He sent also ambassadors to those lords and barons who had remained in Scotland, and were carrying on the war against the English garrisons, offering them assistance, if they would not consent to any pacification or truce without his approbation, and that of their king, who had already promised and sworn the same.

The Scottish lords assembled, held a conference on the subject, agreed most willingly to this request, and sealed and swore to what their king had before promised. Thus was this alliance first formed between the kings of France and of Scotland, which lasted for many years. The king of France sent men at arms into Scotland to carry on the war, under the command of the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, afterward marshal of France, the lord Garencieres, and many other knights and esquires. King Philip imagined that the Scots would find the English too much employment at home, for them to be able to cross the sea; or if they did, at all events in too small numbers to hurt or molest him.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND MADE VICAR OF THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY.

When the king of England and the lords, his allies, had quitted the conference at Halle, the king returned to the castle of Louvain, which he set about preparing for his residence; at the same time he sent to his queen, to inform her of his intentions, and that if she would come to him, it would give him much pleasure, for he should not be able to repass the sea this year. He sent back many of his knights to guard the country, particularly the borders of Scotland. While these things were going forward, the English knights remaining with the king in Brabant spread themselves all over the countries of Flanders and Hainault, living most sumptuously, and giving princely presents and entertainments to the lords and ladies, in order to acquire their good will and favour. Their behaviour was such, that they were beloved by those of both sexes, and even by the common people, who were pleased with their state and magnificence. The marquis of Juliers and his company returned from the empire about All Saints day; and when he sent to inform the king of this, he congratulated him on the good success of his mission. The king wrote him for answer, that he should come to him on the feast of Saint Martin, and demanded of the duke of Brabant to name the place where he wished this conference to be holden, who replied at Arques, in the county of Los*, near to his own country. Upon this, the king gave notice of it, that all his allies might be there.

The town-hall of Arques was hung with rich and fine cloths, like to the presence-chamber to the king. His majesty was seated five feet higher than the rest of the company, and had on his head a rich crown of gold. The letters from the emperor to the king were publicly read, by which the king of England was constituted and established his vicar and lieutenant, and full powers granted to him to do all acts of law and justice to every one, in his name, and also to coin money in gold and silver. These letters commanded all those in the empire, and all his other subjects, to obey his vicar as himself, and that they should do fealty and homage to him as vicar of the empire. Several knights and lords swore fealty and homage before him, and some took advantage of the opportunity of pleading their causes, as if before the emperor, and they were judged as lawfully as if in his presence.

On this occasion an ancient statute was renewed and confirmed, which had been made in former times at the court of the emperor; it directed, that any one meaning to hurt or annoy another should send him a sufficient defiance three days before he committed any hostile act; and that whoever should act otherwise should be degraded as an evil doer. When all this was completed, the lords took their leave, and gave each other their mutual promises to be fully equipped, without delay, three weeks after the feast of Saint John, to sit down before the city of Cambray, which of right belonged to the emperor, but had turned to the French. The lords then set out each for his home, and king Edward, as vicar of the empire, returned to Louvain to his queen, who had lately arrived there with many of the nobility, and well accompanied by ladies and damsels, from England. The king and queen kept their

* The county of Los had formerly its particular counts, and made part of the territories of the bishopric of Liege.

courts there in great state during all the winter, and caused plenty of gold and silver coin to be struck at Antwerp.

The duke of Brabant, however, was not neglectful in sending frequent messages to king Philip of France by the lord Lewis de Travehen, his special counsellor, to excuse himself; for which purpose this knight had made many different journeys; and at last he was commanded to remain near the person of the king, in order to exculpate his master, and contradict any reports that might be circulated against him. The knight did every thing in his power, and becoming his duty.

CHAPTER XXXV.—KING EDWARD AND HIS ALLIES SEND CHALLENGES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

WINTER was now over, and summer come, when the feast of St. John the Baptist approaching, the lords of England and Germany made preparations for undertaking their intended expedition. The king of France also made his preparations to meet them; for he

EDWARD THE THIRD SENDING A CHALLENGE TO KING PHILIP.—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

was well acquainted with part of what they intended, though he had not yet received any challenge. King Edward collected his stores in England, where he made his armaments ready, and, as soon as St. John's day was passed, transported them across the sea to

Vilvorde*, whither he went himself. He made all his people, on their arrival, take houses in the town; and when this was full, he lodged them in tents and pavilions in the fine meadows along the side of the river. He remained thus from Magdalen day until the feast of our Lady in September, expecting week after week the arrival of the lords of the empire, especially the duke of Brabant, for whom all the others were waiting. When the king of England saw that they came not, he sent strong messages to each of them, and caused them to be summoned to be at the city of Mechlin on St. Giles's day, according to their promises, and to give reasons for their delays.

King Edward was obliged to remain at Vilvorde, where he maintained daily, at his own cost, full sixteen hundred men at arms, that had come there from beyond sea, and ten thousand archers, without counting the other followers of his army. This must have been a heavy expense; not including the large sums he had given to the German lords, who thus paid him back by fair promises; and the great force he was obliged to keep at sea against the Genoese, Bretons, Normans, Picards, and Spaniards, whom king Philip supported at his cost, to harass the English, under the command of sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, who were the admirals and conductors of this fleet, to guard the straits and passages between England and France; and these corsairs only waited for information of the war being commenced, and the English king, having challenged the king of France as they supposed he would, to invade England and ravage the country. The lords of Germany, in obedience to the summons, came to Mechlin, where, after many debates, they agreed, that the king should be enabled to march in a fortnight, when they would be quite ready; and, that their cause might have a better appearance, they determined to send challenges to king Philip. At the head of this defiance was the king of England, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, sir Robert d'Artois, sir John of Hainault, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blanckenburg, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, the archbishop of Cologne, his brother sir Waleran, and all the lords of the empire, who were united as chiefs with the king of England. These challenges were written and sealed by all, except the duke John of Brabant, who said he would do his part in proper time and place. They were given in charge to the bishop of Lincoln, who carried them to Paris, and performed his message so justly and well, that he was blamed by no one. He had a passport granted him to return to his lord, who, as said before, was at Mechlin.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—SIR WALTER MANNY, AFTER THE CHALLENGES HAD BEEN SENT, MAKES THE FIRST INCURSION INTO FRANCE.

Sir Walter Manny, a week after these challenges had been sent, and when he imagined the king of France had received them, collected about forty lances, on whom he knew he could depend, and rode through Brabant night and day; so that he came into Hainault, and entered the wood of Blaton, before any of his followers knew where and why they were thus hastening: he then told some of his intimates, that he had made a promise in England, before the nobles and ladies, that he would be the first that would enter France, and take some castle or strong town, and perform some gallant deed of arms; and that his intention was to push forward as far as Mortaigne, to surprise the town, which was a part of the kingdom of France. Those to whom he thus opened himself cheerfully consented to follow him. They then regirthed their horses, tightened their armour, and rode in close order: having passed through the wood of Blaton, they came at one stretch, a little before sunrise, to Montaigne, where luckily they found the wicket open. Sir Walter alighted with some of his companions, and having passed the wicket in silence, and placed there a guard, he then with his pennon marched down the street before the great tower, but the gate and the wicket were close shut. The watch of the castle heard their voice, and seeing them from his post, began to blow his horn, and to cry out "Treason! treason!" This awakened the soldiers and inhabitants, but they did not make any sally from the fort. Sir Walter, upon this, retreated handsomely into the street, and ordered those houses to be set on fire that were near the

* A small town in Brabant, between Brussels and Mechlin, on the river Senne.

castle: full fifty houses were burnt that morning, and the inhabitants much frightened, as they concluded they must all have been taken prisoners; but sir Walter and his company marched away, and came straight to Condé, where they passed by the pond and river Haynes, taking the road to Valenciennes; leaving which on the right hand, they came to Avesnes, and took up their quarters in the abbey. They then pushed forward towards Bouchain, and managed matters so well with the governor, that the gates of the castle were opened to them: they crossed a river which empties itself into the Scheld, and which rises near Arleux. Afterward they came to a very strong castle, called Thin-l'Evêque, that belonged to the bishop of Cambray, which was so suddenly surprised, the governor and his wife were taken in it. Sir Walter placed a strong garrison there, and made his brother, sir Giles Manny, governor, who gave much disturbance to the Cambresians, as this castle was but a short league from the city of Cambray. When sir Walter had performed these enterprises, he returned into Brabant towards the king, his lord, whom he found at Mechlin, and related to him all that he had done.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—THE FRENCH, AFTER THE CHALLENGES, INVADE ENGLAND.

Upon king Philip's receiving the challenges from king Edward and his allies, he collected men at arms and soldiers from all quarters; he sent the lord Gallois de la Bausme, a good knight from Savoy, to the city of Cambray, and made him governor thereof, in conjunction with sir Thibault de Marneil and the lord of Roye: they might be, including Spaniards and French, full two hundred lances. The king seized the county of Ponthieu, which the king of England had before held by right of his mother; and he also sent and entreated some lords of the empire, such as the count of Hainault his nephew, the duke of Lorrain, the count of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Liege, not to commit any hostile acts against him or his kingdom. The greater part of them answered as he could have wished; but the count of Hainault, in a very civil reply, said that although he should be at all times ready to assist him or his realm against any one, yet as the king of England made war in behalf of the empire, as vicar and lieutenant of it, he could not refuse him aid and assistance in his country, as he held lands under the empire. The king of France appeared satisfied with this answer, not however laying much stress on it, as he felt himself in sufficient strength to oppose his enemies.

As soon as sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoir, were informed that hostilities had commenced, they landed one Sunday morning in the harbour at Southampton, whilst the inhabitants were at church; Normans, Picards, and Spaniards entered the town, pillaged it, killed many, deflowered maidens and forced wives; and having loaded their vessels with the booty, they fell down with the tide, and made sail for the coast of Normandy. They landed at Dieppe, and there divided the plunder.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—KING EDWARD BESIEGES THE CITY OF CAMBRAY.

The king of England from Mechlin went to Brussels to see the duke of Brabant: his people passed by without entering it. There a large body of Germans, at least twenty thousand men, joined the king, who asked the duke of Brabant what his intentions were—to go before Cambray or to desert his cause. The duke replied, that, as soon as he should know that Cambray was besieged, he would come thither with twelve hundred lances of good men at arms; which answer pleased the king much. The king took his departure, and lay that night at Nivelle; the next day he came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the young count of Hainault and his uncle, who received him joyfully. The lord Robert d'Artois was always with the king, and of his privy council. He was attended by sixteen or twenty great barons and knights from England, whom he carried with him by way of state, and also as his council. The bishop of Lincoln was among them, who was much

renowned in this expedition for his wisdom and valour. The English pushed forward, and lodged themselves on the roads in the flat countries through which they passed, and found provision at hand for their money; but some paid and others not.

When the king had reposed himself two days at Mons, in Hainault, he came to Valenciennes, which he entered, taking with them but twelve knights. The count of Hainault was already arrived there, accompanied by the lord John, his uncle, the lord of Faguinelles, the lord of Verchin, and the lord of Havareth, with many others, who attended on the person of the count, their lord. The count took the king by the hand, and led him to the great hall, which was properly prepared to receive him, and as they were ascending the steps, the bishop of Lincoln, then present, raised his voice and said, "William d'Aussonne, bishop of Cambray, I admonish you, as proctor on the part of the king of England, vicar of the emperor of Rome, that you consent to open the gates of the city of Cambray; and if otherwise you shall do, you will forfeit your lands and we will enter by force." No reply was made, for the bishop of Cambray was not present. The bishop of Lincoln continued, and said, "earl of Hainault, we admonish you on the part of the emperor of Rome, that you come and assist the king of England, his vicar, before the city of Cambray, with all your forces." The earl made answer, and said, "Willingly." They then entered the hall, and conducted the king to his chamber. Shortly after the supper was served up, which was sumptuous and splendid. The next day the king departed, and came to Haspre on the Selle. Having halted there two days, till the greater part of his forces had passed by, he set out and came before Cambray; when, having fixed his quarters opposite to it, he surrounded with his army the whole city, his forces every day increasing.

The young earl of Hainault came thither with a large body of men, accompanied by his uncle, sir John, and they took up their quarters near to those of the king. They were followed by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Saunes, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and all the other lords of the empire, allies of the king, with their forces. On the sixth day after the king and these lords had taken their position before Cambray, the duke of Brabant arrived with a fine army: there were full nine hundred lances, without counting the other armed men, of whom there were numbers. He took up his quarters at Ostrenant upon the Scheld, over which a bridge was thrown for the communication of one army with the other. The duke of Brabant was no sooner arrived, than he sent his challenge to the king of France, who was at Compiègne; at which sir Lewis de Travehen, who had hitherto exculpated him, was so confounded, that he would not return into Brabant, but died of grief in France.

During the siege of Cambray there were many skirmishes and combats; sir John of Hainault, and the lord of Fauquemont, as usual, made their excursions together, and burnt and destroyed much of the country of Cambresis. These lords, with five hundred lances, and a thousand other men at arms, came to the castle of Oisy, in Cambresis, and assaulted it so furiously, that it would have been taken, if the knights and esquires within had not most valiantly defended it for the lord of Coucy; so that little damage was done, and these lords returned to their quarters. The earl of Hainault and his forces came one Saturday to the gates of St. Quentin, and made a vigorous attack upon them. John Chandos, as yet but an esquire (of whose prowess this book will speak much), flung himself between the barrier and the gate, at the length of a lance, and fought very gallantly with an esquire of Vermandois, called John de Saint Dizier: each of them performed great deeds of valour; and the Hainaulters got possession by force of the barriers. The earl of Hainault and his marshals, sir Gerard de Verchin and sir Henry d'Antoing, were present, and advantageously posted, as well as many others, who ventured boldly in the pursuit of honour. The lords of Beaumont, Fauquemont, Anghien, sir Walter Manny, with their forces, were at a gate, called Robert's gate, upon which they made a brisk attack; but those of Cambray, and the soldiers whom the king of France had sent thither, defended themselves with so much valour and skill, that the assilants gained no advantage, but retreated to their quarters well beaten and tired. The young earl of Namur came to serve under the earl of Hainault, according to his request, and said that he would be of their party so long as they remained in the empire; but, the moment they entered France, he should go and join the king of France. who had

retained him, and entreated him so to do. This also was the intention of the earl of Hainault, who had commanded his people, that none should dare to commit any acts of violence in the kingdom of France under pain of death.

Whilst the king of England was besieging the city of Cambray with full forty thousand men at arms, and pressing it closely by different assaults, the king of France assembled his forces at Peronne, in the Vermandois. About this time the king of England called a council of those from his own country, and particularly sir Robert d'Artois, in whom he had much confidence, and demanded of them, whether it were best to enter the kingdom of France, and go to meet his adversary, or to remain before Cambray until he should have taken it. The lords of England, and his privy councillors, seeing the city was strong and well provided with men, provision, and artillery, and that it would take some time to conquer it—of which, however, they were not well assured, for no great deeds of arms had yet been performed—that the winter was fast approaching, and that they were there at a very great expense, gave their opinion, that the king should push forward into France; for he could there find plenty of forage, and a greater supply of provision. This counsel was followed; and all the lords were ordered to dislodge and pack up their tents, pavilions, and baggage. They advanced towards Mont St. Martin, which is upon the borders of France, and they marched very regularly by companies, each lord with his own people.

The earls of Northampton, Gloucester, and Suffolk, were the marshals of the English host, and the earl of Warwick was the constable of England. They easily passed the river Scheld, not far from Mont St. Martin, for it is not very wide at that place. When the earl of Hainault had accompanied the king of England as far as the boundaries of the Empire, so that if he passed the Scheld he would be in the kingdom of France, he took his leave, saying he would not advance further with him at this time; for as he had been sent to, and his aid requested by king Philip, his uncle, whose ill-will he wished not to incur, he would go serve him in France, as he had served the king of England in the Empire. The king replied, "God assist you." The earls of Hainault and Namur then turned back, and went to Quesnoy with all their troops; the earl of Hainault disbanded the greater part of his, but desired of them to hold themselves in readiness, for he should shortly go to the assistance of the king of France, his uncle.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—KING EDWARD CREATES SIR HENRY OF FLANDERS A KNIGHT*, AND AFTERWARD MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

As soon as the king of England had passed the Scheld, and had entered thekingdom of France, he called to him the lord Henry of Flanders, who was but a young esquire, and knighted him—at the same time giving him two hundred pounds sterling a year, properly secured in England. The king was lodged in the abbey of Mont St. Martin, where he remained two days; his troops were scattered round about in the country. The duke of Brabant was quartered at the monastery of Vaucelles. When the king of France, who was at Compiègne, heard this news, he increased his forces every where, and sent the earl of Eu and Guines, his constable, with a large body of men at arms, to St. Quentin, to guard that town and the frontiers against his enemies. He sent the lords of Coucy and of Ham to their castles, and a great number of men at arms to Guise, Ribemont, Bouchain, and the neighbouring fortresses on the borders of his kingdom; and came himself to Peronne, in the Vermandois. During the time the king of England was at the abbey of Mont St. Martin, his people overran the country as far as Bapaume, and very near to Peronne and St. Quentin: they found it rich and plentiful, for there had not been any wars in those parts.

Sir Henry of Flanders, to do credit to his newly acquired knighthood, and to obtain

* His name was Henry Eam. He was eight years afterward knighted, or, more probably, made a banneret, by the prince of Wales, who settled on him one hundred marks for his life, payable from the manor of Bradenash, in the county of Devon. He was also the twenty-fourth knight of the garter.—*Ashmole.*

honour, made one of a party of knights, who were conducted by sir John de Hainault. There were among them the lords of Fauquemont, Bergues, Vaudresen, Lens, and many others, to the number of five hundred combatants: they had a design upon a town in the neighbourhood, called Hennecourt, whither the greater number of the inhabitants of the country had retired, who, confiding in the strength of this fortress, had carried with them all their moveables. Sir Arnold of Bacqueghen and sir William du Dunor had already been there, but had done nothing: upon which all these lords had collected together, and were desirous of going thither to do their utmost to conquer it. There was an abbot at that time in Hennecourt of great courage and understanding, who ordered barriers to be made of wood-work around the town, and likewise to be placed across the street, so that there was not more than half a foot from one post to another; he then collected armed men, provided stones, quick-lime, and such like instruments of annoyance, to guard them. As soon as the lords above-mentioned came there, the abbot posted his people between the barriers and the gate, and flung the gate open; the lords dismounted and approached the barriers, which were very strong, sword in hand, and great strokes were given to those within, who defended themselves very valiantly. Sir Abbot did not spare himself; but, having a good leathern jerkin on, dealt about his blows manfully, and received as good in his turn. Many a gallant action was performed; and those within the barriers flung upon the assailants stones, logs, and pots full of lime, to annoy them.

It chanced that sir Henry of Flanders, who was one of the foremost, with his sword attached to his wrist, laid about him at a great rate: he came too near the abbot, who caught hold of his sword, and drew him to the barriers with so much force, that his arm was dragged through the grating, for he could not quit his sword with honour. The abbot continued pulling, and had the grating been wide enough, he would have had him through, for his shoulder had passed, and he kept his hold, to the knight's great discomfort. On the other side, his brother knights were endeavouring to draw him out of his hands; and this lasted so long, that sir Henry was sorely hurt: he was, however, at last rescued—but his sword remained with the abbot. And at the time I was writing this book, as I passed through that town, the monks showed me this sword, which was kept there, much ornamented. It was there that I learnt all the truth of this assault. Hennecourt was very vigorously attacked that day; and it lasted until vespers. Many of the assailants were killed or wounded. Sir John of Hainault lost a knight from Holland, called sir Herman, who bore for arms a fess componé gules, and in chief, three buckles azure. When the Flemings, Hainaulters, English, and Germans, who were there, saw the courage of those within the town, and that, instead of gaining any advantage, they were beaten down and wounded, they retreated in the evening, carrying with them to their quarters the wounded and bruised.

On the next morning the king departed from Mont St. Martin, and ordered, under pain of death, that no damage should be done to the abbey, which was observed. They then entered the Vermandois, and at an early hour took up their lodgings on Mont St. Quentin. They were in a regular order of battle; and those of St. Quentin might have encountered them, had they chosen it, but they had no desire to issue out of the town. The scouts of the army went up to the barriers, and skirmished with those who were there. The constable of France and sir Charles de Blois drew up their people in order of battle before the barriers; and when the Englishmen, among whom were the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Northampton, sir Reginald Cobham, and many others, saw the manner in which it was done, they retreated to the main army of the king, which remained encamped on the hill until four o'clock the next morning. A council was then held, to consider whether they should march straight into France, or draw towards Tierache, keeping near the borders of Hainault. By the advice of the duke of Brabant, the latter plan was followed, as from that country they drew all their provision; and they resolved, that if king Philip should follow them with his army, as they supposed he would, they would wait for him in the plains, and give him battle without fail. They then set out from Mont St. Quentin, ranged in a regular order, in three battalions. The marshals and the Germans led the van, the king of England the centre, and the duke of Brabant the rear: they advanced not more

than three or four leagues a day, halting early, but burning and pillaging all the country they passed through.

A troop of English and Germans crossed the river Somme, a little below the abbey of Vermans, to which they did much damage; another troop, under the command of sir John of Hainault, and the lords of Fauquemont and Bacqueghen, went by a different road, and came to Origny St. Benoit*, a tolerably good town, but weakly enclosed; so that it was soon taken by assault, robbed, and pillaged, an abbey of nuns violated, and the whole town burnt. They then marched forward towards Guise and Ribemont. The king of England came and lodged at Vehories, where he remained a whole day, whilst his people overran all the country thereabouts, and laid it waste. The king then took his road to la Flamengrie, in his way to l'Eschelle, in Tierache: the marshals, with the bishop of Lincoln, accompanied by upwards of five hundred lances, crossed the river Trisagee, entered the Laonnois, near the estate of the lord of Coucy, and burnt St. Gouvin and the town of Marle. They lay one night at Vau, below Laon, and the next day returned to the main army, as they had learnt from some of their prisoners that king Philip of France was come to St. Quentin with one hundred thousand men, and there intended to cross the river Somme. They burnt in their retreat a very good town, called Crecy-sur-Selle, with a great many others, as well as villages, in that neighbourhood.

We must now speak of the expedition of sir John of Hainault, who had with him full five hundred fighting men. He came first to Guise, which he burnt, and destroyed the mills. In the fortress was the lady Jane, his daughter, wife of Lewis earl of Blois: she begged of her father to spare the lands and heritage of his son-in-law; but in vain, for sir John would not depart, until he had completed the purpose of his expedition. He then returned to the king, who was lodged in the abbey of Sarnaques, while his people overran the country. The lord of Fauquemont led six score German lances to Lonnion, in Tierache, a large level town; the inhabitants of which had almost all retired with what they could carry off into the woods, and there had fortified their position, by cutting down large trees. The Germans followed them, and being joined by sir Arnold Bacqueghen and his company, they attacked the people of Lonnion in the wood, who defended themselves as well as they could: but they were overpowered and obliged to flee. There were about forty killed and wounded, and all they brought there plundered. Thus was this country ruined without any hindrance; and the English acted as they thought proper.

CHAPTER XL.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND APPOINT A DAY FOR THEIR ARMIES TO ENGAGE.

King Edward set out from Sarnaques, and came to Montreuil, where he lay one day, and on the morrow to La Flamengrie, where he cantoned all his people near him: their numbers amounted to more than forty thousand men. He held a council, and resolved, that he would wait for king Philip and his army, and would there offer them battle. The king of France had left St. Quentin, where he was daily receiving reinforcements, with all his army, and advanced as far as Vironfosse, where he stopped, and ordered his army to halt, saying he would not move further, before he fought the king of England and his allies, who were not more than two leagues distant. As soon as the earl of Hainault, who had remained at Quesnoy with his men at arms, was informed that the king of France was at Vironfosse, in expectation of giving battle, he pushed forward and joined the army of France with about five hundred lances, and presented himself before his uncle, who did not receive him very graciously, because he had been with his adversary before Cambray: nevertheless the earl excused himself so handsomely, that the king and his counsellors were well enough satisfied. It was ordered by the marshals, that is to say, by the marshals Bertrand and De Trie, that the earl should be posted very near to the English army. The quarters of the two kings were on the plain between Vironfosse and La Flamengrie, without any advantage of ground—and in

* A small town in Picardy, three leagues from St. Quentin.

the memory of man there had not been seen so fine an assembly of great lords; for the king of France was there in person, and had with him king Charles of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and the king of Scotland, dukes, counts, barons, and knights without number, and they were daily increasing.

When the king of England had halted in the champaign country of Tierache, as you have before heard, he was informed, that the king of France was within two leagues of him, and eager to give him battle; he therefore summoned the chiefs of his army, and demanded of them the best method of preserving his honour, as his intention was to accept the combat. The lords looked at each other, and requested the duke of Brabant to give his opinion. The duke replied, that he was for fighting, as they could not depart honourably without it; and he advised, that a herald should be sent to the king of France, to offer him battle, and to fix the day. A herald, who belonged to the duke of Gueldres, and spoke French well, had this commission. After being imformed what he was to say, he rode to the French army, and coming to the king and his counsellors, told them, that the king of England, having halted in the plains, demanded and required the combat of one army against the other. To this king Philip answered willingly, and appointed the Friday following for the day, this being Wednesday. The herald returned back, well clothed with handsome furred mantles, which the king and lords of France had given him for the sake of the news he had brought, and related the good cheer he had received. The day being thus fixed, information of it was given to the captains of either army, and every one made his preparations accordingly.

On the Thursday morning, two knights belonging to the earl of Hainault, the lords of Faguinelles and Tupegny, mounted their steeds; and these two leaving their own army, set out to view that of the English. They rode on for some time boldly along the line of the English army; when it chanced that the horse of the lord of Faguinelles took fright, ran off in spite of all the efforts of his master, and carried him, whether he would or no, to the quarters of the enemy. He fell into the hands of the Germans, who, soon perceiving he did not belong to their party, surrounded him and his horse, and took him prisoner. He remained prisoner to five or six German gentlemen, who immediately ransomed him. When they found out that he was a Hainaulter, they asked him whether he knew sir John of Hainault; he replied, Yes, and begged of them, for the love of God, to carry him to him, because he was sure he would be security for his ransom. The Germans were delighted at this, and carried him to sir John, who pledged himself for his ransom. The lord of Faguinelles thereupon returned to the army of Hainault, to his earl and other lords. His steed was returned to him through the entreaties of the above lord of Beaumont. Thus passed that day, without any other thing occurring worthy of being recorded.

CHAPTER XLI.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND DRAW UP THEIR ARMIES IN BATTLE ARRAY AT VIRONFOSSE.

When Friday morning was come, the two armies got themselves in readiness, and heard mass, each lord among his own people, and at his own quarters: many took the sacrament and confessed themselves. We shall speak first of the English order of battle, which was drawn out on the plain, and formed three battalions of infantry. They placed their horses and baggage in a small wood behind them, and fortified it. The first battalion was commanded by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blanckenburg, sir John de Hainault, the earls of Mons and Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, sir William du Fort, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the Germans. There were twenty-two banners and sixty pennons; and the whole consisted of eight thousand good men.

The second battalion was under the duke of Brabant, with whom were the barons and knights of his country. First, the lord of Kus, the lord of Breda, the lord of Berques, the lord of Rodas, the lord of Vauselaire, the lord Broguinal, the lord d'Estonnevort, the lord of Wyten, the lord d'Elka, the lord of Cassebegne, the lord of Duffle, sir Thierry de Valcourt, sir Rasse de Gres, sir John de Cassebegne, sir Walter de Hautebergue, the three brothers De Harlebeque, sir John Fitifee, sir Giles de Cotterebe, sir Henry of Flanders, whom he had

before occasion to mention, and several other barons and knights of Flanders, who were under the banner of the duke of Brabant; that is to say, the lords of Hallain and Guiten, sir Hector Villains, sir John of Rhodes, sir Vauflart de Guistelles, sir William d'Estrates, sir Gossuin de la Muelle, and many more. The duke of Brabant had with him twenty-four banners and eighty pennons; the whole amounting to seven thousand men.

The third battalion, which was the greatest, was commanded by the king of England in person. With him were, his cousin, the earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, the earls of Northampton and Gloucester, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert d'Artois, who was called earl of Richmond, the earl of Hereford, sir Reginald Cobham, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, sir Lewis and sir John Beauchamp, the lord Delaware, the lord Lincoln, the lord Basset, the lord Fitzwalter, sir Walter Manny, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, and many others, whom I cannot name. The king created many knights; among whom was sir John Chandos*, whose numerous acts of prowess are recorded in this book. The king had twenty-eight banners and ninety pennons; and there might be in his division about six thousand men at arms, and the same number of archers. He had formed on his wing another battalion, under the command of the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Berkeley, the lord Molins, and some others, who were on horseback, in order to rally those that might be thrown into disorder, and to serve as a rear guard. When every thing had been thus arranged, and each lord under his proper banner, as had been ordered by the marshals, the king mounted an ambling palfrey, and, attended only by sir Robert d'Artois, sir Reginald Cobham, and sir Walter Manny, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honour, which they all promised. He then returned to his own division, set himself in battle array as became him, and ordered that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals.

We will now speak of the king of France, as it has been related by those who were present. There were eleven score banners, four kings, six dukes, twenty-six earls, upwards of five thousand knights, and more than forty thousand common men. With Philip de Valois, king of France, were, the kings of Bohemia, of Navarre, and of Scotland; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorrain, and Athens; the earls of Alençon (the king's brother,) of Flanders, of Hainault, of Blois, of Bar, of Forets, of Foix, of Armagnac, the earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earls of Longueville, of Estampes, of Vendôme, of Harcourt, of St. Pol, of Guines, of Boulogne, of Roussy, of Dammartin, of Valentinois, of Auxerre, of Sancerre, of Geneve, of Dreux; and from Gascony and Languedoc so many earls and viscounts, that it would take up too much time to name them. It was a fine sight to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, the knights and esquires richly armed. The French were formed in three large battalions, each consisting of fifteen thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand men on foot.

CHAPTER XLII.—THE TWO KINGS RETIRE FROM VIRONFOSSE WITHOUT GIVING BATTLE.

It was a matter of much wonder how two such fine armies could separate without fighting. But the French were of contrary opinions among themselves, and each spoke out his thoughts. Some said it would be a great shame, and very blameable, if the king did not give battle when he saw his enemies so near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promise: others said it would exhibit a singular instance of madness to fight, as they were not certain that some treachery was not intended; besides, if fortune should be unfavourable, the king would run a great risk of losing his kingdom, and if he should conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain possession of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day passed until near twelve o'clock in disputes and debates. About noon a hare was started in the plain, and

* Neither Lord Berners' nor Sauvage's edition make mention of this creation of knights, but speak of sir John Chandos as already a knight.—Ed.

ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting and noise, which caused those in rear to imagine the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords. Several new knights were made, especially by the earl of Hainault, who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare*.

In this situation the two armies remained all Friday, without moving, except as has been mentioned. In the midst of the debates of the council of the king of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert king of Sicily, addressed to him and his council. This king Robert was, as they said, a very great astrologer and full of deep science; he had often cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his astrology and the influence of the stars, that, if the king of France fought with the king of England in person, he would surely be defeated; in consequence of which, he, as a wise king, and much fearing the danger and peril of his cousin the king of France, had sent long before letters, most earnestly to request king Philip and his council never to give battle to the English when king Edward should be there in person. These doubts, and this letter from the king of Sicily, made many of the lords of France sore disheartened, of which the king was informed, who, notwithstanding, was very eager for the combat; but he was so strongly dissuaded from it, that the day passed quietly, and each man retired to his quarters.

When the earl of Hainault saw that there was no likelihood of a battle, he departed with all his people, and returned to Quesnoy. The king of England, the duke of Brabant, and the other lords, began to prepare for their return, packed up their baggage, and came that Friday night to Avesnes, in Hainault, where they took up their quarters, and in its neighbourhood. The next day the Germans and Brabanters took their leave, and returned to their homes. The king of England went to Brabant with the duke, his cousin.

The king of France, the Friday afternoon that the two armies had been drawn out in order of battle, retired to his lodgings, very angry that the combat had not taken place; but those of his council told him he had acted right well, and had valiantly pursued his enemies, insomuch that he had driven them out of his kingdom, and the king of England must make many such expeditions before he could conquer the kingdom of France. The next day king Philip gave permission for all to depart, dukes, barons, knights, &c., most courteously thanking the leaders for having come so well equipped to serve and assist him. Thus ended this great expedition, and every man returned to his own house. The king of France went to St. Omer, and gave there his principal orders for public affairs. He despatched a great number of men at arms into his garrisons, especially to Tournay, Lisle, and Douay, and to all the towns bordering on the empire. He sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, and made him governor-general and regent of all the country thereabout, and sir Edward de Beaujeu to Mortaigne; and when he had ordered the rest of his business to his liking, he drew towards Paris.

CHAPTER XLIII.—KING EDWARD ASSUMES THE ARMS AND TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE.

When king Edward had departed from La Flamengrie, and arrived in Brabant, he set out straight for Brussels, whither he was attended by the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, the marquis of Blanckenburg, the earl of Mons, the lord John of Hainault, the lord of Faquemont, and all the barons of the empire, who were allied to him, as they wished to consider what was next to be done in this war which they had begun. For greater expedition, they ordered a conference to be holden in the city of Brussels, and invited Jacob von Artaveld to attend it, who came thither in great array, and brought with him all the councils from the principal towns of Flanders. At this parliament, the king of England was advised, by his allies of the empire, to solicit the Flemings to give him their aid and assistance in this war, to challenge the king of France, to follow king Edward wherever he should lead them, and in return he would assist them in the recovery of Lisle, Douay and Bethune. The Flemings heard this proposal with pleasure; but they requested of the king, that they might consider of it among themselves, and in a short time they would give their answer. The king consented, and soon after they made this reply:—

"Beloved sire, you formerly made us a similar request; and we are willing to do every thing in reason for you, without prejudice to our honour and faith—but we are pledged by promise on oath, under a penalty of two millions of florins, to the apostolical chamber, not to act offensively against the king of France in any way, whoever he may be, without forfeiting this sum, and incurring the sentence of excommunication: but if you will do what we will tell you, you will find a remedy; which is, that you take the arms of France, quarter them with those of England, and call yourself king of France. We will acknowledge your title as good, and we will demand of you quittance for the above sum, which you will grant us as king of France: thus we shall be absolved, and at liberty to go with you wherever you please."

The king summoned his council, for he was loth to take the title and arms of France, seeing that at present he had not conquered any part of that kingdom, and it was uncertain whether he ever should: on the other hand, he was unwilling to lose the aid and assistance of the Flemings, who could be of greater service to him than any others at that period. He consulted, therefore, with the lords of the empire, the lord Robert d'Artois, and his most privy councillors, who, after having duly weighed the good and bad, advised him to make for answer to the Flemings, that if they would engage, under their seals, to the agreement of aiding him to carry on the war, he would willingly comply with their conditions, and would swear to assist them in the recovery of Lisle, Douay, and Bethune; to which they willingly consented. A day was fixed for them to meet at Ghent, where the king and the greater part of the lords of the empire, and in general the councils from the different towns in Flanders, assembled. The abovementioned proposals and answers were then repeated, sworn to, and sealed; and the king of England bore the arms of France, quartering them with those of England: he also took the title of king of France from that day forward, and maintained it, until he laid it aside by a certain agreement, as will be hereafter related in this book.

At this conference held at Ghent, the lords engaged the summer ensuing to make an active war in France, and promised to besiege the city of Tournay. The Flemings were much rejoiced at this, for they thought they should be strong enough to conquer it; and if it were once under the protection of the king of England, they could easily recover Lisle, Douay, Bethune, and all their dependencies, which of right belonged to the country of Flanders. The lords and the councils were still at Ghent, much wondering why those of the country of Hainault had not come to this conference; but such proper excuses were sent, that the king and the others were satisfied.

Things remained on this footing, when the lords took their leave, and set out for their own country. The king of England went to Antwerp; but the queen remained with her train at Ghent, where she was often visited and comforted by Jacob von Artaveld and other lords and ladies of Ghent. The king left in Flanders the earls of Salisbury and of Suffolk, who went to the town of Ypres, which they garrisoned, and thence harassed much those of Lisle and its environs. When the king's vessel was ready, he embarked with a numerous attendance at Antwerp, and sailed for London, where he arrived about St. Andrew's day, 1339, and was joyfully received by his subjects, who were anxious for his return. Great complaints were made to him of the ravages which the Normans, Picards, and Spaniards had committed at Southampton; upon which he answered, that, whenever it came to his turn, he would make them pay dearly for it—and he kept his word before the end of that year.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE FRENCH DESTROY THE TERRITORIES OF SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.

King Philip, after his return to Paris, had disbanded his army; but he had sent strong reinforcements to the navy which he had at sea, under the command of Quiriel, Bahucet, and Barbenoire. These three master corsairs had under them a number of Genoese, Normans, Picards, and Bretons, as soldiers, and had done this winter much damage to the English: they frequently came near Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, and Dover, upon the English coast,

and were much dreaded, for they had upwards of sixty thousand soldiers, and none durst leave the English ports, for fear of being pillaged and put to death. These seamen had gained considerably for the king of France during the course of the winter, and, in particular, had taken the ship Christopher, richly laden with money and wool, which the English were carrying to Flanders. This vessel had cost the king of England a very large sum. When taken by the Normans and others, it was pillaged, and all on board put to death. The French afterwards spoke much of this capture, and made great boastings respecting it.

The king of France was continually thinking how he could revenge himself on his enemies, and especially on sir John of Hainault, who had done him, as he had been informed, much mischief; such as conducting king Edward into the countries of Cambresis and Tierache, and burning and destroying all he passed through. He wrote therefore to my lord de Bemont, lord of Bresne, to the vidame of Chalons, to the lord John de la Bone*, to the lords John and Gerald de Loire, ordering them to collect a body of men, and make an incursion upon the lands of the lord John of Hainault, and burn them without delay. These lords obeyed the king's command, and secretly collected so many, that they amounted to five hundred armed men, with whom they one morning came before the town of Chimay, entered it, and made a large booty; for the inhabitants never imagined the French would advance so far into the country, or venture to pass the forest of Tierache: however, they did so, and they burnt the suburbs of Chimay, and many villages in the neighbourhood, indeed almost all the territory of Chimay except its fortresses. They then retreated to Aubenton, in Tierache, with their plunder. News and complaints of this were soon brought to sir John of Hainault, who at that time was at Mons with his nephew, at which he was very angry, and not without cause: the earl was also displeased, for these lands were held under him; but he was silent, and showed not any open design of revenge, upon the kingdom of France.

About the time of this disaster, it happened that some soldiers, who were garrisoned in Cambray, came to a small fortified house, beyond the walls of that town, called Relenques, that belonged to sir John of Hainault, and was guarded by a bastard of his, who might have with him about fifteen men; they attacked it one whole day, but it was valiantly defended. The ditches were frozen over, so that any one might approach the walls, which those within perceiving, packed up all they could, and leaving it about midnight, set it on fire. The next morning, when those from Cambray returned and saw it on fire, they destroyed the walls and every thing remaining. The bastard and his companions retreated to Valenciennes. It has been before related how sir Walter Manny took the castle of Thin-l'Evêque, and placed his brother Giles Manny with a garrison in it. This brother made many incursions upon those of Cambray, and gave them much uneasiness, for he was every day skirmishing close up to the barriers. In this state he kept them for some time.

One morning very early he set out from the castle of Thin with about six score men at arms, and came to the barriers at Cambray. The alarm was so great, that many were frightened. The garrison armed themselves as fast as they could, and mounted their horses with all haste, hurrying to the gate where the skirmish was, where, finding sir Giles had driven back those of Cambray, he instantly attacked their enemies. Among the Cambresians was a young esquire from Gascony, called William Marchant, who came to the field of battle mounted on a good steed, his shield hanging to his neck, his lance in its rest, completely armed, and spurring on to the combat. When sir Giles saw him approach, he spurred on to meet him most vigorously, and they met lance in hand, without fear of each other. Sir Giles had his shield pierced through, as well as all the armour near his heart, and the iron passed quite through his body. Thus he fell to the ground. This caused as great dismay to one party as joy to the other. The skirmish was very sharp, several were wounded, and many gallant actions performed; but at last those of Cambray kept their ground, and drove back their enemies. They returned into the town in triumph with the body of sir Giles, whom they immediately disarmed, and had his wounds examined, and most willingly would they have preserved his life; but their wishes were vain, for he died the next day. They determined to send the body to his two brothers, John and Thierry,

* De la *Boue.*—*D. Sauvage* and *Lord Berners.*—Ed.

who were in garrison at Bouchain, in l'Ostrevant; for, although the country of Hainault was not in a state of war, all the frontiers toward France were strictly guarded. They ordered a handsome coffin*, in which they placed the corpse, and directed two monks to carry it to his brothers, who received it with much sorrow, and afterwards had it carried to the church of the Cordeliers, at Valenciennes, where it was buried. The two brothers came to the castle of Thin-l'Evêque, and made a very severe war against the Cambresians, in revenge for the loss they had suffered from them.

Sir Godemar du Fay at this time commanded for the king of France in Tournay and the fortresses in its neighbourhood; the lord of Beaujeu, in Mortaigne upon the Scheld; the high steward of Carcassonne in the town of St. Amand; sir Aimery de Poictiers in Douay; the lord Gallois de la Bausme, the lord of Villars, the marshal of Mirepoix, and the lord of Marneil, in the city of Cambray. These knights, as well as the esquires and soldiers, desired nothing more ardently than permission to enter Hainault to pillage and destroy it. The bishop of Cambray, who had retired to Paris, being near the king's person, complained, whenever he found a fit opportunity, of the damage the Hainaulters had occasioned him, and that they had burnt and destroyed for him more than any others would have done; so that the king at last gave his consent for the soldiers in the county of Cambray to make an invasion, and overrun the country of Hainault. Then the garrison of Cambray prepared six hundred men at arms for this incursion, and they sent out on a Saturday at nightfall from Cambray those that were ordered for it. At the same hour those from Male-maison began their march. The two detachments met on the road, and came to the town of Haspres, which was a large handsome town, though not fortified; nor had the inhabitants any fear, for they had never received the smallest notice of war being declared against the country. The French, on entering the town, found every one within doors. Having taken and pillaged what they pleased, they burnt the town so completely, that nothing but the walls remained.

In Haspres there was a priory of black monks, that was dependent on that of St. Waas in Arras; the monastery was extensive, and had large buildings belonging to it, which they also pillaged and burned most villanously. They returned to Cambray after this excursion, driving all their booty before them. News of this was soon carried to Valenciennes, and earl William was informed of it as he was sleeping in his hotel, called La Salle. He immediately rose, and dressed himself in great haste, and summoned all the lords that were with him:—at that time there were not many, only his high steward, sir Gerald de Verchin, sir Henry d'Antoing, sir Henry de Huffulise, sir Thierry de Walcourt, the lords of Flayon and Potrelles, and some few attached to his person, for the others were lodged at different houses, and were not ready as soon as the earl, who, without waiting for them, hastened to the market-place of Valenciennes, and ordered the alarm bells to be rung. This awakened all the inhabitants, who made themselves ready as quickly as possible to follow their lord, who was already out of the town, on horseback, pushing forward towards Haspres. When he had advanced about a league, he was informed that his efforts were in vain, for the French had retreated. He then went to the abbey of Fontenelles, where the lady his mother resided, who took all possible pains to appease and soften his anger; but he said, that for this robbery he would make the kingdom of France shortly pay dear. The lady his mother did all she could to appease him, and would most willingly have made excuses for the king of France in this disaster; but he would not listen to them, and said he must consider in what manner he could most speedily revenge himself, and burn part of the French territories. When he had remained there some little time, he returned to Valenciennes, and wrote letters to the knights and prelates, to have their advice what should be done under these circumstances, and to summon them to be at Mons by a fixed day.

When sir John of Hainault, who was at Beaumont, thinking how he could best revenge the burning of his land, heard these things, he mounted his horse, and came to his nephew, whom he found at La Salle. As soon as the earl perceived him, he came to meet him, saying, "Fair uncle, your absence has made the French very proud." Sir John replied, "God be praised! for although I am much vexed at the loss you have sustained, yet I cannot help

* Lord Berners says, "they ordayned a *horse lytter* right honorably, and put his body therein," &c.—Ed.

being somewhat pleased with what has happened; for you now see what return you have had for the love and assistance you bore to the French:—you must now make an incursion upon them on their own grounds." "Fix upon the place," said the earl, "and it shall be directly undertaken." When the day of the conference, which was to be holden at Mons, was arrived, all the councils from the different towns, as well as those of Holland and Zealand, were there.

Many proposals were made; and some of the barons were for sending persons properly instructed to the king of France, to demand if he had consented or ordered the invasion and burning of Hainault, or had sent his soldiers upon the lands of the earl, and upon what title this had been done, as there had not been any defiance or challenge sent to the earl or to the country. Others were for revenging this outrage in a similar manner, as the French had begun. Upon these proposals there was much argument and debating; but it was at last determined, that neither the earl nor the country could get clear of this business without declaring war against the kingdom of France, as well for the burning of the lands of Chimay, as for their outrages committed at Haspres: it was therefore resolved, that a challenge should be sent to the king of France, and that afterwards they should enter his kingdom with a large body of men.

These letters of defiance were written and sealed by the earl and all the barons; and the abbot Thibaut de St. Crispin was ordered to carry them. The earl then returned thanks to all his lords for the good disposition he saw them in, for they had promised him aid and assistance in every situation. The abbot of St. Crispin carried this challenge to the king, who made but light of it, saying that his nephew was an outrageous madman, and was bargaining to have his country burnt and destroyed. The abbot, upon this, returned home, and related to the earl and his council what had happened to him, with the answers he had received. The earl immediately collected men at arms, summoned all his knights and esquires in Brabant and Flanders, as well as in his own country, and exerted himself so much, that in a short time he got together a large body of horsemen, well equipped. They set out from Mons, in Hainault, and that neighbourhood, and advanced towards the lands of Chimay, for it was the intention of the earl and his uncle to burn and destroy the territories of the lord of Bresne, as also Aubenton, in Tierache.

CHAPTER XLV.—THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES AND DESTROYS AUBENTON, IN TIERACHE.

The inhabitants of the town of Aubenton were much afraid of the earl of Hainault and his uncle, and had expressed their alarms to the high bailiff of Vermandois, who sent to their aid the vidame of Chalons, the lord of Beaumont, the lord de la Bone, the lord John of Loire, and many others. These knights, with their companions, marched into Aubenton, to the amount of full three hundred men at arms. The town was enclosed only by a palisade, which in many places was lately repaired. They had made every preparation to wait for the Hainaulters and defend the town, which was large, rich, and full of draperies.

The Hainaulters came on a Friday evening, and took up their quarters near Aubenton, whence they considered on what side the town was most easily to be taken. The next day they marched to attack it in three battalions, their banners well arranged in front, with their cross-bow men. The earl of Hainault led the first battalion, having under him a multitude of knights and esquires of his own country. His uncle commanded the second, where there were many men at arms. The third was under the lord of Fauquemont, and composed of Germans. Each lord was with his own people, and under his proper banner. The battle began immediately on their advancing, and very sharp it was. The cross-bow men shot from within and without, by which many were wounded. The earl and his battalion came to the gate, where there was a severe assault and much skirmishing. The vidame of Chalons, who was there, performed wonders; and on the spot he made three of his sons knights, who did many feats of arms worthy of their new honours: but the earl pressed them so closely, that he gained the barriers, and obliged his opponents to retire within the gate, where the

assault continued very fierce. Sir John de la Bone * and sir John of Beaumont were posted at the gate leading to Chimay, which was gallantly attacked. The French were forced to retire within the gate, for they had lost their barriers, which the Hainaulters had carried, as well as the bridge. The combat was here renewed with double vigour, for those who had entered, mounting upon the gate, flung down upon their assailants logs of wood, pots full of lime, and plenty of stones, by which those who had not very strong shields were much hurt. Baldwin of Beaufort, an esquire of Hainault, received there so violent a blow from a large stone that his shield was split by it, and his arm broken, which forced him to retire to his quarters; and, owing to this accident, for a long time he could not give any assistance. The attack was pushed on with vigour, and the town defended by the garrison with much valour; which was indeed necessary, as their assailants were many; and, had it not been for the gentlemen who had entered Aubenton, it would have soon yielded. However, at length the town was taken by force; the palisades, which were only of wood, were broken down. Sir John of Hainault and his banner first entered the town, with great shoutings and noise of men at arms. Then the vidame of Chalons retired towards the church with some knights and esquires, where they formed themselves, with displayed banners and pennons, to the intent of combating as long as their honour demanded: but the lord of Bresne and his banner withdrew in a disorderly manner; for he knew well how much sir John of Hainault was enraged against him, and, if he had him in his power, would not admit of any ransom; so he mounted his steed, and galloped off.

When sir John of Hainault found that he who had done so much damage to his lands at Chimay was gone off towards Vervins, he pursued him with part of his company; but the lord of Bresne made greater haste, and finding the gate of the town open, rushed in and saved himself. Sir John had followed him so far sword in hand; but when he found that he had escaped, he returned speedily by the great road to Aubenton: however, his people meeting those who were following the lord of Bresne, attacked them, and killed a great many. The combat continued obstinate before the cathedral, and many were killed and wounded. Among the first were the vidame and two of his sons: nor did any knight or esquire escape death or being made prisoner, but those who had followed the lord of Bresne. Upwards of two thousand men were taken in the town, which was pillaged of all the riches it contained; many waggons and carts were laden with it and sent to Chimay. The town was afterwards burnt to the ground; and the Hainaulters took up their quarters on the river side.

After the destruction of Aubenton, they marched toward Maubert-Fontaine, which they took on their arrival, for it was defenceless, and then pillaged and burnt it. They did the same to Aubencheul aux Bois, to Signy l'Abbaye, Signy le Petit, and all the villages thereabouts, amounting to upwards of forty. The earl of Hainault, after this, retired towards Mons, where he dismissed all his bands, after returning them thanks in so gracious a manner for their assistance, that they all left him well pleased. He then formed the design of passing over to England to amuse himself, and at the same time form a strict alliance with the king, his brother-in-law, in order to strengthen himself; as he naturally imagined, that what he had done would not be taken quietly, but that the king of France, his uncle, would make some incursions into his country: for which reason he was anxious to have the support of the English, the Flemings, and the Brabanters, and summoned his council at Mons, to whom he declared his intentions. He nominated and appointed his uncle, during his absence, sir John of Hainault, governor of the three countries of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, and set out with a small company for Dordrecht, where he embarked, and sailed over to England.

We shall now leave the earl, and relate what happened to his country during his absence. Sir John of Hainault, as you have heard, remained master and governor of the three provinces, by order of the earl, and he was obeyed as if he had been their true lord. He took up his quarters at Mons, which he provisioned and strengthened, as well as all the forts in its neighbourhood, especially those on the frontiers of France, with a sufficient number of men at arms. He sent four knights, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Waartang, the lord of

* D. Sauvage's edition reads *Boue;* but Lord Berners, in this place, has Bone.—Ed.

Gommegines, and sir Henry Husphalize, to Valenciennes, as counsellors and advisers to the citizens and inhabitants. To Maubeuge, he sent the seneschal of Hainault, sir Gerard de Werthin, with a hundred good lances and men at arms. To Quesnoy, the marshal of Hainault, for Thierry de Walcourt; and to Landrecy the lord of Potrelles. He placed in Bouchain three German knights, who were brothers, of the name of Conrad. Sir Gerard de Sassegnes was sent to Escaudavore, and the lord of Fauquemont to Avesnes: all the other fortresses bordering upon France were properly strengthened. He begged and entreated each captain to be attentive to his own honour, and careful of what was intrusted to him, which when they had all promised, they set out for their different stations. We will now return to the king of France, and speak of the expedition he was forming to invade and destroy Hainault, of which he made his son, the duke of Normandy, commander.

CHAP. XLVI.—THOSE OF TOURNAY MAKE AN INCURSION INTO FLANDERS.

When the king of France had been informed, that the Hainaulters had burnt the country of Tierache, had killed his knights, and destroyed his town of Aubenton, he ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to collect a number of forces, make an incursion into Hainault, and destroy that country in such a manner, that it might never recover from it. The duke replied, he would cheerfully undertake this. The king then ordered the count de Lisle, a Gascon, who was at that time near his person at Paris, and whom he much loved, to collect forces, and march towards Gascony, as lieutenant for the king of France, with the intent of making some severe reprisals upon Bordeaux, in the Bourdelois, and upon all the places which held or belonged to the king of England. The count obeyed the king's orders, and left Paris for Toulouse, where he made his preparations to fulfil his commission, as you will see in its proper time and place. The king of France sent large reinforcements to the armament he had at sea, and ordered his captains to watch the coast of Flanders attentively, and upon no account to suffer the king of England to pass over or land in Flanders; for, if he did so by their fault, he would certainly punish them with death.

When king Philip heard that the Flemings had done homage to the king of England, he sent to them a prelate, as from the pope, to say, that if they would acknowledge him as king of France, and abandon the king of England, who had enchanted them, he would forgive them all their misdoings, release them from the large sum of florins which, by an old obligation, was due to him; and moreover grant them, under his seal, many profitable franchises in France. The Flemings returned for answer, that they held themselves quit and absolved from every thing which they owed the king of France. Upon this, the king made heavy complaints to the pope, Clement VI., who issued so tremendous an excommunication against them, that no priest was daring enough to celebrate divine service there. The Flemings made remonstrances on this to the king of England; who, to appease them, said, that the first time he should cross the sea, he would bring with him priests from his own country, who should say mass for them, whether the pope would or not, as he had a power of so doing, and this satisfied them.

When the king of France saw that he could not make the Flemings retract their opinions, he commanded those in garrison in Tournay, Lisle, Douay, and the neighbouring castles, to make war upon them, and overrun their country. Upon which sir John de Roye, at that time in Tournay, and sir Matthew de Trie, marshal of France, together with sir Godemar du Fay and many other knights, collected a thousand men, strongly armed and well mounted, with three hundred cross-bowmen, as well from Tournay as from Lisle and Douay: they set out from Tournay one evening after supper, and marched so expeditiously, that they came before Courtray about day-break, and before sunrise had collected all the cattle thereabouts. Some of their light-horse advanced to the gates of the town, and killed and wounded many in the suburbs: they then retreated without loss, and placed the river Lys, on their return, between them and the booty, which they had carried off that day. They brought into Tournay more than ten thousand sheep, and of swine, beeves, and kine, as many more.

The Flemings were sore vexed at this; and Jacob von Artaveld, who was at that time at

Ghent, swore that this expedition should be revenged on Tournay and its neighbourhood. He gave immediate orders for the different towns in Flanders to collect forces, and to send them to him at a fixed day before Tournay; he also wrote to the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, who were at Ypres, to beg that they would draw towards that quarter to meet him. He then set out from Ghent, accompanied by great numbers, and came to a place called the Geertsberg, between Oudenarde and Tournay, where he halted, to wait for the two earls, and for those of the Franc and Bruges.

When the two earls received the letters, they would not for their honour's sake make any delay, but sent to inform Von Artaveld, that they would be with him at the appointed time and place. They soon set out from Ypres with about fifty lances and forty cross-bowmen, and took the road where he was waiting for them. They continued their route; but, as they were forced to pass near the outskirts of Lisle, it was soon known in that town: accordingly, fifteen hundred horse and foot were secretly armed, and sent out in three divisions to lie in wait, so that these lords might not escape from them. The earls and their company followed the guidance of sir Vauflart de la Croix, who had long made war upon the people of Lisle, and still continued so to do whenever he had an opportunity:—it was for this purpose that he was come to Ypres. He thought himself quite certain of conducting the earls in safety, as he was well acquainted with all the roads in those parts; and he would have succeeded now, if those of Lisle had not thrown up a great trench near their town, which was not there before.

When sir Vauflart came to this trench, and saw that their road was cut off, he was quite astonished, and said to the earls, "My lords, we cannot go further this way, without putting ourselves in the power of those of Lisle; on which account my advice is, that we turn about and seek another road." But the lords replied, "Nay, sir Vauflart, God forbid that we should go out of our way for those of Lisle! Ride on, therefore, for we have promised Jacob von Artaveld, that we would be with him some time this day." The English rode on without care. Sir Vauflart said to them, "It is true, my lords, that you have taken me for your guide in this expedition, and I have remained with you all this winter at Ypres, and have many thanks to give you and all your attendants; but if it should happen, that those of Lisle make a sally upon us, do not fancy that I shall wait for them, for I shall save myself as fast as I can. If by any accident I should be taken, my head would pay for it, which is much dearer to me than your company." The lords laughed heartily, and told him they would excuse him, if he should do so. And as he imagined, so it fell out; for, by not taking more precaution, they were surprised by one of the parties from Lisle, who cried out, "Stop! stop! you cannot pass here without our leave:" and immediately the lance-men and cross-bowmen fell on the English.

As soon as sir Vauflart saw what was going on, he took care not to advance farther; but turning about as quickly as possible, galloped out of danger. The two earls fell into the hands of their enemies, and were taken as if in a net; for the ambuscade was placed between hedges and ditches in a very narrow road, so that they could neither advance nor retreat to gain the open country; however, when they saw their mischance, they dismounted, and defended themselves as well as they could, killing and wounding a great many of their opponents; but it was all in vain, for fresh forces from Lisle were continually pouring upon them. They were therefore taken prisoners; and a young brisk esquire of Limousin, of the name of Raymond, nephew to pope Clement, was killed for the sake of his beautiful armour, after he had surrendered himself, which made many good men angry. The two earls were kept prisoners in the market-place at Lisle, and afterwards sent to the king of France, who promised, that those of Lisle should be well rewarded for the good service they had done him*. When Jacob von Artaveld received this information at Geertsberg, he was much enraged, and giving up all thoughts of his expedition, disbanded his Flemings, and himself returned to Ghent.

* This is a mistake. It was not the earl of Suffolk who was made prisoner, but his son, Robert de Ufford le Fitz, as he was called.—*Dugdale*, vol. ii.

CHAP XLVII.—JOHN, DUKE OF NORMANDY, MARCHES INTO HAINAULT.

The duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, issued a special summons of his intention to be at St. Quentin about Easter, in the year 1340. When he came thither he was attended by the duke of Athens, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Auxerre, the earl Raoul of Eu, constable of France, the earl of Sancerre, the earl of Porcien, the earl of Roussi, the earl of Bresne, the earl of Grandpré, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Graon, and a multitude of other nobles from Normandy and the Low Countries. On their being all assembled at St. Quentin and its environs, the constable and the two marshals of France, sir Robert Bertrand and sir Matthew de Trie, numbered them, and found there were six thousand men at arms, and eight thousand others armed with brigandines, besides followers of the army; which were fully sufficient, they said, to combat the earl of Hainault, or any force he could bring against them. They began their march, and took the road to Château-Cambresis, going near to Bohain; and advanced so forward that they passed Château-Cambresis, and took up their quarters at the town of Montay upon the river Selle.

Sir Richard Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, was informed by his spies, that the duke had halted at Montay. He asked those knights and esquires, who were with him, if they were willing to follow him; to which they consented. Accordingly, he set off from his hotel at Verchin about sunset, accompanied by about forty lances, and pushed on till he came to Foretz, at the extremity of Hainault, a small league from Montay, when it was dark night. He made his company halt in a field to tighten their armour and regirth their horses. He then told them, he should like to give the duke an alert; at which they were all rejoiced, and said they would stick by him till death; for which he gave them many thanks. At that time there were with him, sir James du Sart, sir Henry de Phalise, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir John and sir Bertrand de Chatelet. Of esquires, there were, Giles and Thierre de Somain, Baldwin de Beaufort, Colebrier de Brule, Moreau de l'Escuyer, Sandrat de Stramen, John de Rebersat, Bridoul de Thiaux, and many others. They set forward in silence, and came to the town of Montay, which they entered, for the French had neglected to place guards there. The seneschal and his companions dismounted at a great hotel, where they thought the duke was; but he was lodged in another part of the town. In that hotel were two great lords of Normandy, the lords of Bailleul and of Beauté. The door was soon forced; and when these two knights saw themselves thus surprised, and heard the cry of Hainault from the seneschal, they were quite confounded: they, however, defended themselves in the best manner they could; but the lord of Bailleul was killed, and the lord of Beauté taken prisoner by the seneschal, to whom he pledged his faith to surrender himself to him within three days at Valenciennes.

The French then began to be in motion, and to issue from their quarters: they lighted great fires and torches, awakened every one, even the duke himself, whom they armed as quickly as they could, and displayed his banner before his hotel, to which people of all sorts repaired. The Hainaulters wisely retreated to their horses, which they mounted, and, when they were all collected together, they carried off ten or twelve good prisoners, and returned without the smallest loss or damage, for it was so dark they were not pursued. About daybreak they reached Quesnoy, where they reposed and refreshed themselves, and then went to Valenciennes.

The next morning the duke of Normandy gave orders for his army to dislodge and enter Hainault, and burn and destroy every thing without exception. The baggage therefore began to move, and the lords of the advanced guard to proceed forward: they might amount to two hundred lances, and were commanded by Sir Theobald de Marneil, sir Gallois de la Baume, the lord of Mirepoix, the lord of Raivenal, the lord of Sempy, lord John of Landas, the lord of Hangest, and the lord of Tramelles. The two marshals followed with full five hundred lances; then the duke of Normandy, attended by a crowd of earls, barons, and other lords. The advanced troops entered Hainault, and set fire to Fores, Bertrand, Vertigrieulx, Escarmain, Vendegyses-aux-Bois, Vendegyses upon the river Cinel. The next day they advanced further into the country, and burnt Avesnes-le-sec, Villiers-en-Cauchie,

Gomegnies, Marchepois, Potel, Ansenoy, Perseaux, le Frasnoit, Andegay, the good town of Bavay, and all the country as far as the river Honneau. This second day a sharp attack was made on the castle of Verchin, and some skirmishing, by the division commanded by the marshals, but without success, as it was very well defended. The duke took up his quarters for that night upon the Selle, between Hausy and Sausoy.

Sir Valerian, lord of Fauquemont, commanded in Maubeuge, and with him were full one hundred lances of Germans and Hainaulters. As soon as he was informed of this incursion of the French, and how they were burning the country, and had heard the poor people lament and bewail their losses, he put on his armour, and ordered his people to get themselves in readiness. He gave up the command of the town to the lords of Beaurevoir and Montigny, and told his companions that he had a great desire to meet the French. He was on horseback all that day, and rode along the borders of the forest of Morinaulx. Towards evening he heard, that the duke of Normandy and all his host were lodged on the banks of the river Selle; upon which he said he would awaken them, and rode on that evening, and about midnight he and his company forded the river. When they had all passed, they regirthed their horses, and set themselves to rights, and advanced in silence to the quarters of the duke. When they were near, they spurred on their horses, and at one rush drove into the middle of the duke's host, crying out, "Fauquemont!" They laid well about them, cutting down tents and pavilions, and killing or wounding all whom they met. The army then, being roused, armed as quickly as they could, and drew near to where the bustle was; but the lord of Fauquemont, seeing that it was time, collected his people, and retreated most handsomely. Of the French, there was killed the lord of Requigny from Picardy The viscount de Quesnes, and Rouvroy with one eye, were made prisoners; and sir Anthony de Coudun was severely wounded. When the lord of Fauquemont saw that nothing more could be done, he set off with all his people, and crossed the Selle without hindrance, for he was not pursued. They rode easily forward, and came to Quesnoy about sunrise, when the quartermaster-general, sir Thierry de Walcourt, opened the gates to them.

The duke of Normandy ordered his trumpets to sound the next morning at day-break, for his army to prepare themselves, and to cross the Selle, and advance further into Hainault. The marshal of Mirepoix, the lord of Noysieres, sir Gallois de la Baume, and sir Thibault de Marneil, advanced first with four hundred lances, besides those armed with brigandines, and came before Quesnoy, even up to the barriers: they made a feint as if they intended to attack it; but it was so well provided with men at arms and heavy artillery, they would only have lost their pains. Nevertheless they skirmished a little before the barriers; but they were soon forced to retire, for those of Quesnoy let them hear their cannons * and bombards, which flung large iron bolts in such a manner, as made the French afraid for their horses—so they retreated and burnt Grand Wargny and Petit Wargny, Frelaines, Famars, Martre, Semery, and Artre, Sariten, Turgies, Estinen; and the Hainaulters fled from these towns to Valenciennes. The French afterwards encamped their battalions upon the hill of Castres near Valenciennes, where they lived in a rich and splendid manner. During their stay there, about two hundred lances, commanded by the lord of Craon, the lord of Maulevrier, the lord of Mathefelon, the lord of Avoir, and some others, went towards Main, and attacked a large square tower, which for a long time had belonged to John Vernier of Valenciennes, but of late to John de Neufville. The assault was sharp and severe, and lasted the whole day; nor could they make the French retire before night, although five or six were killed. Those within defended themselves right valiantly, and did not suffer any loss.

A greater number of the French marched to Trie, intending, on their arrival, to pass over the Scheld; but those of the town had destroyed the bridge, and defended that passage: nor could the French ever have conquered it, if some among them had not been acquainted with the fords of the river and the country, who conducted upwards of two hundred men to the foot-bridge at Prouvy. When these had crossed over, they came and fell upon the men

* It has generally been supposed, that cannons were first used at the battle of Crecy, four years later; but as the same words are expressed in all my copies of Froissart, whether printed or in manuscript, I cannot but believe they were employed when he mentions it. It is most probable, that artillery was first used in the defence of towns; and Edward, seeing the advantage that could be derived from cannons, employed them at the battle of Crecy.

of Trie, who, being few in number in comparison to them, were not able to resist; so they took to their heels, and many of them were killed and wounded.

The seneschal of Hainault left Valenciennes that day, accompanied, at the utmost, with one hundred men at arms, by the gate of Douzaing, to succour the inhabitants of Trie, who he thought would have enough to do. It happened that, a little beyond St. Waast, he met about twenty-five light horse of the French, commanded by three knights from Poitou—the lord Boucicault, who was afterwards a marshal of France, the lord of Surgeres, and sir William Blondel: they had passed over the bridge very near to Valenciennes, which is called the bridge of La Tourelle, and is over the Vincel. When the seneschal perceived them, he stuck spurs into his horse, and with his lance overthrew the lord Boucicault, made him his prisoner, and sent him to Valenciennes. The lord of Surgeres saved himself by flight; but sir William Blondel surrendered himself to sir Henry d'Usphalise; and almost all the others were either killed or taken prisoners. This done, the seneschal hastened towards Trie; but he was too late, for the French had already conquered it before he came, and were busily employed in pulling down the mills, and destroying a small castle that was there. As soon as the seneschal arrived, they had not much leisure for such things, for they were driven back, killed, and cut down. Some were forced to leap into the river Scheld, and many were drowned. Thus was the town of Trie liberated. The seneschal afterwards crossed the Scheld at a place called Denaing, and rode on with all his company to the castle of Verchin, which he entered in order to defend it, should there be any occasion.

The duke of Normandy still remained upon the hill of Castres, his army drawn out, the greater part of the day; for he thought that those of Valenciennes would come and give him battle. This they would willingly have done, if sir Henry d'Antoing, who commanded in the town, had not prevented them. He posted himself at the gate that leads to Cambray, and had much pain and trouble to hinder them from going out. John de Vassey, provost of the town, who was there with him, appeased them as well as he could, and gave them such good reasons for their remaining quiet, that at last they were satisfied. When the duke of Normandy had staid for a considerable time on this hill, and saw that no one made any attempt to come out of Valenciennes to fight with him, he sent the duke of Athens, the marshals of France, the earl of Auxerre, and the lord of Chastillon, with about three hundred lances, well mounted, to skirmish close to the town. They advanced in good order, and came to that side of it opposite the Tourelle at Gogueb, and even to the very barriers; but they did not stay long, as they were afraid of the shot hurting their horses. The lord of Chastillon, however, advanced so forward, that his horse was hit, fell under him, and he was obliged to mount another. This detachment then changed its course, and went towards the marshes, where they burnt and destroyed all the mills upon the river Vincel: they then made a circuit behind the Carthusian convent, and returned to their army. Some stragglers, however, had remained behind at Les Marles, to forage more at their ease. When those who were guarding a neighbouring town, which belonged to the heirs of Hainault, (though formerly to sir Robert de Namur, by the lady Isabella his wife,) perceived them, and that the main body had retreated, they issued out of the town, attacked them, killed one half, took all their forage, and re-entered it without any loss.

The army remained in battle array upon the mount of Castres until the afternoon, when the scouts returned from all sides. There was then a great council held: the chiefs said, that, every thing considered, they were not in sufficient force to attack so large a town as Valenciennes; and it was at last finally determined, that they should retire to Cambray. They set out, therefore, and came to Main and Fontenelles, where they took up their quarters for that night, and kept a strong watch. The next day they marched away; but burnt Main and Fontenelles, and also the convent which belonged to madame de Valois, sister-german to the king of France. The duke was much vexed at this, and had those who set it on fire hanged. In their retreat, they completed the burning of the town of Trie and its castle; the mills were also destroyed. Prouvy, Rommency, Thyan, Moncheau, and all the flat country between Cambray and Valenciennes, suffered in the same manner. The duke this day came before Escaudoure, a strong and good castle, belonging to the earl of Hainault, situate upon the Scheld, which had been of great annoyance to Cambray When

the duke had been only six days before it, the governor, sir Gerard de Sassegines, who before this had never been reproached for any thing, nor can I say by what means he was bewildered to do so, surrendered it undamaged, to the great surprise of all the country, who strongly suspected both the governor and his esquire, named Robert Marinaux, of treason. They were taken, inculpated, and both died afterwards in a miserable manner at Mons, in Hainault. The inhabitants of Cambray demolished this castle of Escaudoure, and carried the stone into their town, to repair their own dwellings and the fortifications.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE GARRISON OF DOUAY MAKES AN INCURSION INTO OSTREVANT, DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE EARL OF HAINAULT IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY.

After the destruction of the castle of Escaudoure, duke John of Normandy retired to Cambray, dismissed the greater part of his army, and sent the rest to the castle of Douay, and to the other fortresses in the neighbourhood. This week the garrison of Douay, in conjunction with those of Lisle, made a sally, in number about three hundred lances: they were commanded by sir Lewis of Savoy, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Villars, sir Gallois de la Baume, the lord of Waurain, and the lord of Vasiers: they burnt in Hainault all that fine country of Ostrevant; so that nothing remained but the fortresses.—When those of Bouchain saw all this fire and smoke round about them, they were in a violent rage; the more so, as they were unable to prevent it: but they sent messengers to Valenciennes, to let them know what was going forwards, and to inform them, that if in the night-time they would sally out with five or six hundred lances, they might attack the French to great advantage, who were lying at their ease in the flat country. But those of Valenciennes were not of the same opinion, and would not leave their town; so the French made a great booty, and burnt the town of Anich, one half of Escoux, Escaudaing, Erin, Montigny, Santain, Varlain, Vargny, Ambreticourt, Laurche, Sauch, Roelt, Neufville, Lieu St. Amand, and all the villages which were in that country. They carried off with them immense wealth. When this detachment had retreated to Douay, those of Bouchain marched out, and burnt the other half of Escoux, which belonged to the French, and the French villages, even to the gates of Douay, and the town of Esquerchin.

I have before mentioned, that all the towns on the frontiers were well garrisoned; so that there were frequent skirmishings between the two parties, and many gallant deeds performed. It chanced, about this time, that there were some German soldiers, whom the bishop of Cambray had stationed at Male-maison, two leagues distant from Chateau-Cambresis, and bordering on the other side of Landrecy, where the lord of Potrelles, a Hainaulter, commanded; for the earl of Blois, although lord of it, had surrendered it to the earl of Hainault at the time he was attached to the French interest, and the earl had kept possession of it. There were frequent quarrels between the Germans at Male-maison and those of Landrecy, who often came well mounted and armed up to the walls of the town. One day, as they sallied forth to make an excursion and collect pillage, news of it was brought to the lord of Potrelles, in Landrecy, who immediately armed himself and his companions, and mounted his horse to recapture the booty. The lord of Potrelles was followed by his men as fast as they could. He fixed his spear in the rest, and cried out to the French to turn about, as it was a disgrace to them to run away. Among them was a gallant esquire, named Albert of Cologne, who, being ashamed of this flight, instantly turned back, and couching his lance, spurred his horse violently against the lord of Potrelles, who struck him such a blow on his shield, that his lance was shivered to pieces: but the German esquire hit him so strongly with a firm spear, which broke not, but pierced through the plates of his shield, and even his armour, passing straight to his heart, that he knocked him off his horse, wounded to death; which when his brother Hainaulters, the lord of Bansiers, sir Gerard, and sir John Mastin, saw, and the rest who had come out of Landrecy with him, they attacked the French so roughly, in revenge for the loss of their captain, that they discomfited them. Few escaped death, or being made prisoners. The pillage was recovered and brought back with the prisoners to Landrecy, as was the dead body of the lord of Potrelles.

After the death of the lord of Potrelles, the lord of Floron commanded in Landrecy and its dependencies for a long time. He made frequent excursions upon those of Male-maison, Château-Cambresis, and other places on the frontiers. The Hainaulters did so one day, and the French returned the compliment the next; of course many mortal combats happened. The country of Cambresis was in great tribulation, for one half of it was burnt or destroyed; the duke of Normandy was still on the frontiers, and it was not known what his next intentions were; nor had they any news of the earl of Hainault. True it is that he had been in England, where he was most honourably entertained by the king and barons, and had made a strong alliance with the king. He had left England, and gone into Germany, to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, which was the reason of his long absence. On the other hand, the lord John of Hainault was in Brabant and Flanders, and had remonstrated with the duke and Jacob von Artaveld, upon the desolation of Hainault, and entreated them, on the part of his countrymen, that they would give them aid and advice. They replied, that the absence of the earl could not be much longer; and the moment he returned, they would be ready equipped to follow him, wherever he should choose to lead them.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO THIN-L'EVEQUE.

During the time the duke of Normandy lay in Cambray, the bishop and the inhabitants of that place informed him, that the Hainaulters had taken by assault the strong castle of Thin; and they entreated him, out of love and honour, and by his regard to the country, that he would use his endeavours to regain it, as the garrison was a great annoyance to all the neighbourhood. The duke then sent a fresh summons to his army, and got together a number of lords and men at arms, who were in Artois and Vermandois, and who had been with him in his former excursion. He set out from Cambray with all his host, and took up his quarters before Thin upon the river Scheld, in those fine meadows nearly opposite to Ostrevant, ordering many large engines to be brought from Cambray and Douay. Among these were six of an immense size, which the duke had pointed against the fortress, and which flung huge stones into it day and night, beating down the roofs and the tops of the towers; so that it was not safe to remain in the chambers, and the people were obliged to take refuge in the vaults.

This attack was severely felt by those within, and none ever suffered more for their honour than this garrison. The captains, upon whom fell all the weight and trouble, were sir Richard Limousin, an Englishman, and two esquires of Hainault, John and Thierry, brothers to sir Walter Manny*. They encouraged their companions, by saying, "Gallant gentlemen, the earl of Hainault will surely come in a few days, and attack the French, to deliver us honourably out of our danger, and will give us his warmest thanks for having so boldly defended ourselves." The besiegers by their engines flung dead horses and other carrion into the castle, to poison the garrison by their smell; and this distressed it more than any thing else, for the air was as hot as in the middle of summer: they therefore having considered their situation, and that they could not long hold out, from the horrible stench, proposed a treaty for a truce to last fifteen days, during which time they would let sir John of Hainault, who was regent and governor of the country, be informed of their distress, and, if they were not then relieved, they would surrender the place. This treaty was accepted, which gave great comfort to those within the castle. The garrison sent off an esquire, named Estralart de Sommain, according to the terms of the treaty, who came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the lord of Beaumont, who had had intelligence from his nephew, the earl of Hainault, that he was returning to his own country, after having been in Germany, where he had made alliances with the emperor and other lords of the empire, who were friendly to the king of England.

The lord of Beaumont assured the esquire Estralart de Sommain, that the garrison of Thin should very shortly be relieved, but that his nephew must first return. Before this truce

* "Bretherne to *therle of Namur*"—Lord Berners and D. Sauvage; but see chapter 44, where they are spoken of as brothers to sir Giles Manny.—Ed.

expired, the earl arrived in Hainault, which caused great joy to the inhabitants, as he had been impatiently wished for. The lord of Beaumont related to him all that had passed since his departure, and with what a powerful army the duke of Normandy had invaded his territories, burning and destroying all his villages and lands, as far as Valenciennes, except the fortresses. The earl answered, that he would have ample amends, and the kingdom of France was sufficiently extensive, to make him full satisfaction for all these ill deeds; but, first of all, he was anxious to go towards Thin-l'Evêque, to the relief of those good men, who had so loyally and so honourably defended it; he issued therefore his commissions, and sent letters of entreaty to his good friend Jacob von Artaveld, in Flanders, to the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers, and others in Germany, and went himself to Valenciennes with a large body of men at arms, knights, and esquires of his own country. His forces increased every day; and he set off with a grand array of tents, pavilions, and other ordinances and provisions, and encamped at Nans, upon the fine meadows and plains along the banks of the Scheld.

Of the lords of Hainault, there were, sir John of Hainault, the lord d'Anghien, the lord of Verchin, the seneschal of Hainault, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Barbenson, the lord of Lens, sir William de Bailleul, the lord of Havereth, governor of Mons, the lord of Montegny, the lord of Barbais, sir Thierry de Walcourt, marshal of Hainault, the lords of Almede and of Gommegines, the lord of Briseul, the lord of Roisin, the lord of Trasegmes, the lord of Lalain, the lords of Mastin, Sars, Vargny, Beaurieu, and many others, who encamped themselves near to the earl, their lord. Soon after the earl of Namur arrived, handsomely attended by two hundred lances, and posted himself upon the river Scheld, adjoining the army of the earl. The duke of Brabant came next with six hundred lances; and then the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Mons, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and many other lords and men at arms from Germany and Westphalia, who encamped themselves upon the river Scheld near each other, and opposite to the French. They were plentifully supplied with provision from Hainault, and from the adjacent countries.

When these lords had thus encamped themselves upon the Scheld between Nans and Illois, as we have just related, the duke of Normandy, who was on the opposite bank, and with him a great number of other gallant men at arms, sent to inform the king of France, his father, that the army of the earl was increasing every day. The king, who was at that time at Peronne, in the Vermandois, where he had been for six weeks with a great many nobles, issued out his special orders for raising a large body of men, and sent upwards of twelve hundred good lances to the army of his son, and soon after followed himself as a simple soldier, for he could not enter the empire with the command of an army without breaking his oath, which made him act thus. The duke was appointed chief of this enterprise; nevertheless nothing was done without the approbation of the king. When the garrison of Thin-l'Evêque saw the earl of Hainault arrive with so powerful an army, they were, as may be thought, mightily rejoiced. The fourth day after they had been there, those of Valenciennes came with a handsome body of men, led by John Boissy, who at that time was provost of the town. They were immediately ordered out to skirmish with the French upon the Scheld, to examine their forces, and to show themselves to the garrison. Many different skirmishes passed between each army, in which numbers were killed and wounded. Sir Richard Limosin and his companions in Thin-l'Evêque, perceiving them warmly engaged, quitted the castle, and embarked on the Scheld in boats, which had been prepared for them, and passed over to the opposite shore; they were carried to the earl of Hainault, who received them most joyfully and honourably, for the good services they had done him; and for their sufferings in the castle. Whilst these two armies were thus encamped upon the Scheld, the French on the side of France, and the Hainaulters near their own country, the foragers of each side scoured the country; but they never met, for the river was between them: the French, however, burnt all that part of Ostrevant which had escaped before, as did those of Hainault that of Cambray.

Jacob von Artaveld came to the assistance of the earl of Hainault, according to his request, with upwards of sixty thousand Flemings, all well armed, and posted himself strongly

opposite to the French. Immediately after their arrival, the earl sent his heralds to his cousin the duke of Normandy, to say he was ready for battle, and that it would be a very great shame, if such fine armies should separate without an engagement. The duke gave the herald for answer, that he would summon his council, and consider of it. This council lasted so long, that the herald returned without any answer. Three days afterwards the earl sent again to the duke, to know positively what his intentions and those of his army were. The duke replied that he had not yet finally determined upon fighting, and could not therefore fix a day, adding, moreover, that the earl was too hasty. When this was told to the earl, he looked upon it only as an excuse for delay; he therefore sent for all the commanders of his army, explained to them his intentions and wishes, and also the answers he had received, and desired to have their opinions upon the subject. They looked at each other: at last the duke of Brabant, who was the principal commander, spoke for all, and said, that he objected to throwing a bridge over the Scheld and fighting the French; for, to his certain knowledge, the king of England would very soon pass the sea, in order to besiege Tournay; and he had promised him, upon his faith and love, to give him every aid and assistance in that enterprise. "Now," added he, "if we fight the French, and should be unfortunate, he cannot have that succour he expects from us; and, should it be otherwise, he will not give us much thanks; it is therefore my opinion that, as he is the chief of the war, we should never engage with the forces of France, but when the king of England is present. Now when we shall be before Tournay, and he there with us, it would give me much uneasiness, that the French king and his army should depart without a battle; I therefore advise, dear son, that you decamp from this place, where you stay at a very heavy expense, and that all should return homewards, for within these ten days we shall hear from the king of England."

The greater part of the lords agreed to this opinion. But the earl of Hainault was much dissatisfied, and thought his honour would suffer, should the French retire without an action. He begged and entreated of them, and of all the barons in general, that they would not leave him, but consent to his wishes. After this the council broke up, and each returned to his quarters. Those from Brussels and Louvain would very cheerfully have returned home, for they were so worn down with fatigue, they could scarce support themselves; and they frequently complained to their captains, that they remained at a great expense and did nothing. When the earl found that the council differed in opinion, and were not unanimous to cross the Scheld and fight the French, he called his uncle to him, and said, "Dear uncle, will you take a ride along the river side, and call to you some man of honour from the French army, and tell him from me, that I will throw a bridge over the river; that I am willing and eager to fight at all events; but I ask a truce for three days to build it."

The lord of Beaumont, seeing the eagerness of his nephew, complied with his request, went home to prepare himself, and rode along the banks of the Scheld, accompanied with two other knights, the lord of Fagnoelez and sir Florens de Beaurieu, with his pennon alone borne before him. Perceiving on the opposite bank a knight from Normandy, whom he knew by his arms; he called to him—"My lord of Maubuisson, my lord of Maubuisson, I wish to speak to you." The knight, who knew him, stopped his horse, and asked what were his commands. "I shall beg of you, said the lord of Beaumont, "to have the kindness to go to the king of France and to his council, and say, that the earl of Hainault has sent me to ask a truce for the time necessary to throw a bridge over this river, in order that our armies may pass. You will bring me here the answer, and I will wait for you." "By my faith, that I will cheerfully do," said the knight: when, sticking spurs into his horse, he galloped up to the king's tent, where the duke of Normandy and a great many of the nobility were. He related his message, and had shortly this answer:—"My lord of Maubuisson, you will tell him who has sent you hither, that it is our intention to keep the earl of Hainault in the same state in which he is at present; and we will make him mortgage his lands; for he shall be attacked on all sides, and, whenever we please, we will enter so far into his country, that we will burn the whole of it." The lord of Maubuisson brought back this answer, word for word, to the lord of Beaumont, who was waiting for him on the bank. He thanked him for the trouble he had given him, and returned to the earl of

Hainault, whom he found playing at chess with the earl of Namur. As soon as he saw his uncle, he rose up, and asked what news he had brought him. "Sir," said sir John, "from what I see, the king of France takes much pleasure in making you keep up such forces at so great an expense, and declares he will make you expend and mortgage all your lands; and whenever it shall be his pleasure, and not yours, he will fight with you." The earl was much angered at this, and swore it should be otherwise.

CHAP. L.—THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH BEFORE SLUYS.

We will now leave the duke of Normandy and the earl of Hainault, and speak of the king of England, who had embarked for Flanders, in order to go to Hainault to assist his brother-in-law in his war against France. He and his whole navy sailed from the Thames the day before the eve of St. John the Baptist, 1340, and made straight for Sluys. Sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, were at that time lying between Blanckenburgh and Sluys with upwards of one hundred and twenty large vessels, without counting others: these were manned with about forty thousand men, Genoese and Picards, including mariners. By the orders of the king of France, they were there at anchor, waiting the return of the king of England, to dispute his passage.

When the king's fleet was almost got to Sluys, they saw so many masts standing before it, that they looked like a wood. The king asked the commander of his ship what they could be, who answered, that he imagined they must be that armament of Normans, which the king of France kept at sea, and which had so frequently done him much damage, had burnt his good town of Southampton, and taken his large ship the Christopher. The king replied, "I have for a long time wished to meet with them, and now, please God and St. George, we will fight with them; for, in truth, they have done me so much mischief, that I will be revenged on them, if it be possible." The king then drew up all his vessels, placing the strongest in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two vessels with archers, there was one of men at arms. He stationed some detached vessels as a reserve, full of archers, to assist and help such as might be damaged. There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, countesses, baronesses, and knights' and gentlemen's wives, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent: these the king had guarded most carefully by three hundred men at arms and five hundred archers. When the king of England and his marshals had properly divided the fleet, they hoisted their sails to have the wind on their quarter, as the sun shone full in their faces, which they considered might be of disadvantage to them, and stretched out a little, so that at last they got the wind as they wished. The Normans, who saw them tack, could not help wondering why they did so, and said they took good care to turn about, for they were afraid of meddling with them: they perceived, however, by his banner, that the king was on board, which gave them great joy, as they were eager to fight with him; so they put their vessels in proper order, for they were expert and gallant men on the seas. They filled the Christopher, the large ship which they had taken the year before from the English, with trumpets and other warlike instruments, and ordered her to fall upon the English. The battle then began very fiercely; archers and cross-bowmen shot with all their might at each other, and the men at arms engaged hand to hand: in order to be more successful, they had large grapnels, and iron hooks with chains, which they flung from ship to ship, to moor them to each other. There were many valiant deeds performed, many prisoners made, and many rescues. The Christopher, which led the van, was recaptured by the English, and all in her taken or killed. There were then great shouts and cries, and the English manned her again with archers, and sent her to fight against the Genoese.

This battle was very murderous and horrible. Combats at sea are more destructive and obstinate than upon land, for it is not possible to retreat or flee—every one must abide his fortune, and exert his prowess and valour. Sir Hugh Quiriel and his companions were bold and determined men, had done much mischief to the English at sea, and destroyed many of their ships; this combat, therefore, lasted from early in the morning until noon, and the

English were hard pressed, for their enemies were four to one, and the greater part men who had been used to the sea. The king, who was in the flower of his youth, showed himself on that day a gallant knight, as did the earls of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Gloucester; the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Felton, lord Bradestan, sir Richard Stafford, the lord Percy, sir Walter Manny, sir Henry de Flanders, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Chandos, the lord Delaware, Lucie lord Malton, and the lord Robert d'Artois, now called earl of Richmond. I cannot remember all the names of those who behaved so valiantly in the combat: but they did so well, that, with some assistance from Bruges, and those parts of the country, the French were completely defeated, and all the Normans and the others were killed or drowned, so that not one of them escaped. This was soon known all over Flanders; and when it came to the two armies before Thin-l'Evêque, the Hainaulters were as much rejoiced as their enemies were dismayed.

After the king had gained this victory, which was on the eve of St. John's day, he remained all that night on board of his ship before Sluys, and there were great noises with trumpets and all kinds of other instruments. The Flemings came to wait on him, having heard of his arrival, and what deeds he had performed. The king inquired of the citizens of Bruges after Jacob von Artaveld, and they told him he was gone to the aid of the earl of Hainault with upwards of sixty thousand men, against the duke of Normandy. On the morrow, which was Midsummer-day, the king and his fleet entered the port. As soon as they were landed, the king, attended by crowds of knights, set out on foot on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, where he heard mass and dined. He then mounted his horse, and went that day to Ghent, where the queen was, who received him with great joy and kindness. The army and baggage, with the attendants of the king, followed him by degrees to the same place.

The king had sent notice of his arrival to the lords that were before Thin-l'Evêque opposing the French, who as soon as they heard of it, and of his victory over the Normans, broke up their camp. The earl of Hainault disbanded all his troops, except the principal lords, whom he carried with him to Valenciennes, and treated most nobly, especially the duke of Brabant and Jacob von Artaveld. Jacob von Artaveld, in the full market-place, explained the right king Edward had to the crown of France to all those lords that chose to hear him, and of what importance it was to the three countries, that is to say, Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, when closely united. He spoke so clearly, and with so much eloquence, that he was praised by all, who agreed that he was worthy to exercise the dignity of earl of Flanders.* These lords then took their leave, and agreed to meet in eight days' time at Ghent, to see the king. He received them all most courteously, as did the queen, who was but lately recovered from her lying-in of a son, called John, afterwards duke of Lancaster, in the right of his wife, the lady Blanche, daughter of Henry duke of Lancaster. A day of conference was then appointed to be held at Vilvorde.

CHAPTER LI.—ROBERT, KING OF SICILY, ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

When king Philip of France heard of the defeat of his fleet, and that the king of England was quietly landed in Flanders, he was much enraged; but as he could not amend it, he immediately decamped, and retreated towards Arras. He dismissed the greater part of his army, until he should receive other news: but he sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, to

* There is some difference between this passage and the corresponding French of D. Sauvage's edition: and as Lord Berners has translated it almost verbatim, his version is subjoined:—"And then Jaques Dartuell openly, and in the market-place, in the presence of all the lordes and of all such as wold here hym, declared what right the kying of Englande had to the crowne of Frãce, and also what puyssience the three countreis were of Flanders, Heynault and Brabant surely joined in one alyance. And he dyde so by his great wysdome and plesaunt wordes, that all people that harde hym prayse hym moche and sayd howe he had nobly spoken, and by great experyẽce. And thus he was greatly prayse, and it was sayd y^{t} he was well worthy to *gouerne y^{e} countie* of Flaunders." There is nothing said here of his exercising the *dignity of Earl of Flanders*, an expression which would seem to imply an intention of investing him with the title.—Ed.

advise them in any difficulties, and to see that the city was well provided, for he was more in fear of the Flemings than of any other people. He placed the lord of Beaujeu in Mortaigne, to guard the frontiers towards Hainault, and sent strong bodies of men at arms to St. Omer, Aire, and St. Venant; he also formed sufficient magazines in the countries bordering upon Flanders. At this time Sicily was governed by a king named Robert, who was much renowned as a great astrologer; he had prohibited the king of France and his council from ever engaging the English when commanded by their king, for in such cases he was ever to be unfortunate. This king was very desirous of bringing about a reconciliation between those of France and England, being so strongly attached to the crown of France, that he would have been much hurt at any calamity which might have impaired its lustre. The above-mentioned king went to Avignon to represent to pope Clement, and his college of cardinals, the great evils which might befal the realm of France from the quarrels of the two kings, and entreat of them to undertake the part of mediators in appeasing this disastrous war. The pope and the college replied, they would very willingly do their best endeavours, provided the two kings would listen to them.

CHAPTER LII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND AND HIS ALLIES HOLD A CONFERENCE AT VILVORDE.

THE conference holden at Vilvorde was attended by the following personages: first, the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the earl of Hainault and his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blanckenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord of Fauquemont, the lord William de Dunort, the earl of Namur, Jacob von Artaveld, and many other lords. Three or four men were sent by each of the principal towns in Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, by way of council from them. The three countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, there entered into a treaty, that thenceforward they would succour and assist each other in every possible case; they then formed an alliance, with covenants, that if either of the three were attacked by any one whatever, the other two should immediately come to his assistance; and if at any future period two of them should quarrel, then the third should settle the matters of difference between them; and if he should not be in sufficient force so to do, that then it should be laid before the king of England, in whose hands these covenants had been declared, and sworn to be duly maintained, as the power that should at last make peace between them. Many statutes were then sworn and agreed to, which afterward turned out ill. But for a further confirmation of their love and friendship, they ordered coins to be struck, that should be current in these three countries, which were styled companions or allies. It was there also determined, that the king of England should put himself in motion about Magdalen tide, and lay siege to the city of Tournay; and all the lords present promised to be there, as well as the forces from the principal towns: they then set off for their homes, to get ready and prepare themselves properly for the business.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND BESIEGES THE CITY OF TOURNAY WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.

KING PHILIP, soon after the departure of these lords, was informed of all that had passed, and what resolutions had been entered into at this conference, and how king Edward was to come to Tournay; he therefore determined to provide it so well with ammunition, &c., and with so many good knights, that the city should be well served and well advised. He sent directly to the city of Tournay the flower of his chivalry; the earl Raoul of Eu, constable of France, the young earl of Guines, his son, the earl of Foix, and his brothers, the earl of Aymery and Narbonne, the lord Aymery of Poitiers, the lord Geoffry of Chargny, the lord Gerard of Montfaucon, his two marshals, the lord Robert Bertrand and lord Matthew de Trie,

the lord of Caieux, seneschal of Poitou, the lord of Chatillon, and sir John of Landas, who had with them many knights and esquires renowned in arms. The king entreated of them earnestly, that they would pay so much care and attention to Tournay, that nothing unfortunate might happen, which they all promised him. They took leave of the king of France, left Arras, and arrived at Tournay, where they found sir Godemar du Fay, who had been sent thither before them. He received them joyfully, as did those of the town; and, after having well examined the purveyances which were there, as well of artillery as of provision, they ordered great quantities of corn, oats, and other articles of food, to be brought into it from the country round about, so that the city was in a good state to hold out for a long time.

To return to the king of England, who, when the time for being before Tournay approached, and the corn was nearly ripe, set out from Ghent, accompanied by seven earls from his own country, two prelates, twenty-eight bannerets, two hundred knights, four thousand men at arms, and nine thousand archers, without counting the foot soldiers. He passed through the town of Oudenarde, crossed the Scheld, and encamped before Tournay, near St. Martin's gate, on the road to Lisle and Douay. Soon after came his cousin, the duke of Brabant, with upwards of twenty thousand men, knights and esquires, and the companies from the different towns. The Brabanters were encamped at Pontaries upon the Scheld (a

Tournay, as it appeared two hundred years since.

dependence of the abbey of St. Nicholas), as you return from the fields by the gate Valentinois. The earl of Hainault came with the fine cavalry of his country, with many Dutchmen and Zealanders, who attended upon his person as their lord. The earl was encamped between the king of England and the duke of Brabant. Jacob von Artaveld came next with more than forty thousand Flemings *, not reckoning those from Ypres, Poperingue, Cassel, and Bruges, who were ordered to another part, as you will hear presently. He was quartered near the gate St. Fontaine, on both sides of the Scheld, over which they had thrown a bridge of boats, that they might have free intercourse. The duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blanckenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and all the Germans, were stationed on the side towards Hainault; so that the city of Tournay was very completely surrounded. Each division of the army had open communication with each other, and no one could enter or come out of the city without permission, or without being seen.

* Lord Berners says 60,000.—Ed.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE EARL OF HAINAULT DESTROYS THE TOWNS OF SECLIN AND ORCHIES.

This siege of Tournay lasted a long time. The army that lay before it was plentifully and cheaply supplied with all sorts of provisions, for they were brought to them from all the neighbouring countries. Many gallant actions were performed; for the earl of Hainault, who was very bold and enterprising, took this war to heart, reflecting as he did that his country had suffered so much at its commencement, and headed every excursion. He set out one morning very early from the camp with five hundred lances, and passing below Lisle, burnt the good town of Seclin, and many villages in its neighbourhood. His light horse advanced even as far as the suburbs of Lens, in Artois. All this was related to his uncle, king Philip, at Arras, who, though very angry, could not at this time help it. After this excursion the earl took another route, and advanced towards the capital town of Orchies, which was taken and burnt, for it was not enclosed. Landas and Celle shared the same fate, as well as many considerable villages thereabouts. They scoured the country, and took a very great booty, with which they retreated to the army before Tournay. At the same time, the Flemings made frequent and strong assaults on Tournay: they built boats, moveable towers, and other machines of offence, with which they every day battered the town. Skirmishes very frequently took place, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides: and the Flemings exerted themselves to conquer or damage Tournay, so much had this war irritated them; and they say there is never any discord so bitter, as that between neighbours and friends.

Among these attacks there was one which lasted a whole day: much valour was shown, for all the knights that were in Tournay were present. It was intended, by means of boats and other machines, to have forced and broken the barriers of the postern of the bridge; but they were so gallantly defended, that the Flemings made no impression, but lost a vessel, in which there were one hundred and twenty men, who were drowned; so they retreated towards evening, sorely tired. During this siege some soldiers made an excursion from St. Amand, where there was a strong body, and came to Hasnon, which belonged to Hainault, burnt the town, violated the nunnery, destroyed the monastery, and took with them all they could carry off to St. Amand. Shortly after these same soldiers set out again, and having passed through the wood of St. Amand, came to the monastery of Vicogne, with the intent to pillage and destroy it: they made a great fire before the gate in order to burn it. When the abbot perceived in what danger he was, he set off directly on horseback, and riding behind the wood, came to Valenciennes in great haste, where he requested the provost to let him have some cross-bowmen; whom, having obtained, he led behind Raimes, and posted them in the wood looking towards Pourcelet, and upon the causeway. Thence they began to shoot upon the soldiers and Genoese, before the gates of Vicogne, who no sooner felt the arrows showering upon them from the woods, than they were panic-struck, and ran off as fast as they could. By these means was the monastery saved.

About this time the earl of Lisle was in Gascony, carrying on the war, by orders from the king of France. He had already taken and recaptured all the country of Aquitaine, and kept the field with upwards of four thousand horse; he had besieged Bordeaux by sea and land. The earl had with him the flower of the chivalry of the marches of Gascony—the earl of Perigord, the earl of Cominges, the earl of Carmaing, the earl of Villemort, the viscount Brumquet, the lord de la Borde, and many other knights and barons, and nothing resisted them but the fortresses, which the English garrisons carefully guarded. Many gallant feats of arms were performed in this country, of which we shall speak in proper time and place; for the present we must return to Scotland, and see what is going on there during this siege of Tournay.

CHAPTER LV.—THE SCOTS RECOVER GREAT PART OF THEIR COUNTRY DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

The reader should be informed, that sir William Douglas, son of the brother of sir James Douglas, who was killed in Spain *, the earl of Moray, the earl Patrick of Dunbar, the earl of Sutherland, sir Robert Keith, sir Simon Fraser, and Alexander Ramsay, had remained as governors of the remnant of Scotland, that was not in the possession of the English. During the space of seven years they had secreted themselves in the forest of Jedworth, in winter as well as summer, and thence had carried on a war against all the towns and fortresses wherein king Edward had placed any garrisons, in which many perilous and gallant adventures befel them, and from which they had acquired much honour and renown. While king Edward was beyond sea before Tournay, the king of France sent over some forces to Scotland, which arrived safe in the town of Perth: and he entreated the noblemen above mentioned, to carry on so bitter a war in England, that king Edward should be obliged to desist from his present enterprise before Tournay, promising them every aid and assistance; in consequence of which these lords collected their forces, and made themselves ready. They quitted the forest of Jedworth, traversed Scotland, retook as many fortresses as they were able, passed by Berwick, and, crossing the river Tyne, entered Northumberland, which was formerly a kingdom of itself, where they found plenty of fat cattle. Having destroyed and burnt the whole country as far as Durham, and even beyond it, they returned by another road, doing the same to all the countries they passed through; so that all the country on the borders of England, to the extent of three days' journey, was completely ruined and destroyed. They then re-entered Scotland, and gained all the fortresses which the king of England held, except the good town of Berwick, and three other castles, which annoyed them much, and which are so strong, that you will scarcely find their equals for strength in any country; one is called Stirling, the other Roxburgh, and the third, which may be styled the sovereign of Scotland, Edinburgh. This last is situate upon a high rock, commanding a view of the country round about; and the mountain has so steep an ascent, that few can go up it without stopping twice or thrice. The governor of it at that time was a gallant English knight, called sir Walter Limousin, brother-german to him who had so gallantly defended the castle of Thin-l'Evêque against the French.

A bold thought came into sir William Douglas's mind, which he mentioned to his companions, the earl of Dunbar, sir Robert Fraser, who had been tutor to king David of Scotland, and Alexander Ramsay, who all agreed to try to execute it. They collected upwards of two hundred lances of Highlanders, went to sea, and purchased oats, oatmeal, coal, and straw, and landed peaceably at a port about three miles from the castle of Edinburgh, which had made a stronger resistance than all the other castles. When they had armed themselves, they issued forth in the night time; and having chosen ten or twelve from among them, in whom they had the greatest confidence, they dressed them in old threadbare clothes, with torn hats, like poor tradesmen, and loaded twelve small horses, with a sack to each filled with oats, meal, or coal; they then placed the rest in ambuscade in an old abbey, that was ruined and uninhabited, close to the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situate. At daybreak, these merchants, who were privily armed, took the road with their horses the very best way they could towards the castle. When they had got about half way up the hill, sir William Douglas and sir Simon Fraser advanced before the others, whom they ordered to follow in silence, and came to the porter's lodge. They informed him, that they had brought, with many risks and fears, coal, oats, and meal, and, if there were any want of such articles, they should be glad to dispose of them, and at a cheap rate. The porter replied, that the garrison would thankfully have them, but it was so early, that he dared not awake either the governor or his steward: at the same time he

* Celebrated in Scottish story under the name of the Knight of Liddesdale.—Lord Hailes mentions him *alone* as being sent on the embassy to France. Robert the Stewart was regent of the kingdom.

told him to come forward, and he would open the other gate. They all then passed quietly through, and entered with their loads to the gate of the barriers, which he opened for them.

Sir William Douglas had remarked, that the porter had all the great keys of the castle gates, and had, in an apparently indifferent manner, inquired which opened the great gate and which the wicket. When the first gate was opened, they turned in their nags, and flung off the loads of two, which consisted of coal, directly upon the sill of the gate, so that it could not be shut, and then seized the porter, whom they slew so suddenly, that he did not utter a word. They then took the keys, and opened all the gates; and sir William Douglas gave a blast upon his horn, as a signal for his companions: they then flung off their torn clothes, and placed all the remainder of the coal between the gates, so that they could not be shut. When those in the ambuscade heard the horn, they sallied forth, and hastened forwards to the castle. The noise of the horn awakened the watch of the castle, at that time asleep, who, seeing these armed men running up the castle hill, blew lustily on his horn, and bawled out, "Treason! treason! Arm yourselves, my masters, as fast as you can, for here are men at arms advancing to our fortress." They all roused themselves as quickly as they could, and when armed came to the gate; but sir William and his twelve companions defended the gate; so that it could not be shut. The combat then grew hotter; but those from without maintained their ground with great valour, until their ambuscade arrived. The garrison made a very gallant defence, killing and wounding many of their enemies; but sir William and his party exerted themselves so much, that the fortress was taken, and all the English killed, except the governor and six esquires, to whom they showed mercy. The Scots remained in the castle all that day, and appointed for governor a squire of that country, called sir Simon de Vesci, and left with him many of his countrymen. This news was brought to the king of England whilst he lay before Tournay.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY, IN ORDER TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

It has been before related in what manner the king of England had besieged the city of Tournay, and that he pressed it very close; for he had upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand men, including the Flemings, who behaved very well in all their attacks. The commanders within the city, finding their provisions beginning to get low, sent out from it all those who had not laid in a proper quantity for the occasion. They were driven out about the middle of the day, and passed through the army of the duke of Brabant, who took compassion on them, and had them conducted in safety to king Philip at Arras; he had remained there all this time, whilst those within Tournay were in great distress, and had need of assistance and advice. The king of France published a special summons throughout this kingdom, and also in many parts of the empire, for the levying of forces. It had so good an effect, that Charles, king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Verdun, the earl of Montbeliard, the lord John of Chalons, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Savoy, and the lord Lewis, his brother, came to serve under the king of France, with as many men as they could collect together. There came to him also the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Foretz, Armagnac, Blois, Harcourt, and Dammartin, the lord Charles of Blois, the lord of Coucy, and many other knights and barons. The king of Navarre afterwards came with a number of men at arms, to serve for the lands he held in France, and for which he was a homager to the king. The king of Scotland was also there, under the appointment of the king of France, and for which he was a homager to the king. The king of Scotland was also there, under the appointment of the king of France, and had a handsome body of men given to him.

CHAPTER LVII.—SOME OF THE GARRISON OF BOUCHAIN DEFEAT A BODY OF SOLDIERS FROM MORTAGNE*, BEFORE THE TOWN OF CONDÉ.

When all these lords above-mentioned, and many others, were come to Arras, the king of France advanced to a small river, which is about three leagues distant from Tournay. It was very deep, and the country about it so marshy, that it could not be crossed, but by a very narrow causeway, on which two men would have difficulty to pass abreast. The king and his army encamped in the fields, as they could not cross this river. The next day they remained there also; and the lords about the king held a council, on the best means of building bridges, to pass over this river and the quagmires in safety. They sent some knights and armed men to examine the passages, who, after having well considered them, reported that it would be pains thrown away, and that there was no other means of crossing this river and country, but by the Pont-à-Tressin. Every thing, therefore, remained as before, and each lord took up his quarters among his own men. The news was soon spread abroad, that the king of France and his army were encamped between the bridges of Tressin and Bouvines, with the intention of giving his enemies battle; so that all men of honour, who were desirous of fame, went and joined one side or other, as pleased them best. Three German knights, who were in garrison at Bouchain, heard, as others had done, that the two kings were near each other, and it was thought they would fight. Upon which two of them urged and entreated their companion that he would consent to remain in Bouchain, to guard and preserve it until they returned, and that they would make an excursion as far as Tournay, to seek adventures, and to see how things were going on.

The two knights set out, whose names were sir Courrat d'Astra and sir Courrat de Lancenuch;† they rode till they came to Estampons, above Valenciennes, for they were desirous of crossing the Scheld at Condé. Between Fresnes and Estampons they heard a noise, and met many people running away; upon which they spurred their horses, and pushed on towards the place from whence the outcry came, with their whole company. They were altogether about twenty-five lances. They inquired of the first they met the meaning of all the noise and flight: "Oh Lord, gentlemen," said they, "the soldiers from Mortagne have made an incursion upon us, and have collected a large booty in this neighbourhood, which they are driving to their fortress, together with many prisoners they have taken." The two knights asked if they could conduct them to the road these soldiers were going? Upon their answering in the affirmative, they pursued the French of Mortagne, and followed these honest men, who showed them a way through the woods, so that they gained ground upon them, near to Nôtre-Dame-aux-Bois. The French were full one hundred and twenty men, and they were driving before them two hundred large cattle, with some peasants, prisoners. Their captain was a knight from Burgundy, called sir John de Frelais, under the orders of the lord of Beaujeu. As soon as the Germans perceived them they set up a loud shout, and rushed on full gallop. The combat was very sharp, for the Burgundy knight made a gallant defence, as well as some of his company, but not all, for several of them betook themselves to flight; but they were so closely pursued by the Germans and peasants of the country, who had armed themselves with stakes, that few escaped death. Sir John de Frelais was taken, and all the booty recaptured and given to the proprietors, who were very thankful to the Germans ever after. The knights then went forwards to Tournay, where they were very well received.

* *Mortagne*—a small town in Flanders, near the confluence of the Scarpe and Scheld, three leagues from Tournay.

† Sir *Courrat* d'Astra and sir Courrat de Lancenuch. The names of these knights are, in the 46th chapter, said to have been *Conrad*. "Courrat" is found in both places, in Lord Berners and D'Sauvage; but in the latter it is corrected in a marginal note.—Ed.

CHAPTER LVIII.—SIR WILLIAM DE BAILLEUL AND SIR VAUFLART DE LA CROIX MAKE AN EXCURSION TO PONT-A-TRESSIN.

Soon after the king of France had taken up his quarters, with his army, near the bridge of Bouvines, a company of Hainaulters put themselves in motion by the exhortations of sir Vauflart de la Croix, who told them he knew all the country well, and he could lead them to a part of the French army which they would be sure of conquering. About one hundred and twenty of them, knights and esquires, set out one day through love to each other, to do some deeds of arms, and advanced towards Pont-à-Tressin. They made the lord of Bailleul their captain, and it was under his banner that they were to enlist.

That same morning, some of the Liegeois made also an excursion, under the command of sir Robert de Bailleul, brother-german to the above-mentioned sir William de Bailleul, for he had made a promise to do this to the bishop of Liege, and was bound to execute it with his whole company. The Liegeois had passed Pont-à-Tressin, were foraging for their horses, and looking out to see if they could find any chance to profit by. The Hainaulters had rode on, and passed the bridge, without meeting with any one; for there was such a fog that they could not distinguish any thing at the distance of a lance's length. When all had passed the bridge, they ordered sir William de Bailleul, and his banner, to remain there, and sir Vauflart de la Croix, sir Raflet de Monceaux, and sir John de Verchin, to advance as far as the quarters of the king of Bohemia, and bishop of Liege, which were near the bridge, and to attack them. The lord of Rodemach had had the guard that night of the army of the king of Bohemia, and was on the point of retiring, when the light horse of the Hainaulters appeared They attacked them, as they came up, very valiantly, and they were repulsed also by the Liegeois. The conflict was sharp, and the Hainaulters behaved themselves well. To secure a retreat, however, to their banner, the Hainaulters drew towards the bridge, where they were followed by those of Liege and Luxembourg, and the engagement was renewed. Sir William de Bailleul was advised to recross the bridge with his banner, for many of his people remained there; and many a gallant deed was performed, many a capture made, and many a rescue. Sir Vauflart unluckily was not able to gain the passage of the bridge, so he got out of the crowd, and saved himself the best way he could, by taking a road he was acquainted with, and hiding himself among thorns and quagmires, where he remained a considerable time. The rest still continued the combat; but the Liegeois, and those from Luxembourg, had overthrown sir William de Bailleul.

Whilst this was passing, sir Robert's company, who had been out foraging, returned, and, hearing the noise, came to the bridge. Sir Robert ordered his banner to advance, which was carried by a squire called James de Forsines, crying out, "Moriennes." The Hainaulters, who were much heated, perceiving the banner of Moriennes, which is quite straight, thought it was their own, which they had been ordered to rally under, for there is but very little difference between the two; the Morienne arms having bars counterbarred with two chevrons, gules and the chevron of sir Robert had on it a small cross or. The Hainaulters made a sad mistake, and ran into the midst of sir Robert's troop, who received them most fiercely, repulsed and discomfited them. They lost, on their side, sir John de Vargny, sir Walter de Pont-à-l'Arche, sir William de Pipempoix, sir John de Soire, sir Daniel de Bleze, sir Race de Monceaux, sir Lewis Dampelu, and many other knights and squires. Sir William de Bailleul saved himself in the best manner he could, but he lost a great many of his men. Sir Vauflart de la Croix, who had hid himself among the reeds in the marshes, hoped to have remained there until the night, but he was perceived by some troopers, who were riding through these marshes: they made such a shouting and noise, that sir Vauflart came out and surrendered himself to them, who led him to the army, and gave him up to their commander. He detained him a whole day in his quarters, and would willingly, through pity, have saved him, as he knew his head would probably suffer. But the king of France, having heard of it, wished to take cognizance of it himself; so sir Vauflart was given up to him, and the king sent him to Lisle, where, as he had done much harm to the inhabitants, they would not accept of any ransom, but put him to death.

CHAPTER LIX.—THE EARL OF HAINAULT ATTACKS THE FORTRESS OF MORTAGNE IN VARIOUS MANNERS.

The king of France was much rejoiced at the arrival of sir Robert be Bailleul, and his defeat of the Hainaulters. Shortly afterwards, the earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle the seneschal of Hainault, with full six hundred lances, Hainaulters and Germans, set out from the siege before Tournay. The earl had sent orders for those of Valenciennes to take another route, and place themselves between the Scarpe and the Scheld, to attack the town of Mortagne. They came there in a large body, and brought with them many engines, to throw things into the place. I have before told how the lord of Beaujeu had been sent thither as governor: he had expected an attack, from the situation of Mortagne upon the Scheld, and bordering upon Hainault, and had driven upwards of twelve hundred piles into the bed of the river, to prevent its navigation. It was not long before the earl and his Hainaulters arrived on one side of the town, and the Valenciennois on the other: they made preparations for an immediate attack. The Valenciennois ordered their cross-bowmen to shoot, and advance to the barriers; but they were unable to do so, for the wide and deep trenches which had been made before them. They then bethought themselves to cross the Scarpe at any rate below Chateau l'Abbaie, and passing near St. Amand, to make an assault upon the gate which opens towards Mande. This they executed; and full four hundred light troops armed crossed the river, and Mortagne's three gates were besieged. The weakest was certainly that leading to Mande; however, that was tolerably strong.

At that post the lord of Beaujeu placed himself; for he knew that all the rest were safe. He had armed himself with a very stout lance, having the head of tempered steel, and on the under side a sharp hook, so that, when he made his stroke, he could fix the hook into the jackets, or armour, of those who attacked, draw them to him, and make them fall into the river. By this means, in the course of the day, he caught and destroyed more than twelve of the assailants. At this gate, the conflict was much more severe than any where else, and the earl of Hainault was ignorant of it: he was hard by towards Brisnal, drawn out in order of battle upon the bank of the Scheld. The lords took counsel how they might draw out the piles, either by force or ingenuity, from the bed of the river, so that they might advance upon it up to the walls of the town. They ordered an engine to be made in a large vessel, to draw them out one after another; and all the carpenters were directly set upon this business. This same day the Valenciennois, on their part, erected a handsome engine, which cast stones into the town and castle, and much annoyed the inhabitants of Mortagne. In this manner passed the first day, and the following night in assaulting and devising upon the best means to molest the town.

On the morrow, they returned to the attack on all sides. The third day the vessel and engine were ready to draw out the piles, and those ordered upon that duty were set to work, but they had so much trouble and labour in drawing out one, that the lords thought they should never accomplish it, and therefore made them desist. There was, at that time, a very able engineer at Mortagne, who, having considered the machine of the Valenciennois, and how much it annoyed the town, for it was perpetually in action, made another in the castle, which was not very large, but well made and tempered, and so well pointed, that it was used only three times; the first stone fell within twelve paces of the engine of the Valenciennois; the second was nearer to the box; and the third was so well aimed, that it struck the machine upon the shaft, and split it in two. The soldiers of Mortagne made a great shouting at this event. The Hainaulters were thus two days and two nights before Mortagne without conquering any part of it. The earl and his uncle thought it advisable to return towards Tournay, which they did; and the Valenciennois went back to their town, whence they had come.

CHAPTER LX.—THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES THE TOWN OF ST. AMAND DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

THREE days after the earl of Hainault had been returned from before Mortagne, he made a request to his companions, that they would come with him to St. Amand; for he had received many complaints of the soldiers of St. Amand having burnt the monastery of Hanon, and of their attempt to do the same at Vicoigne, as well as of many other vexations which they had committed upon the borders of Hainault. The earl set out from the siege of Tournay, with three thousand combatants, and came before St. Amand by the way of Mortagne, which town was only enclosed with a palisade. A knight from Languedoc, and seneschal of Carcassonne, was governor of it, and he had told the monks of the abbey, as well as the inhabitants, that it was not tenable against any body of men; not that he meant to give it up, but on the contrary, to defend it as long as he could, and mentioned it merely as a piece of information. These words were not much attended to, or believed; however, he had some time before sent to Mortagne all the jewels of the monastery, and thither went also the abbot and his monks, who were not very well calculated to defend themselves.

The Valenciennois, who had been ordered by the earl their lord to be before St. Amand on a certain day, as he would be there to meet them, came with twelve thousand combatants, and posting themselves before the town, armed all the cross-bowmen, and made them advance towards the bridge over the Scarpe. The conflict was here very sharp: it lasted all that day, without the Valenciennois being able to make any impression; but they had a great many of their men killed and wounded, and the besieged, mocking them, called out, "Go your ways, and drink your good ale." Towards the evening they retired from before the town, much wearied and surprised that they had not heard any tidings of their lord; they called a council, and resolved to return back to their own town. On the morrow after their departure, the earl of Hainault arrived, as has been said, by the way of Mortagne, and he immediately began the attack: it was so violent, that the barriers were instantly won, and they advanced to the gate which opens towards Mortagne. The earl and his uncle headed this attack: they fought most valiantly, and spared none. Each of them at this place received two such blows, from stones thrown down upon them, that their helmets were split through, and themselves stunned. One present then said to the earl, "Sir, we shall never do anything effectual in this place, for the gate is very strong, the passage narrow, and it will cost you too many of your people to gain it; but if you will order some large beams of wood to be brought, and shod with iron in the manner of piles, and strike with them against the walls of the monastery, I will promise you that you will make breaches in them in many places: if once we get into the monastery, the town is ours, for there is nothing to stop us between it and the town." The earl ordered this advice to be followed, for he perceived it was reasonable, and the shortest method of getting possession of the town. Great beams of oak were brought, formed, and sharpened like piles, and to each were ordered twenty or thirty men, who bearing it in their hands, retreated some paces, and then ran with it with great force against the wall, which they battered down in many places, so that they entered valiantly and crossed a small rivulet.

The seneschal of Carcassonne was there, with his banner displayed before him, which was gules, with a chef argent, three chevrons in chief, and an indented border, argent, and near him were collected many companions from his own country, who received the Hainaulters very gallantly, and fought as well as they were able, but it was in vain, as they were overpowered by numbers. It may be worth remembering, that, on their entering the monastery, there remained a monk, called sir Froissart, who did wonders, killing and wounding, at one of the breaches where he had posted himself, upwards of eighteen, so that no one durst venture to pass through: at last he was forced to fly, for he perceived that the Hainaulters were entering the monastery by various other breaches; the monk, therefore, made off as fast as he could, and saved himself in Mortagne. As soon as the earl, sir John, and the knights of Hainault, had entered the monastery, the earl ordered no quarter to be given, so much was he enraged at the violences they had committed in his territories. The town was soon filled

with soldiers, who pursued all they met from street to street, and from house to house; very few escaped being put to death. The seneschal was slain under his banner, and upwards of two hundred men with him. The earl returned that evening to Tournay.

On the morrow, the men at arms of Valenciennes, and the commonalty, came to St. Amand, burnt the town, the monastery, and the great minster: breaking and destroying all the bells, of which there were numbers of very good and melodious ones. The earl of Hainault made another excursion from the siege of Tournay, with about six hundred men at arms, in order to burn Orchies, Landas, and Le Celle. He afterwards crossed, with his army, the river Scarpe above Hanon, and, entering France, came before a large and rich monastery, at Marchiennes, of which sir Aymé de Vervaulx was governor, who had with him a detachment of cross-bowmen from Douay. The attack was violent, for the knight had strongly fortified the first gate, which was surrounded by wide and deep ditches, and the French and monks withinside defended themselves valiantly. The Hainaulters exerted themselves much; and, having procured boats, they by this means gained entrance into the monastery, but a German knight, attached to the lord of Fauquemont, was drowned; his name was sir Bacho de la Wiere. At the attack of the gate, the earl, his uncle the seneschal of Hainault, and many others, proved themselves such good knights, that the gate was gained, sir Aymé slain, and the greater part of the others. Many monks who were there were captured, the monastery pillaged, and burnt, as well as the village. The earl after this returned with his army to Tournay.

CHAPTER LXI.—SIR CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY, AND MANY OTHERS OF THE FRENCH, CAPTURED AT PONT A TRESSIN.

The siege of Tournay lasted a long time, and the town held out well; but the king of England thought he must gain it, for he knew that there were within it great numbers of men at arms, and a scarcity of provision, which would oblige them to yield through hunger. But others said, that they would find supplies through the country of the Brabanters, who permitted frequent and large quantities of provisions to pass through their army, and even to enter the town. Those from Brussels and Louvain were quite weary of remaining there so long, and petitioned the marshal of their army for leave to return to Brabant. The marshal replied, that he was very willing to consent to their departure, but they must leave their arms and accoutrements behind them. This made them so ashamed, that they never again repeated their request. During this siege, the Germans made an excursion towards Pont à Tressin, where sir Robert de Bailleul had defeated the Hainaulters. The lord of Rauderondenc, sir John of Rauderondenc his son, at that time a squire, sir John de Randebourgh, a squire also, and tutor to the lord of Rauderondenc's son, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, sir Reginald d'Escouvenort, sir Courrat d' Astra, sir Bastein de Basties, Candrelier his brother, the lord Strauren de Leurne, with many others, from the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, held a conference together, and resolved to make an excursion on the morrow, by break of day; for which purpose they armed, and prepared themselves well that night.

Some knights-bachelors* from Hainault joined them; among whom were sir Florent de Beaurieu, sir Latas de la Haye, marshal of the army, the lord John of Hainault, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir Robert Glewes, from the county of Los, at that time only a squire, and many more; amounting altogether to upwards of three hundred good men at arms. They came to Pont à Tressin, which they crossed without loss: they then held a council, on what would be the most advantageous plan for them to beat up and skirmish with the army of the

* The word *bachelor*, from whence has come *bachelier*, does not signify *bas chevalier*, but a knight who has not the number of *bachelles* of land requisite to display a banner; that is to say, *four bachelles*. The bachelle was composed of ten *mas* or *meix* (farms, or domains), each of which contained a sufficiency of land for the work of two oxen during a whole year.—*Gloss. Du droit. Fr. de Laurière.*

Bovatus terræ. Tantum esse quantum bos unus colat; sex bovatæ quantum sex. In vet. autem statutorum mens. ad compositionem mensurarum, sic notatur. Octo bovatæ terræ faciunt carucatam terræ, octo carucatæ faciunt unum feodum militis. xviii. acræ faciunt bovatam terræ.—*Spelmanni Glossarium.*

French. It was determined, that the lord of Rauderondenc, and his son, sir Henry de Kalkren, a mercenary knight, sir Thilman de Saussy, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir l'Alleman bastard of Hainault, sir Robert Glewes, and Jacquelot de Thiaulx, should act as light horse, and skirmish up to the tents of the French; that the rest of the knights and squires, who might amount to three hundred, should remain at the bridge, to keep and defend that pass, in case of any attack. This advanced body then set out: they were forty persons altogether, well mounted upon handsome and strong chargers: they rode on till they came to the French camp, when they immediately dashed in, and began to cut down tents and pavilions, and do every possible damage, by skirmishing with all that opposed them. That night, two great barons, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of Saulieu, had the watch, and were with their guard, when the Germans fell upon them. As soon as they heard the noise, they and their banners moved towards it.

When the lord of Rauderondenc saw them approach, he turned his horse about, and ordered his pennon and his party to push for the bridge, the French following him closely. In this chase, the French captured sir Oulphart de Guistelles, for he could not follow their track, his sight being indifferent. He was surrounded by the enemy, and made prisoner, as were two squires, of the names of Mondrop and Jacquelot de Thiaulx. The French galloped after them, but the Germans escaped; and, being scarcely more than half an acre separated from them, they could plainly hear them crying out, "Ha, gentlemen, you shall not return as easily as you came." Then one of his party rode up to the lord of Rauderondenc, and said, "Sir, consider what you are about, or the French will cut us off from the bridge." The lord of Rauderondenc replied, "If they know one road to it, I know another;" and, turning to his right, led his party along a road tolerably well beaten, which brought them straight to the river before mentioned, which is very deep, and surrounded by marshes. On their coming thither, they found they could not ford it, so that they must return, and pass over the bridge. The French, thinking to cut off and take the Germans, went on full gallop towards the bridge. When they were come near to it, and saw the large body of men waiting for them, they said to one another, "We are making a foolish pursuit, and may easily lose more than we can gain." Upon which many turned back, particularly the banner-bearer of the lord of Saulieu, as well as that lord himself. But the lord of Montmorency would not retire, but pushed forward courageously, and, with his party, attacked the Germans. This attack was very fierce on both sides, and each party had many unhorsed. Whilst they were engaged, the light troops made a circuit, and fell upon their flank: notwithstanding this, and the hard blows given, the French stood their ground. But sir Reginald d'Escouvenort, knowing the banner of Montmorency, under which the knight was, with sword in hand, dealing his blows about him, came upon his right hand, and, with his left hand seizing the reins of his horse, stuck spurs into his own, and drew him out of the combat. The lord of Montmorency gave many blows with his sword upon the helmet and back of sir Reginald, which at once broke and received them. However, the lord of Montmorency remained his prisoner, and the Germans fought so well, that they maintained their ground, and made fourscore gentlemen prisoners. They then repassed the bridge without hindrance, and returned to Tournay, where each retired to his own quarters.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE FLEMINGS ADVANCE TO ST. OMER DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

We will now relate an adventure which happened to the Flemings, under command of sir Robert d'Artois and sir Henry de Flandres. They amounted to upwards of forty thousand, from the towns of Ypres, Poperingue, Malines, Cassel, and Castlewick of Bergues. These Flemings were encamped in great array in the valley of Cassel, to oppose the French garrisons which king Philip had sent into St. Omer, St. Venant, Aire, and other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood. By the king of France's orders, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lords of Kaleuhen, Montay, Rochefort, the viscount de Touars, and many other knights from Auvergne and Limousin, posted themselves in St. Omer. In St. Venant, and in Aire, there were also a great many knights. The Flemings frequently

skirmished with the French; and one day, to the number of four or five thousand lightly armed, they came to the suburbs of St. Omer, pulled down many houses, and pillaged wherever they could. The alarm was instantly spread in the town: the lords who were there soon armed themselves and their men, and sallied out at the gate opposite to where the Flemings were. They might amount to about six banners, two hundred armed with helmets, and six hundred infantry. They made a circuit round St. Omer, as their guides, who were well acquainted with the road, led them, and came opportunely upon the Flemings, who were busily employed in collecting every thing they could find in the town of Arques, which is close to St. Omer, so that they were dispersed about, without officers, and without order. The French attacked them thus unawares, with banners displayed, and lances in their rests, in regular order, crying out, "Clermont, Clermont, for the dauphin of Auvergne."

When the Flemings heard this, they were sore alarmed; and, not attempting to rally in any order, they fled as fast as they could, throwing down all the pillage they had gotten. The French pursued them, and killed and knocked them down in great numbers. This pursuit lasted full two leagues: there were four thousand eight hundred slain, and four hundred captured, who were carried to St. Omer, and there imprisoned. When those few, who had escaped, arrived at their own army, and related what had happened to them, it soon came to the ears of their captains, who told them they had deserved what had befallen them, for they had done this without orders, and without a leader. About midnight, as these Flemings were asleep in their tents, so sudden an alarm and fright came upon them, that they all got up, and could not make sufficient haste to decamp. They directly pulled down their tents and pavilions, flung them into the baggage-waggons, and took to their heels; without waiting for any one, or keeping any order or regular road. When the two commanders heard of this, they got up in the greatest haste, and ordered large fires and torches to be lighted: they mounted their horses, and, galloping after the Flemings, said to them, "Sirs, tell us what has ailed you, that you fly thus, when no one pursues you; you ought to think yourselves very secure, and yet you are still going on. Return back, for God's sake: you are exceedingly to blame, to run away without being pursued." But, notwithstanding all their entreaties, they would not stop, and each took the nearest way he could find to his own home. These lords, perceiving they could not prevail with them, ordered their baggage to be packed up in the waggons, and came to the siege of Tournay, where they related to the chiefs what had happened to the Flemings, which surprised all; some said, they must have been bewitched.

CHAPTER LXIII.—THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY RAISED, BY MEANS OF A TRUCE.

The siege of Tournay had lasted a long time; eleven weeks all but three days; when the lady John de Valois, sister to the king of France, and mother to the earl of Hainault, took great pains with both parties to make up a peace, so that they might separate without a battle. The good lady had frequently, on her knees, besought it of the king of France, and afterwards came to the lords of the empire, especially to the duke of Brabant, and the duke of Juliers, who had married her daughter, and to the lord John of Hainault. She at last so far prevailed, by the help and assistance of the lord Lewis d'Augimont, who was well beloved by both parties, that a day was fixed for a negotiation, when each of the parties was to send five well-qualified persons to treat upon the best means of bringing about a reconciliation, and a truce for three days was agreed upon. These commissioners were to meet at a chapel, situated in the fields, called Esplotin. On the day appointed, having heard mass, they assembled after dinner, and the good lady with them. On the part of the king of France, there came Charles, king of Bohemia, Charles, earl of Alençon, the king's brother, the bishop of Liege, the earl of Flanders, and the earl of Armagnac. On the part of the king of England, there came the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincoln, the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, and the lord John of Hainault.

When they had all entered this chapel, they saluted each other most politely, with every

mark of respect: they then began on the business, and the whole day passed in discussing the best means to accomplish what they were met for. The lady Joan entreated of them respectfully, but with much earnestness, that they would exert themselves to bring about a peace: this first day, however, passed without any thing being decided, when they all separated, promising to return on the morrow. The next day they came to their appointment, began upon the treaty as before, and fell upon some arrangements which seemed likely to end to their mutual satisfaction; but it was too late that day to put them in writing: so they separated, with a promise of returning on the morrow to complete and finish it. The third day these lords returned, and agreed upon a truce, to last for one year, between the two kings and all the allies that were present, as well as between those who were carrying on the war in Scotland, Gascony, Poictou, and Saintonge; and it was in these countries to take place forty days from that day." Each party was to inform their adherents of the truce, and that they sincerely meant to abide by it; but they were to be left to follow their own inclinations, adhering to it or not.

France, Picardy, Burgundy, and Normandy, agreed to it, without any exception; and this truce was to take place immediately in the armies of France and England. The two kings also were to send four or five noble personages to Arras, where the pope was to send as many legates; and to whatever these persons should determine upon they promised most faithfully to accede. One of the conditions of this truce was, that each person should retain whatever he had got in his possession. The truce was immediately proclaimed in each army, to the great joy of the Brabanters, who were heartily tired of the siege. The day after, at day-break, tents and pavilions were struck, waggons loaded, and every one in motion to depart; so that any one who had been there before, and saw this, might have hailed a new era.

Thus the good city of Tournay remained unhurt, but it had a narrow escape; for there were at that time no more provisions in it than would have been sufficient for three or four days. The Brabanters began their march immediately, for they were very impatient to return. The king of England set out sore against his will, but it behoved him to consent to the will of others, and to agree to their counsels. The king of France could not well remain longer where he was, from the great stench of the dead cattle, and from the excessive heat of the weather. The French thought they had gained much honour in this business; giving for reason, that they had prevented the city of Tournay from being lost, and separated the large army which had lain before it and done nothing, notwithstanding the great preparations that had been made. The lords of the opposite party claimed the honour of this affair; because they had remained so long in the kingdom of France, and besieged one of the best towns the king had, burning and destroying his country before his eyes, and he not sending any succour or relief as he ought to have done; and lastly, because he had consented to a truce with his enemies lying before his city, burning and wasting his kingdom.

These lords then set out from Tournay, and returned to their own country. The king of England went to Ghent, where his queen was, and soon after crossed the sea with all his people, except those whom he left to attend the conference at Arras. The earl of Hainault returned to Valenciennes; and upon that occasion there were great entertainments, and a tournament at Mons in Hainault. Sir Gerard de Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, was there, and tilted at this tournament, in which he was mortally wounded. He left behind him a son, called John, who was afterwards a bold and hardy knight, though he enjoyed but indifferent health. The king of France disbanded his army, and went to amuse and refresh himself at Lisle, where the principal persons of Tournay came to see him. He received them with great joy; and, as a mark of favour for having so gallantly defended themselves against their enemies, so that they made no conquests from them, he granted them back their franchises, which they had lost for some time. This made them very happy; for sir Godemar du Fay, and many other knights, strangers to them, had been made their governors: they, therefore, immediately elected provosts and jurats from among themselves, according to their ancient customs. When the king had settled to his liking part of his business, he set out from Lisle, and took the road towards his good city of Paris.

The time approached for the meeting of the conference at Arras. Pope Clement VI. sent, as his legates, the cardinal of Naples, and the cardinal of Clermont, who came to Paris, where they were received most honourably by the king of France, and then proceeded to Arras. From the king of France, there came the earl of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauvais, and the bishop of Auxerre. On the part of the king of England there were, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Warwick, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord John of Hainault, and the lord Henry of Flanders. At this conference, there were many subjects brought forward for discussion, and a great deal of talk during the fifteen days which it lasted, but nothing positively determined upon; for the English made large demands, which the French would not allow of; they agreed only to restore the county of Ponthieu, which had been given, as a marriage portion with Isabella, to the king of England. This conference, therefore, broke up without doing any thing, except prolonging the truce to two years, which was all that these cardinals could obtain. Every one returned homewards; and the cardinals took their road through Hainault, at the entreaties of the earl, who right nobly entertained them.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DIES WITHOUT HEIRS, UPON WHICH A WAR ENSUES FOR THE SUCCESSION.

As soon as the truce made before Tournay had been agreed to and sealed, the lords and all others set off for their own countries. The duke of Brittany, who had attended the king of France, with his army before Tournay, better accoutred than any other prince or lord, was, upon his return home, taken ill, insomuch that he was obliged to stop, and his disorder increased so fast, that he died*. The duke, at his death, had no child, nor had the duchess, his wife, any expectations of one. He had a brother by his father's side, called the earl of Montfort, then living, and who had married the sister of earl Lewis of Flanders. The duke had also another brother, who was dead, but had left a daughter, whom her uncle, the duke, had married to the lord Charles of Blois, younger son of Guy earl of Blois, by the sister of king Philip of France, then reigning, and had promised her, on her marriage, the duchy of Brittany, after his decease, though, at the time, he was doubtful if the earl of Montfort would not claim it, as being nearest of kindred, though he was not properly his brother-german. It seemed to the duke, that the daughter of his brother-german ought, by reason of her proximity, to have the duchy after his death, in preference to the earl of Montfort, his brother. And as he had long had his suspicions that the earl of Montfort would, after his decease, enforce his claim, to the prejudice of his young niece, with all his power, he had married her to the lord Charles of Blois, with the intent that the king of France, his uncle, might more powerfully assist him in preserving his rights, should the earl of Montfort attempt to encroach on them.

As soon as the earl of Montfort knew of the death of the duke his brother, he set off directly for the city of Nantes, which is the capital of Brittany, and exerted himself so much among the citizens and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that he was received as their lord, as being the next relation to the duke just departed; and they all swore fealty and homage to him. Then he and his wife, who had the heart of a lion, took counsel together upon holding a solemn court, and a great feast at Nantes. Summons were ordered to be sent to all the barons and nobles of Brittany, and to the councils of the great towns, inviting them to attend this court, to do their fealty and homage as to their true lord, which was done. In the mean time, before the commencement of this feast, he set out from Nantes, with a great number of men at arms, and went towards Limoges, where he had been informed his brother had placed the large sums he had amassed. On his arrival he entered the town in a most splendid manner, and was nobly and honourably received by the inhabitants, clergy, and commonalty of the place. They all did him homage, as to their

* John III. duke of Brittany died at Caen, 30th of April 1341. His body was carried to the Carmelites of Ploermael. Charles de Louviur, who lived at that period, assured us, in his *Songe du Verger*, that duke John, seeing himself without children, declared the earl of Montfort his heir.

right lord; and the grand treasury was delivered up to him, by the consent of the lords and burgesses, whom he gained by the presents and promises he made to them. When he had feasted and remained at Limoges as long as was agreeable to him, he departed with all the treasure, and came directly to Nantes, where the lady, his wife, was expecting him. They

The entry of John de Montfort and his Duchess into Nantes; from a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

continued there in private, with much joy, until the day arrived for the grand court and solemn feast, and made great preparations for the celebration of it. On the day of the feast, no one appeared to the summons but one knight, sir Henry de Leon, who was a powerful and valiant man: nevertheless, they continued the feast for three days with the citizens of Nantes, and those near the city, in the best manner they could. It was then resolved to expend the great treasure in obtaining possession of the duchy, to collect a numerous body of soldiers, both horse and foot, and to force all that should rebel against him to ask his mercy. This council was attended by all who were at Nantes, knights, clerks, and citizens. Soldiers were enlisted from all parts, and well paid; so that they soon had a large body of horse, as well as foot, of those that were noble, as well as those that were not, and from all parts and countries.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF BREST.

When the earl of Montfort found that he had men in plenty, he was advised to go and possess himself, either by violent or gentle means, of all the country, and to subdue his enemies. He sallied out, therefore, from Nantes, with a large army, and drew towards a very strong castle, situated upon the sea-coast, called Brest: sir Walter * de Clisson was governor of it, a most noble knight, and one of the greatest barons of Brittany. The earl, in his march towards Brest, so conquered all the country, except the fortresses, that the inhabitants followed him, on foot or on horseback, for they dared not leave him: he thereby had a numerous body of men at arms. When he and his army were come before Brest, he ordered sir Henry de Leon to summon the governor, and require of him, in obedience to the earl of Montfort, as duke of Brittany, to surrender to him the castle and town of Brest, as to his liege lord. The governor replied, he would do nothing in the business, until he should have received orders from the lord to whom of right it belonged. The earl then retreated to a small distance, and sent challenges to those of the town and castle. On the morrow, after he had heard mass, he ordered his men to arm, and make an assault upon the castle, which was very strong, and well provided with every thing.

The governor, sir Walter de Clisson, on his part, was not inactive: he armed all the garrison, who were full three hundred good fighting men, and sent every one to the post he had assigned them, taking with him about forty of the bravest, and advanced out of the castle, as far as the barriers. The assailants came there to make their attack, which was very sharp; and many of them were slain and wounded: the governor performed wonders; but at last, such numbers came upon him, the earl urged them on so sharply, and each exerted himself so much, that the barriers were won, and the defenders of them forced to retire towards the castle with great loss; for their opponents had fought lustily: many were killed. The governor, however, comforted them as well as he could, and conducted them in safety to the chief gate. When those who kept the ward of the gate perceived the defeat of the governor's party, they were afraid of losing the castle, and let fall the portcullis, which shut them out: the knight however defended himself valiantly, though most of his party were killed or wounded: the governor himself, though very badly wounded, would not surrender, in spite of all entreaties. Those within the castle exerted themselves with their cross-bows; and, by throwing large stones upon the assailants, forced them to retire, and gave an opportunity of raising a little the portcullis, so that the knight and the remnant of his detachment entered: all of them were dangerously wounded.

The next day, the earl of Montfort ordered machines to be made, and got ready to attack the castle more vigorously; and he declared, that nothing should make him depart, until he had gained possession of it. On the third day he was informed that sir Walter de Clisson was dead of the wounds he had received, which was confirmed. Upon this the earl ordered his men to arm themselves, to renew the attack with vigour, and the machines which had been made to advance, and large beams of timber to be thrown across the trenches, in order to come to the walls of the castle. Those within defended themselves with their cross-bows, and by throwing down upon the assailants stones, firebrands, and pots of hot lime, till towards mid-day, when the earl again summoned them to surrender, promising them indemnity for what was past, on their acknowledging him as their lawful lord. Upon this they had a long consultation, and the earl ordered a cessation of arms. After they had fully considered the proposal, they freely surrendered themselves, their persons and effects being preserved inviolate. The earl then entered the castle, with a few attendants, and received the fealty of all those of the castlewick. He appointed a knight, in whom he had great trust, as the governor of it, and returned, very well pleased, to his camp.

* Sir *Garnier* de Clisson, Lord Berners, and D. Sauvage's edit.—Ed.

CHAPTER LXVI.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE CITY OF RENNES.

When the earl had concluded this business, and had established proper guards and garrison in the castle of Brest, he was advised to advance towards the city of Rennes, which was at no great distance. He ordered his camp to be broken up, and the army to march towards Rennes: through all the country he passed, he made the inhabitants swear homage and fealty to him, as their liege lord, and took as many with him as he could, to help and assist his army. None dared to refuse him, for fear of their persons. When he was arrived at Arras, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and placed his army round the town and suburbs. Those of the town made a show of defending themselves: their governor was sir Henry de Spinefort, whom they much loved for his prowess and loyalty. He one day made a sally, with two hundred men, before the dawn, upon the enemy's camp, cutting down tents, and killing some few. Upon which the army cried out "To arms," and made ready for their defence: those who were upon guard, hearing these cries, and the stir, advanced to the place, and met those of the town returning home. An attack commenced, which was boldly fought on both sides; when the army had armed themselves, they advanced to the support of the guard; which the town's-people seeing, lost courage, and ran away as fast as they could, but many remained on the field, killed and prisoners. Among the last was sir Henry de Spinefort, who being brought to the earl of Montfort, he determined to send him to the inhabitants of the town, to demand their surrender, or he would hang the knight before the gates: for he had heard how very much he was beloved by them.

Upon this demand the commonalty had a long consultation. They loved sir Henry much, and greatly compassionated him: they had also made but very scanty provision for enduring a long siege, so that they wished to accept the terms offered: but the higher ranks of citizens would not agree to them, for they had laid in ample stores. This occasioned a quarrel among them; and as those of the higher ranks were nearly allied to each other, they withdrew themselves on one side, and said aloud, that all who were of this opinion should come to them: so many were of their way of thinking, and connected with them, that they amounted to full two thousand against accepting the earl's proposals. When the lower sorts saw this, they began to stir, and cried out against them, using many bad and villanous expressions, and at last fell upon them and killed many. The citizens perceiving their danger, begged for mercy, and promised to agree to whatever the people chose. Upon this the riot ceased, and the people ran to open the gates, and deliver up the city to the earl of Montfort. All the inhabitants, both great and small, did him homage and fealty, acknowledging him for their lord. This was done out of love to sir Henry de Spinefort, and he was made one of the earl's council.

CHAPTER LXVII.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF HENNEBON *.

The earl entered the town of Rennes in great triumph; and he quartered his army in the fields round about it. He made up the quarrel between the inhabitants, and then established bailiffs, provosts, sheriffs, sergeants, and other officers. He remained in the city three days, to repose himself and army, and to consider upon what steps he should next take. The fourth day he decamped, and marched to one of the best fortified castles, and the strongest town, without comparison, in all Brittany, called Hennebon. It is situated near the sea, and a river runs round about it in deep trenches. When sir Henry de Spinefort was informed of his intentions, he began to be alarmed lest some mischance should befall his brother, who was governor of that place, and, taking the earl aside, said to him, "Sir, you have admitted me to the honour of your council, and I have sworn fealty to you. I perceive that you mean to sit down before Hennebon: I think it, therefore, my duty to inform you, that the town and castle are so strongly fortified, that it will not be so easily won as you may think. You may lie before it a whole year, and never conquer it by dint of force:

* Situated upon the river Blavet, in the diocese of Vannes, thirty-seven leagues from Nantes.

but if you will put your confidence in me, I will point out a method by which you may gain it. It is proper to use artifice when strength is of no avail. You will give me, if you please, five hundred men at arms, for me to act with as I shall think proper: I will advance with them half a league before your army, with the banner of Brittany displayed. As soon as my brother, who is commandant of the town and castle, shall see the banner of Brittany, and distinguish me, I am sure he will open the gates, which I will enter and seize, as well as the town and castle, and arrest my brother, whom I will give up to your will, if he will not follow my advice, under your promise of honour that you will not do him any bodily harm." "No, by my head, I will not," replied the earl, "and you have hit upon a lucky expedient. I love you more than before for it, and shall be charmed with you, if you can bring it about that I may be master of the town and castle."

Sir Henry de Spinefort, and his party, amounting to full five hundred armed men, took leave of the earl, and, in the evening, came before Hennebon. As soon as Oliver de Spinefort knew of his arrival, he permitted him and his forces to enter the gates, and went down the street to meet him. When sir Henry saw him approach, he stepped forward, and taking hold of him said, "Oliver, you are my prisoner." "How is this?" replied Oliver: "I trusted in you, and thought you were come here to help and assist me in defending this town and castle." "Sweet sir," said sir Henry, "things do not go on in that manner. I take possession of this place for the earl of Montfort, who at this moment is duke of Brittany; to whom I, as well as the greater part of the country, have sworn fealty and homage; and you will, I am sure, do the same, for it will be more agreeable to do it out of love than through compulsion, and my lord the earl will think himself the more obliged to you for it." Oliver was so much pressed and entreated by his brother, that he consented to his proposals, and confirmed it to the earl, who entered the town triumphantly, which is a large place, and a good seaport. After having taken possession of the town and strong castle, he placed in both, men at arms, for their garrisons. He then advanced towards Vannes, and was so active in treating with the inhabitants, that they surrendered it, and swore fealty and homage, as to their true lord. He established in that town all manner of municipal officers, and tarried there three whole days. When he departed, he marched to besiege a very strong castle, called La Roche Perion, the governor of which was the lord Oliver de Clisson, cousin-german to the lord of Clisson*.

The earl remained before it more than ten days, without being able to find out any means to gain this castle, it was so strong, nor obtain any parley or conference with the governor, so that he might attempt to gain him to his obedience, either by promises or by threats. He therefore left it until he should have a greater force, and went to besiege another castle, ten leagues off, called the castle of Aurai. Sir Geoffry de Malestroit was governor of it, and he had for his companion sir Yves de Trisiguidi. The earl made two assaults upon it, but he saw he should lose more than he could gain: he consented to a truce, and a day of parley, through the earnest solicitations of sir Hervé de Léon†, who at that time was with him. The parley was so managed, that every thing was amicably adjusted, and the two knights swore fealty and homage to the earl, who immediately departed, after having appointed them as his governors of the castle and of the surrounding country, and went toward a strong castle in that neighbourhood, called Goy la Forest. He who was governor of it, perceiving that the earl had a strong force, and that all the country was submitting itself to him, by the advice and remonstrances of sir Hervé de Léon (with whom he had formerly been companion at arms in Prussia, Grenada, and in many other foreign countries) yielded it up to the earl, and swore fealty and homage to him, who continued him as governor of the place. He then went to Carhaix, a good town, with a strong castle. The lord of it was a bishop, who at the time was there: he was uncle to sir Hervé de Léon, and by his advice and affection for him, he surrendered it to the earl, acknowledging him as his lord, until some other should come, and show a more just title to the dukedom of Brittany‡.

* The Histoire de la Bretagne, by Père Morice, a Benedictine monk, says, that Oliver de Clisson was the true lord de Clisson.

† Called *Henry* de Leon in chapter 64. Both Lord Berners and D. Sauvage's edition read *Henry* throughout. —Ed.

‡ It was the bishop of Quimper, Alain le Gal, who was probably on his visitation round his diocese. The author of the History of Brittany before quoted, seems to doubt the relationship between the bishop and sir Hervé de Léon.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND FOR THE DUKEDOM OF BRITTANY *.

WHY should I make a long story of it? The earl of Montfort continued his conquests, gained the whole country, and was every where addressed as duke of Brittany. He advanced to a sea-port town called Roscoff, when he dismissed his troops, and sent them to garrison and preserve for him the different towns he had won. He then embarked, and landed in Cornwall, at a port called Cepsee, where, upon his inquiries after the king of England, he was informed that he was at Windsor. He set off for that place, and was received at Windsor, by the king, queen, and all the barons at that time there, with great joy. He explained to the king, the lord Robert d'Artois, and to the council, the manner of his seizing and taking possession of the duchy of Brittany, which had devolved to him, as next heir to his brother lately deceased. He suspected, however, that the lord Charles of Blois, and the king of France, would attempt to deprive him of it by force; for which reason he had come to hold the duchy of the king of England, and to do him homage for it, provided he should be secured against the king of France, or any others that should attempt to molest him in his rights. The king of England, considering that his war against France would be strengthened by this means,—that he could not have a better entry into that kingdom than through Brittany,—that the Germans and Brabanters had done nothing for him, but cost him large sums,—and that the lords of the empire had led him up and down, taking his money, without making any return for it,—was very happy to comply with the earl's request, and received his homage for the duchy by the hand of the earl, who was called and addressed by the title of duke. The king then gave his promise, in the presence of the lords who had accompanied him, as well as before those barons of England that were there, that he would aid, defend, and preserve him, as his liege man, against any one, the king of France, or any other, to the uttermost of his royal power. These promises and homage were written and sealed, and each party had a copy of them. After this, the king and queen made such rich presents of jewels, and other gifts, to the earl, and to those who had come over with him, that they pronounced him a gallant king, and fit to reign many years in great prosperity. They afterwards took leave, embarked, and landed at Roscoff, a town in Brittany, the place whence they had sailed; and thence he went to Nantes, where his countess had remained, who told him that he had done well, and had acted wisely.

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT SUMMONED BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS AT THE REQUEST OF THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS.

WHEN the lord Charles of Blois, who, by right of his wife, looked upon himself as lawful duke of Brittany, was informed that the earl John of Montfort was conquering, by force of arms, all the country and fortresses which of right belonged to him, he went to Paris, and complained of it to king Philip, his uncle. King Philip called upon his twelve peers for their advice what was best to be done in this business. They recommended, that the earl of Montfort should be sent to and summoned, by properly qualified messengers, to appear at Paris, to be interrogated judicially; which was done. The messengers found the earl in the city of Nantes, keeping great feasts, which he made them partake of, and told them, he would be obedient to the king's commands, and would cheerfully attend them. He made very magnificent preparations, set out from Nantes, and journeyed on till he came to Paris, which he entered with more than four hundred attendants on horseback, and tarried there

* Froissart seems to mistake this homage for the one the earl of Montfort paid to the king of England as earl of Richmond, which had fallen to the king on the death of earl John. But I cannot account for this, as Froissart before says, king Edward created Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond. Montfort positively denied having paid any homage, when he attended the king of France, at Paris, in obedience to his summons. The procuration to treat with the duke of Brittany, and the powers to receive his homage for the lands appertaining to the earldom of Richmond, are given to the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir Walter Scroop, both dated the 13th March, 1331.—*Rymer.*

that day and night. On the morrow, about eight o'clock, he and his attendants mounted their horses, and rode to the palace, where king Philip was waiting for him, surrounded by his twelve peers, great numbers of other barons, and the lord Charles of Blois. When the earl of Montfort was arrived at the palace, he withdrew to the chamber where the king and his barons were: he was civilly regarded and saluted by them. He advanced towards the king, and making him a reverence, said, "Sir, I come here in obedience to your commands and good pleasure." The king replied, "Earl Montfort, I thank you for so doing; but I am much surprised how you could think or dare, of your own accord, to invade the duchy of Brittany, where you have no right, for there are nearer heirs than you, whom you attempt to disinherit: and, in order the better to strengthen your claim, you have been, as I am informed, to do homage for it to my enemy, the king of England."

The earl answered, "Oh dear, sir, do not believe it; for, in good truth, you have been misinformed: but, with regard to my claim of which you have just spoken, with all due deference to your grace, I believe you are quite mistaken; for I know of no nearer relation to the duke, my brother, lately deceased, than myself: and I shall not think myself a rebel, or be ashamed, for not giving up my right*." "Sir earl," said the king, "you say well; but I command you, by what you now hold, and expect to hold, from me, that you quit not the city of Paris for fifteen days, when the peers and barons shall try this claim of relationship; at which time you will know what your right is: and, if you act otherwise, you will incur my displeasure." "Your will shall be done, sir," answered the earl. He then left the court and returned to his hotel to dinner. When he was come there, he retired to his own chamber; and having well weighed and considered some suspicions he had conceived, he mounted his horse, and set out for Brittany, accompanied by a very small number of attendants, and arrived at Nantes, before the king or any others, except his own particular friends, knew any thing of the matter. It was imagined, ill health kept him within his hotel. He related to his countess all that had happened, and wrote, according to her advice, to all the towns and castles which had been surrendered to him; established in each able captains, with plenty of soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, and paid them handsomely.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY ADJUDGED, BY THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, TO THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

It may be easily conceived, that the king of France, and lord Charles de Blois, were exceedingly enraged, on hearing that the earl of Montfort had escaped from them. However, they waited for the expiration of the fifteen days, when the peers and barons were to give their judgment to whom belonged the duchy of Brittany. They adjudged it wholly to the lord Charles de Blois, from the earl of Montfort, for two reasons. One was, because the

* Lord Berners, whose account agrees with that in D. Savage's edition, represents Montfort as willing to submit to judgment, if given against him; and as this is a favourable opportunity for contrasting the style of Lord Berners' and Mr. Johnes's translations, we annex the whole passage.

"The next day, he (the earl of Montfort) and all his mounted on their horses, and rode to the kynge's palayse. Ther the kynge and his xii peres, with other great lordes of Fraunce, taryed his commyng, and the lorde Charles of Blois with thē. Than therle entred into the kynge's chambre: he was well regarded and saluted of every person. Than he enclyned hymselfe to the kyng, and sayd, Sir, I am come hyther at your cōmaundement and pleasure. Than the kyng sayd, earl of Mountfort, for your so doing I can you good thanke, howbeit I have marueyle howe that ye durste undertake on you the duchy of Bretayne, wherein ye have no right, for there is another nerer than ye be, and ye wolde disinheryt hym; and to mentayne your quarell, ye have ben wt myne aduersary the kynge of Englande, and as it is shewed me ye haue done hym homage for the same. Than therle sayd, Sir beleue it nat, for surely ye are but yuell enformed in that behalf; but sir, as for the right that ye speke of, sauyng your dispeasur, ye do me therein wrong, for sir, I knowe none so nere to my brother that is departed as I; *if it were iuged or playnly declared by right that there were a nother nerer than I, I wolde not be rebell nor ashamed to leave it.* Well, sir, quoth the kyng, ye say well; but I comaund you, in all that ye holde of me, that ye depart not out of this cytie of Parys this xv dayes, by the which tyme the xii peres and lordes of my realme shall iudge this mater, and thā ye shall knowe what right ye haue, and if ye do otherwyse, ye shall displease me. Than therl sayd, sir, all shal be at yor pleasure. Than he went fro the court to his lodgynge to dyner. Whan he came to his lodgynge, he entred into his chambre, *and ther satte and ymagined many doutes*, and finally, with a small company, he mounted on his horse, and retourned agayne into Bretayne, or the king or any other wyst wher he was become. Some thought he had beeu but a lytell sicke in his lodgyng."—Ed.

wife of lord Charles de Blois, as the representative of her father (who after the last duke was the next brother, both by father and mother), was a nearer relation than the earl of Montfort, who was the youngest of these brothers, by another mother; which mother had never been duchess of Brittany; so that he never could deduce any claim from her. Another was, that, supposing the earl of Montfort had any legal claim to the succession, he had forfeited it, because he had done homage for it to another lord than the king of France, to whom he owed it; and also, because he had transgressed the commands of the king of France, had broken his arrest, and had quitted Paris without leave. When the barons had publicly given their judgment in this affair, the king called to his nephew, the lord Charles of Blois, and said to him, "Good nephew, you have had adjudged to you a handsome and great heritage; make haste to take possession of it, and conquer it from him who wrongfully holds it; and entreat all your friends to aid and assist you in this undertaking. I will not fail you, but will lend you money in sufficiency, and will give orders to my son, the duke of Normandy, to take the command of the expedition." The lord Charles made a profound reverence to the king, and returned him many thanks. He soon after requested the duke of Normandy his cousin, the count d'Alençon his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, the count de Blois his brother, the duke of Bourbon, the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord James of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, at that time constable of France, the count de Guines his son, the viscount de Rohan, and all the other princes and barons then present, to assist him to gain his right; which they all promised, and said they would cheerfully follow him, and their lord, the duke of Normandy, with all the forces they could collect together. Upon which every one set off for his own home, to make himself ready, and provide properly for the occasion.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE LORDS OF FRANCE ENTER BRITTANY, WITH LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

When all the lords of Normandy, the count d'Alençon, the duke of Burgundy, and the others that were to accompany the lord Charles de Blois, in his expedition to conquer Brittany, were ready, some of them set out from Paris, and the rest from different places, in order to meet together at Angers. From thence they proceeded to Ancenis, which is at the extremity of the kingdom on that side. They remained there three days, for the purpose of arranging and ordering their army and baggage. Upon entering Brittany, they numbered their forces, and found them amount to five thousand men at arms, without counting the Genoese, who were at least three thousand, under the command of three knights from Genoa: the name of one was Othes de Rae, and of another Charles Germanly*. There was a large body of foot soldiers and cross-bow men, led on by sir Galois de Baume. When the whole army had marched out of Ancenis, they advanced towards a very strong castle, situated upon a high mountain, called Châteauceaux, on the borders of Brittany, which was very well provided with men and ammunition. It was under the command of two knights from Lorraine; one called sir Giles, and the other sir Valerian. The lords of France, on drawing near to this castle, were of opinion to besiege it; for if they left a place of such strength behind them, it would do them much harm. They therefore surrounded it, and made many assaults, particularly the Genoese, who were eager to show themselves at the onset, and lost many of their men; for those within made so gallant a defence, that these gentlemen remained a long time before it without any success. At last, however, they brought such quantities of great beams and faggots as filled up the ditches, so that they could get to the foot of the walls of the castle, and attack it with greater vigour. The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, and brands of fire, notwithstanding which, their opponents advanced close to the walls, having secured themselves by means of large beams, so that they could mine the walls under cover. Upon this the castle was surrendered, the lives and effects of the garrison being spared.

* According to the Annals of Genoa, by Agostino Justiniano, I think their names ought to be, *Odoard de Doria* and *Charles Grimaldi*.—*Denys Sauvage.*

Vallani, in his Chronique Universelle, makes mention of *Anton Doria* and *Charles Grimaldi*, as captains of the Genoese, at the battle of Crecy.—*Idem.*

When the lords of France had thus gained the castle, the duke of Normandy, as commander in chief, gave it up to lord Charles de Blois, as appertaining to him of right, who placed a garrison there, with a sufficient force to guard it and the neighbouring country, and also to conduct such troops after him as might arrive*. They then advanced towards Nantes, which is the principal town of Brittany, and where their enemy, the earl of Montfort, had fixed his residence. The marshals of the army, and the advanced guard, came to a tolerable good town, surrounded with ditches, which they immediately attacked. Those within were not very numerous, nor well armed; consequently the town was soon taken and pillaged: one half of it was burnt and the inhabitants slain. This town was called Carquefou, and is about four or five leagues from Nantes. The lords remained for the night in that neighbourhood: the next day they advanced to Nantes, which they laid siege to, and pitched their tents and pavilions. The men at arms in the city, who were very numerous, and the citizens, having perceived this, hastened to arm themselves, and went to the different posts assigned them for defending their town. The army before it, having fixed upon their quarters, went out a foraging; and some of the Genoese and foot soldiers advanced, as far as the barriers, to skirmish. Several young men of the town with a few soldiers sallied out to meet them, and many were slain on both sides. Skirmishes were continually going on as long as the army remained before it.

One morning, some of the soldiers and citizens sallied forth, to seek adventures. They met about fifteen carts loaded with provisions, going to the army, conducted by sixty persons. Those from the town were two hundred. They fell upon them, seized the carts, and slew many. Those that escaped fled to the army, and related what had passed; when immediately a detachment was sent to rescue the prisoners. They came up with them near the barriers: the affray then became more serious; for those from the army multiplied so quickly, that the citizens had enough to do. However, they took the horses from the carts, and drove them into the town, that if their opponents should gain the field, they might not so easily carry off the waggons or provisions. Other soldiers came out from the town, to help their friends or relations: it became every moment more severe, and of a long continuance: many were killed and wounded on both sides. At length, sir Hervé de Léon perceived it was time to retreat: for, by staying, they might lose more than they could gain: he therefore ordered those of the town to retire in the best manner they could; but they were so closely pursued, that numbers were killed, and more than two hundred burgesses of the town taken prisoners. The earl of Montfort was very angry at this, and blamed sir Hervé much for having ordered the retreat so soon. Sir Hervé took this to heart, and would never attend the councils of the earl, as he had formerly used to do; which conduct surprised many.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKEN PRISONER AT NANTES, AND THE MANNER OF HIS DEATH.

It came to pass, as I have heard it related, that the burgesses, seeing their property destroyed both within and without the town, and their children and friends thrown into prison, were fearful lest worse might happen to them: they therefore assembled privately, and, in their meetings, came to a determination to treat in an underhand manner, with the lords of France, about obtaining a peace, securing their property, and delivering their children and friends out of prison. Their proposals were acceded to; and their friends were to be set at liberty, upon condition that they would allow them to pass through one of the gates of the town, to attack the castle, and seize the earl of Montfort, without doing hurt, either to the city or to any of the inhabitants. There were some people who seemed to say, that this treaty was brought about through the solicitation of sir Hevré de Léon (who had formerly been one of the earl's chief advisers), out of revenge for having been menaced and blamed by him, as before related. By this means they entered the city, accompanied by as

* The historian of Brittany says, the French kept this place, and that king John gave it as an appanage to his son, Lewis count d'Anjou. Charles V. acknowledged that it belonged to the dukes of Brittany, and gave it back.

many as they chose, went straight to the castle, broke down the gates, and took the earl of Montfort, whom they carried off to their camp, without injuring house or inhabitant in the city. This event took place in the year of grace 1341, about All-Saints day. The lords of France entered the city in great triumph; when all the burgesses and inhabitants did homage and fealty to the lord Charles de Blois, as to their true lord. They continued in the city for three days, keeping great feasts*: they advised the lord Charles to remain there, and in its neighbourhood, until another season, and to employ the soldiers of the garrisons from the places he had won in the most advantageous manner. These lords then took their leave and departed, and rode on till they came to Paris, where the king was, to whom they delivered up the earl of Montfort, as his prisoner. The king confined him in the tower of the Louvre at Paris, where he remained for a length of time, and at last died there, as it has been told me for a truth†.

I wish now to return to the countess of Montfort, who possessed the courage of a man, and the heart of a lion. She was in the city of Rennes when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and, notwithstanding the great grief she had at heart, she did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers: showing them a young child, called John, after his father, she said, "Oh, gentlemen, do not be cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord: he was but one man. Look at my little child, here: if it please God, he shall be his restorer, and shall do you much service. I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and will seek out for such a leader, as may give you a proper confidence." When the countess had, by these means, encouraged her friends and soldiers at Rennes, she visited all the other towns and fortresses, taking her young son John with her. She addressed and encouraged them in the same manner as she had done at Rennes. She strengthened her garrisons both with men and provisions, paid handsomely for every thing, and gave largely wherever she thought it would have a good effect. She then went to Hennebon, near the sea, where she and her son remained all that winter; frequently visiting her garrisons, whom she encouraged, and paid liberally.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND, FOR THE THIRD TIME, MAKES WAR UPON THE SCOTS.

It has been mentioned before, how the lords of Scotland, during the siege of Tournay, had retaken many towns and fortresses from the English, which they possessed in Scotland. There only remained to them the castles of Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick. The Scots had laid siege to the castle of Stirling, assisted by some French lords, whom king Philip sent to aid them in their wars, and had pressed it so closely, that the English garrison found great difficulty in holding it out. When the king of England was returned into his own country, he thought it advisable to make an incursion into Scotland, which he immediately set about,

* The French remained at Nantes until the 18th December; and the earl of Montfort surrendered the town himself to the duke of Normandy, on learning what were the real dispositions of the townsmen, and knowing he could not longer depend on them. It is said, he was deceived by the fine speeches of the duke, who promised, on oath, to deliver to him again the town of Nantes, in the same state he received it, and granted him passports, &c.—*Hist. of Brittany.*

† Froissart has been misinformed. "It was about this time (1345) that the earl of Montfort found means to escape from the tower of the Louvre, where he had been confined upwards of three years. Some persons, touched with compassion, disguised him as a merchant, and assisted him in his escape. He went directly to England, and found king Edward at Westminster, who had just written to the pope, to complain of the infractions Philip de Valois was making on the truce concluded at Malestroit, and to explain the reasons he had for declaring war against him. He was solely occupied with the great armament he was preparing against France, and on the war he intended to carry on in Gascony. Nevertheless, he thought proper to grant some troops to the earl of Montfort, to support him against Charles de Blois; the command of which he gave to William Bohun, earl of Northampton, whom he had nominated his lieutenant-general, as well in Brittany as in France.

"The earl of Montfort, before he quitted England, paid homage liege to the king, for the duchy of Brittany, at Lambeth, in the apartment of the archbishop, in presence of the earl of Northampton, and several other lords.

"He embarked with the troops for his duchy—made an unsuccessful attack on Quimper, which he did not long survive. He died the 26th September, 1345, in the castle of Hennebon, and was first buried in the church of the Holy Cross at Kimperlé, but was afterwards transferred to the church of the Dominicans, in the same town. Before his death he made a will, and appointed the king of England guardian to his son John of Britany."—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

and began his march between Michaelmas and All-Saints. He issued out his summons for all archers and men at arms to follow him to York. The English put themselves in motion to obey his commands, and came to the place appointed. The king arrived at York, where he remained waiting for his forces, who followed him very quickly. When the Scots heard of the king's arrival at York, they pushed on the siege of Stirling with the greatest vigour; and by engines and cannons so pressed the garrison, that they were forced to surrender it, preserving their lives, but not their effects. This intelligence was brought to the king, where he lay. He began his march towards Stirling, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where, and in the neighbouring villages, he quartered his army, and continued upwards of a month, waiting for their purveyances, which had been embarked between All-Saints and St. Andrew's day. Many of their ships were lost; and they had sustained such contrary winds, that they were driven upon the coasts of Holland and Friezeland, in spite of all their efforts, so that very few arrived at Newcastle. On which account the army of the king of England, which consisted of six thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry, were in very great distress, and provisions exceedingly scarce. They could not advance farther, as the winter was set in, and no forage or provisions to be had; for the Scots had secured all the cattle and corn in their fortresses. The Scottish lords, who, after the conquest of Stirling, had retired to the forest of Jedworth, understanding that the king of England was come to Newcastle with a large force, to burn and destroy their country, collected together, to consider of the best means to defend themselves. They were not very numerous, and had carried on the war, night and day, for more than seven years, without a leader, very much to their own discomfort: and, seeing there was not any expectation of receiving succour from their own king, they determined to send to the king of England a bishop and an abbot, to solicit a truce.

These ambassadors set out and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they found the king surrounded by his barons; to whom, having come with a safe-conduct, they explained so handsomely their mission, that a truce was granted them for four months, upon condition that the Scots should send messengers to king David in France, and signify to him, that if, in the month of May following, he did not return to his own country, with powers sufficient to defend it against king Edward, they would own themselves subject to the king of England, and never more acknowledge him for their lord. Upon this, the two prelates returned to Scotland, when the Scots ordered sir Robert de Vesci and sir Simon Frazer, with two other knights, to set off for France, to inform the king of these conditions. The king of England, who had remained at Newcastle with his whole army in a very uncomfortable manner, on account of the scarcity of provisions and other stores, the more readily granted this truce: he immediately set off homewards, and dismissed all his troops. The ambassadors from Scotland to France took their way through England, and crossed the sea at Dover. King David, who had remained seven years in France, knowing that his country had been much desolated, and that his people had suffered exceedingly, determined to take his leave of the king of France, and return to his own kingdom, to endeavour to comfort and assist them. He therefore had set out, accompanied by his queen, before these ambassadors arrived, and had embarked at another port, under the guidance of a mariner called sir Richard the Fleming*, so that he landed in the port of Moray, in Scotland, before any of the lords knew of it†.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND ADVANCES WITH A LARGE ARMY TO NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

When the young king David was landed in his own country, his subjects came to him in crowds; and with great joy and solemnity they conducted him to the town of Perth. Thither came people from all parts to see him, and to carouse: they afterwards remonstrated

* Malcolm Fleming of Cummirnald.

† David II., with his consort, Johanna of England, landed, from France, at Inverbervie, in Kincardineshire, 4th May, 1341.—*Annals of Scotland.*

with him, upon the destruction which king Edward and the English had done to Scotland. King David told them he would have ample revenge, or he would lose his kingdom, and his life into the bargain. By the advice of his council, he sent messengers to all his friends, far and near, to beg and entreat they would aid and assist him in this enterprise. The earl of Orkney was the first who obeyed the summons: he was a great and powerful baron, and had married king David's sister. There came with him many men at arms. Many other barons and knights came from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark: some out of affection and friendship, and others for pay. There were such numbers from all parts, that, when they were arrived at Perth and its neighbourhood, on the day which king David had appointed, they amounted to sixty thousand men on foot, and three thousand men more mounted on galloways, with arms, knights, and squires: in short, all the nobility and gentry of Scotland. When they were ready, they set out, to do as much mischief as possible to their neighbours in England; for the truce was expired; or to fight with the king who had destroyed their country. They left, therefore, the town of Perth, in regular order, and came

Part of the Old Town Wall of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.—From an Original Drawing, by Richardson.

the first night to Dunfermline, where they lay. On the morrow, they crossed a small arm of the sea* hard by. When they had all passed, they pushed forward, and went under Edinburgh castle, traversing Scotland near to Roxburgh, where there was an English garrison, but without making an attack upon it, for fear of losing any of their men, or despoiling their artillery; not knowing what force they might have to encounter, as they proposed doing some gallant deeds of renown before their return to Scotland.

They then passed near to the town of Berwick, but without assaulting it, entered the county of Northumberland, and came to the river Tyne, burning and destroying all the country through which they passed. They marched on until they were before the town of Newcastle, where king David and his army halted that night, in order to consider if they could not achieve something worthy of them. Towards daybreak, some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who were in the town, made a sally out of one of the gates, in a secret manner, with about two hundred lances, to make an attack upon the Scots army. They fell upon one of the wings of the army, directly on the quarters of the earl of Moray, who bore for his arms three pillows, gules on a field argent. He was in his bed when they took him prisoner, and killed a great many before the army was awakened. Having made a very

* Probably at Queen's Ferry.

large booty, they regained the town, which they entered with great joy and triumph, and delivered up the earl of Moray to the governor, the lord John Neville*. When the army was awakened and armed, they ran like madmen towards the town, even to the barriers, where they made a fierce assault, which lasted a considerable time. It availed them, however, nothing, but the loss of their people; for the town was well provided with men at arms, who defended themselves valiantly and prudently, which obliged the assailants to retire with loss.

CHAPTER LXXV.—KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND TAKES AND DESTROYS THE CITY OF DURHAM.

When king David and his council saw that their stay before Newcastle was dangerous, and that they could neither gain profit nor honour, they departed, and entered the bishoprick of Durham, burning and destroying as they marched. They came before the city of Durham, which they laid siege to, and made many attacks upon it, like men distracted in revenge for the loss of the earl of Moray; and they also knew that very great wealth was carried into it by all the inhabitants of the country who had fled thither. They, therefore, were every day more earnest in their attacks; and the king of Scotland ordered some engines to be made, that they might approach to assault them nearer the walls. When the Scots had marched from before Newcastle, the governor, lord John Neville, mounted a fleet courser, passed by them, for he was as well acquainted with all the by-roads and passes as a native†, and made such haste, that in five days he came to Chertsey, where the king of England then was, and related to him all that the Scots were doing. The king sent out immediately his messengers, ordering all knights, squires, and others, that were able to assist him, above the age of fifteen and under sixty years, without fail, upon hearing these orders, to set out directly towards the marches of the north, to succour and defend the kingdom against the Scots, who were destroying it. Upon this earls, barons, knights, and the commonalties from the provincial towns, made themselves ready, and hastened most cheerfully to obey the summons, and advance towards Berwick. The king himself set off directly, such was his impatience, without waiting for any one; and he was followed by his subjects, as fast as they could, from all parts. During this time, the king of Scotland made so many violent attacks with the engines he had constructed upon the city of Durham, that those who were within could not prevent it from being taken, pillaged, and burnt. All were put to death without mercy, and without distinction of persons or ranks, men, women, children, monks, canons, and priests; no one was spared, neither was there house or church left standing. It was pity thus to destroy, in Christendom, the churches wherein God was served and honoured.‡

* He was afterwards exchanged for the earl of Salisbury, made prisoner by the French in the neighbourhood of Lisle. The French would not release Salisbury, unless he made oath, never to bear arms in France; and Edward III. consented to this extraordinary condition, 20th May, 1542.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 210.

Lord Berners describes this attack in these spirited words:—"And in the morning a certayne nombre of gentylmen that were in the towne yssued out to the number of cc speres, to make a *skry* in the scottyshe host: *they dashed into the Scottyshe host, right on therle of Morets tentes*, who bare in his armour syluer three creylles-goules; ther they toke hym in his bed, and slewe many, or thoost was moued, and wan great pyllage. Than they returned into the towne boldely with great ioye, and delyuered therle Moret as prisoner to the captayne of the castell, the lord John Neuell."—Ed.

† "Car il savoit bien les adresses et les réfuges du pays, *comme celui qui en estoit*," are the words used by Froissart, and they should probably be rendered "for he had a *native's knowledge* of the bye-roads and passes." Sir John Nevill here spoken of was the eldest son and heir of Ralph lord de Nevill, and father of the first earl of Westmoreland, and the estates of the family lay in the north.—Ed.

‡ Lord Berners translates this passage rather more correctly, as Froissart did not mean to say that the burning of churches in a pagan country would not be equally a pity as in Christendom. "The city was won by force, and robbed and clene brent: and all maner of people put to deth without mercy, men, women, and chyldren, monkes, preestes and chanons; so that ther abode alyue no maner of person, house nor church, but it was destroyed; the whiche was great pytte so to dystroy *christenblode*, and the churches of God wherein that God was honoured and serued."

This passage is remarkable as an illustration of the superstitious feelings of these chivalric times. We have before had many accounts of burnings and massacres, nay even of the violation of nuns, but all were passed by as mere matters of course. "I am now reading Mr. Johnes's Froissart," says Mrs. Barbauld in one of her elegant letters, "and I think I never was more struck with the horrors of war,—simply because *he* seems not at all struck with them."—It is only when the churches are included in the destruction that the compassion of the canon is excited.—Ed.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE KING OF SCOTLAND BESIEGES WARK CASTLE, BELONGING TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

When the king of Scotland had done this, he was advised to fall back upon the river Tyne *, and retreat towards Scotland. As he was on the march, he halted one night hard by a castle belonging to the earl of Salisbury, which was well furnished with men at arms. The captain of it was sir William Montacute, son to the sister of the earl, and so called after an uncle who had that name. When the night was passed, king David decamped, to pursue his march to Scotland; and the Scots passed through roads close to this castle, heavily laden, with the booty which they had made at Durham. As soon as sir William saw that they had passed the castle without halting, he sallied out of it well armed on horseback, with about forty companions, and followed in silence the last division, which consisted of horses so loaded with money and riches that they could scarcely get on, and came up with them at the entrance of a small wood; when he and his companions fell upon them, killed and wounded upwards of two hundred, and took one hundred and twenty horses very richly laden, which they drove towards the castle. The cries and the runaways soon reached the lord William

Wark Castle, Northumberland.

Douglas, who commanded the rear-guard, and had already passed the wood. Whoever at that time had seen the Scots return full gallop, over mountain and valley, with sir William Douglas at their head, would have been alarmed. They made such haste that they soon came to the castle, and ascended the hill on which it is situated with great expedition; but as they came to the barriers, those within had closed them, and placed what they had seized in safety. The Scots commenced a violent assault, and the garrison defended themselves well: the two Williams did all they could devise to hurt each other. This lasted until the whole army, and even the king himself, arrived there. When the king and his council saw their people lying dead, and the assailants sore wounded, without gaining any thing, he ordered them to desist, and to seek out for quarters; for he was determined not to leave the place before he had seen his men revenged. Upon this every one was employed in searching out where he could lodge himself, to collect the dead, and to dress the wounded. The king,

* As Wark Castle is situated on the Tweed, it must be the Tweed, instead of Tyne. I have, in consequence altered Scotland for Carlisle, as it is in the original: otherwise, it would be incorrect as to the geography of the country.

on the morrow, ordered all to be ready for the attack of the castle: those within prepared themselves to defend it. This assault was very fierce and perilous, and many gallant deeds were performed.

The countess of Salisbury, who was esteemed one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in England, was in this castle, which belonged to the earl of Salisbury, who had been taken prisoner, with the earl of Suffolk, near Lisle, and was still in prison at the Châtelet in Paris. The king had given him this castle, upon his marriage, for his many deeds of valour, and for the services he had received from the said earl, who was formerly called sir William Montacute, as appears in another part of this book. This countess comforted much those within the castle; and from the sweetness of her looks, and the charm of being encouraged by such a beautiful lady, one man in time of need ought to be worth two. This attack lasted a considerable time, and the Scots lost a great many men; for they advanced boldly up to it, and brought large trees and beams to fill up the ditches, that they might bring their machines, if possible, nearer, to play upon the castle: but the garrison made so good a defence, that they were forced to retreat; and the king ordered the machines to be watched, to renew the attack the next day. Each retired to their quarters, except those who guarded the machines: some bewailed the dead, others comforted the wounded. Those of the castle saw that they had too hard a task, for they were much fatigued; and, if king David were steady to his purpose, they should have difficulty to defend it. They therefore thought it advisable to send some one to king Edward, who was arrived at Berwick*, which they knew for truth, from some of the Scots prisoners they had taken, and were looking out for a proper person for this business: for not one would agree to quit the defence of the castle, or of the beautiful lady, in order to carry this message, and there was much strife among them: which, when their captain, sir William Montacute, saw, he said, "I am very well pleased, gentlemen, with your loyalty and heartiness, as well as for your affection to the lady of this house; so that, out of my love for her and for you, I will risk my person in this adventure. I have great confidence and trust in you, and that you will defend the castle until I shall return. On the other hand, I have the greatest hopes in our lord the king, and that I shall bring back with me, speedily, such succour, to your great joy, that you will all be rewarded for the gallant defence you shall have made."

This speech cheered both the countess and all present. When night came, sir William prepared himself the best way he could, to get out of the castle privately, and unseen by any of the Scots. Fortunately for him, it rained so very hard all that night, that none of them quitted their quarters: he therefore passed through the army without being noticed. Shortly after, and about day-break, he met, on his road, two Scotsmen, half a league from their army, driving thither two oxen and a cow: sir William, knowing them to be Scotsmen, wounded them both very severely, killed the cattle that they might not carry them to the army, and said to them, "Go and tell your king, that William Montacute has passed through his army, and is gone to seek for succour from the king of England, who is now at Berwick." When the Scots lords heard this†, they said to one another, "The king often makes his men be wounded and killed without any reason;" and, believing that the king of England would come to give them battle before they should gain the castle, they went in a body to the king, and told him, that his longer stay there would neither bring him honour nor profit; that their expedition had turned out exceedingly well, and that they had done much mischief to the English by remaining in their country twelve days, and burning and destroying the city of Durham; that, every thing considered, it was now proper for them to return to their own kingdom and homes, and carry off safe the booty they had made; and that, at another season, they would follow him to England, according to his will and pleasure. The king did not choose to act contrary to the opinions of his chieftains, but con-

* This seems incorrect, as in that case the English army would have intercepted the Scots on their return. Lord Berners reads *York*, and Sauvage's edition *Warwick*. —Ed.

† Froissart's words, according to D. Sauvage's edition, with which Lord Berners nearly agrees, are as follow:— "They talked one to another *whilst king David still continued to make fierce attacks*, and seeing that the king caused his people to be wounded and sacrificed (martyrer) without reason, and that the king of England might well come and give them battle before the castle should be taken, they said to king David with one accord, that his longer stay," &c.—Ed.

sented to their advice, sore against his will. On the morrow, he and his whole army decamped and marched straight to the forest of Jedworth, where the wild Scots lived at their ease; for he was desirous of knowing what the king of England meant to do, whether he would return to his own kingdom, or advance further northward *.

CHAP. LXXVII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ENAMOURED WITH THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

THAT same day that the Scots had decamped from before the castle of Wark, king Edward, and his whole army, arrived there about mid-day, and took up their position on the ground which the Scots had occupied. When he found that they were returned home, he was much enraged; for he had come there with so much speed, that both his men and horses were sadly fatigued. He ordered his men to take up their quarters where they were, as he wished to go to the castle to see the noble dame within, whom he had never seen since her marriage. Every one made up his lodgings as he pleased; and the king, as soon as he was disarmed, taking ten or twelve knights with him, went to the castle, to salute the countess of Salisbury, and to examine what damage the attacks of the Scots had done, and the manner in which those within had defended themselves. The moment the countess heard† of the king's approach, she ordered all the gates to be thrown open, and went to meet him,

* All this seems to be fabulous, and to have been invented by some person who meant to impose on the inquisitive credulity of Froissart. It cannot be reconciled with known historical dates, with the characters and conditions of the persons therein mentioned, or with the general tenor of authenticated events. Had David violated the patrimony of St. Cuthbert in the savage manner related by Froissart, the English histories would have teemed with declamations on an enormity, more heinous, in the opinion of those days, than any crime prohibited by the decalogue. Besides, the sacking of Durham related by Froissart, was an event too singular and momentous to be altogether omitted; and yet the English historians make no mention of it: neither does Fordun, whose simple narration I have chosen to follow.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 211.

† We hop our readers will pardon our again transcribing a passage from the terse olâ English of Lord Berners, but we could not refrain from giving this beautiful romance, for it is no more, in his very poetical diction, which does full justice to, if indeed it do not surpass, his author. "As sone as the lady knewe of the kynge's comyng, she set opyn the gates and came out so richly besene, that euery man marueyled of her beauty, and coude nat cease to regard her nobleness, with her great beauty and the gracyous wordes and countenaunce that she made. When she came to the kyng she knelyd downe to the yerth, thankyng hym of his socours, and so ledde hym into the castell to make hym chere and honour as she that coude ryght well do it. Euery man regarded her maruelously; the kyng hymselfe coude nat witholde his regardyng of her, for he thought that he neuer sawe before so noble nor so fayre a lady; *he was stryken therwith to the hert with a spercle of fyne loue that endured long after;* he thought no lady in the worlde so worthy to be beloude as she. Thus they entred into the castell hande in hande; the lady ledde hym first into the hall, and after into the chambre nobly aparelled. The kyng regarded so the lady that she was abasshed; at last he went to a wyndo to rest hym, and so fell into a great study. The lady went about to make chere to the lordes and knyghtes that were ther, and comaunded to dresse the hall for dyner. Whan she had al deuysed and comaunded tham she came to the kynge with a mery chere, (who was in a great study) and she said Dere sir, why do you study so, for, your grace nat dyspleased, it aparteyneth nat to you so to do; rather ye shulde make good chere and be joyfull seyng ye haue chased away your enmies who durst nat abyde you; let other men study for the remynant. Than the kyng sayd, A dere lady, knowe for trouthe that syth I entred into the castell ther is a study come to my mynde so that I can nat chuse but to muse, nor I can nat tell what shall fall therof; put it out of my herte I can nat. A sir, quoth the lady, ye ought alwayes to make good chere to comfort therwith your peple. God hath ayded you so in your besynes and hath gyuen you so great graces, that ye be the moste douted and honoured prince in all christendome, and if the kynge of Scottes haue done you any dyspyte or damage ye may well amende it whan it shall please you, as ye haue done dyuerse tymes or this. Sir, leaue your musing and come into the hall if it please you; your dyner is all redy. A fayre lady, quoth the kyng, other thynges lyeth at my hert that ye knowe nat of, but surely your swete behauyng, the perfect wysedom, the good grace, noblenes and excellent beauty that I see in you, hath so sore surprised my hert that I can nat but loue you, and without your loue I am but deed. Than the lady sayde, A ryght noble prince for Goddes sake mocke nor tempt me nat; I can nat beleue that it is true that ye say, nor that so noble a prince as ye be wolde thynke to dyshonour me and my lorde my husbande, who is so valyant a knyght and hath done your grace so gode seruyce and as yet lyethe in prison for your quarell. Certēly sir ye shulde in this case haue but a small prayse and nothing the better therby. I had neuer as yet such a thoght in my hert, nor I trust in God, neuer shall haue for no man lyueng; if I had any suche intencyon your grace ought nat all onely to blame me, but also to punysshe my body, ye and by true iustice to be dismembred. Therwith the lady departed fro the kyng and went into the hall to hast the dyner; than she returned agayne to the kyng and broght some of his knyghtes with her, and sayd, Sir, yf it please you to come into the hall your knyghtes abideth for you to wasshe; ye haue ben to long fastyng. Than the kyng went into the hall and wassht and sat down among his lordes and the lady also. The kyng ete but lytell, he sat styll musing, and as he durst he cast his eyen upon the lady. Of his sadnesse his knyghtes had maruell for he was nat acustomed so to be; some thought it was because the Scotts were scaped fro hym. All that day the kyng taryed ther and wyst nat what to do. Sometime he ymagined that honour and trouth defended hym to set his hert in such a case to dys-

most richly dressed; insomuch, that no one could look at her but with wonder, and admiration at her noble deportment, great beauty, and affability of behaviour. When she came near the king, she made her reverence to the ground, and gave him her thanks for coming to her assistance, and then conducted him into the castle, to entertain and honour him, as she was very capable of doing. Every one was delighted with her: the king could not take his eyes off her, as he thought he had never before seen so beautiful or sprightly a lady; so that a spark of fine love struck upon his heart, which lasted a long time, for he did not believe that the whole world produced any other lady so worthy of being beloved. Thus they entered the castle, hand in hand: the lady led him first into the hall, then to his chamber, which was richly furnished, as belonging to so fine a lady. The king kept his eyes so continually upon her, that the gentle dame was quite abashed. After he had sufficiently examined his apartment, he retired to a window, and leaning on it, fell into a profound reverie. The countess went to entertain the other knights and squires, ordered dinner to be made ready, the tables to be set, and the hall ornamented and dressed out. When she had given all the orders to her servants she thought necessary, she returned, with a cheerful countenance, to the king, who continued musing, and said to him, "Dear sir, what are you musing on? So much meditating is not proper for you, saving your grace: you ought rather to be in high spirits, for having driven your enemies before you, without their having had the courage to wait for you, and should leave the trouble of thinking to others." The king replied, "Oh, dear lady, you must know, that since I have entered this castle, an idea has struck my mind that I was not aware of; so that it behoves me to reflect upon it. I am uncertain what may be the event, for I cannot withdraw my whole attention from it." "Dear sir," replied the lady, "you ought to be of good cheer, and feast with your friends, to give them more pleasure, and leave off thinking and meditating; for God has been very bountiful to you in all your undertakings, and showed you so much favour, that you are the most feared and renowned prince in Christendom. If the king of Scotland have vexed you by doing harm to your kingdom, you can, at your pleasure, make yourself amends at his expense, as you have done before: therefore come, if you please, into the hall to your knights, for dinner will soon be ready."

"Oh, dear lady," said the king, "other things touch my heart, and lie there, than what you think of; for, in truth, the elegant carriage, the perfections and beauties which I have seen you possess, have very much surprised me, and have so deeply impressed my heart, that my happiness depends on meeting a return from you to my flame, which no denial can ever extinguish."

"Sweet sir," replied the countess, "do not amuse yourself in laughing at, or tempting me; for I cannot believe you mean what you have just said, or that so noble and gallant a prince as you are would ever think to dishonour me or my husband, who is so valiant a knight, who has served you faithfully, and who, on your account, now lies in prison. Certainly, sir, this would not add to your glory; nor would you be the better for it. Such a thought has never once entered my mind, and I trust in God it never will, for any man living: and, if I were so culpable, it is you who ought to blame me, and have my body punished, through strict justice."

The virtuous lady then quitted the king, who was quite astonished, and went to the hall to hasten the dinner. She afterwards returned to the king, attended by the knights, and said to him, "Sir, come to the hall; your knights are waiting for you, to wash their hands, for they, as well as yourself, have too long fasted." The king left his room, and came to the hall; where, after he had washed his hands, he seated himself, with his knights, at the dinner, as did the lady also; but the king ate very little, and was the whole time pensive, casting his eyes, whenever he had an opportunity, towards the countess. Such behaviour surprised

honour such a lady and so true a knight as her husband was who had alwayes well and truely serued hym. On thother part loue so constrayned hym that the power therof surmounted honour and trouth. Thus the kyng debated in hymself all that day and all that night. In the mornyng he arose and dysseloged all his hoost and drewe after the Scottes to chase them out of his realme. Than he toke leaue of the lady sayeng, My dere lady to God I comende you tyll I returne agayne, requiryng you to aduyse you otherwyse than ye haue sayd to me. Noble prince, quoth the lady, God the father glorious be your conduct, and put you out of all vylayne thoughts. Sir I am and euer shal be redy to do your grace seruyce to your honour and to myne. Therwith the kyng departed all abasshed."—Ed.

his friends; for they were not accustomed to it, and had never seen the like before. They imagined, therefore, that it was by reason of the Scots having escaped from him. The king remained at the castle the whole day, without knowing what to do with himself. Sometimes he remonstrated with himself, that honour and loyalty forbade him to admit such treason and falsehood into his heart, as to wish to dishonour so virtuous a lady, and so gallant a knight as her husband was, and who had ever so faithfully served him. At other times, his passion was so strong, that his honour and loyalty were not thought of. Thus did he pass that day, and a sleepless night, in debating this matter in his own mind. At day-break he arose, drew out his whole army, decamped, and followed the Scots, to chase them out of his kingdom. Upon taking leave of the countess, he said, "My dear lady, God preserve you until I return; and I entreat that you will think well of what I have said, and have the goodness to give me a different answer." "Dear sir," replied the countess, "God, of his infinite goodness, preserve you, and drive from your heart such villanous thoughts; for I am, and always shall be, ready to serve you, consistently with my own honour, and with yours." The king left her quite surprised, and went with his army after the Scots, following them almost as far as Berwick, and took up his quarters four leagues distant from the forest of Jedworth, where, and in the neighbouring woods, king David and all his people were. He remained there for three days, to see if the Scots would venture out to fight with him. During that time there were many skirmishes; many killed and taken prisoners on both sides. Sir William Douglas, who bore for arms argent on a chef azure*, was always among the foremost in these attacks. He performed many gallant exploits, and was a great annoyance to the English.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE EARLS OF SALISBURY AND MORAY ARE SET AT LIBERTY, IN EXCHANGE FOR EACH OTHER.

During these three days, there were some discreet men on both sides, who held conferences, in order if possible to conclude a peace between the two kings: at last they succeeded in obtaining a truce for two years, provided the king of France assented to it; for there was so close an alliance between the kings of Scotland and France, that he could not make peace, or a truce, without the king of France agreed to it. If king Philip should refuse his consent, then the truce was to last only until the first day of May. The earl of Moray was to have his liberty, if the king of Scotland could obtain that of the earl of Salisbury from the king of France. This was to be done by the feast of St. John the Baptist. The king of England consented the more readily to this truce, because he was carrying on war in France, Gascony, Poictou, Saintonge, and Brittany, and had soldiers every where. The king of Scotland then departed, and sent ambassadors to the king of France, that the truce might be confirmed. The king agreed to it, and sent the earl of Salisbury immediately into England; when, as soon as he arrived, the king of England sent the earl of Moray to king David in Scotland.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS, WITH SOME OTHER LORDS OF FRANCE, TAKE THE CITY OF RENNES.

You before have heard how the duke of Normandy, the duke of Burgundy, the duke d'Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, the constable of France, the earl of Guines his son, sir James de Bourbon, sir Lewis d'Espagne, and the other barons and knights from France, had left Brittany, after conquering the strong castle of Châteauceaux, and the city of Nantes, and had taken and given up to the king of France the earl of Montfort, whom he had confined in the tower of the Louvre at Paris. The lord Charles of Blois had remained

* The most prominent feature in the Douglas arms, as now borne, is the Heart, which was added in consequence of the honour conferred by Robert Bruce on his death-bed, as has been already related, but when this distinctive mark was adopted, I believe is uncertain.

[Lord Berners gives the original arms—"Azure a comble sylver, thre starres goules;" which is correct.—Ed.]

in the city of Nantes, and in that country, which he had reduced to obedience, until a more favourable opportunity for carrying on the war than winter. When the summer was returned, the above-mentioned lords, and a great many others, came, with a large army, to assist the lord Charles in reconquering the remainder of the duchy of Brittany. They resolved to besiege the city of Rennes, which the countess of Montfort had well fortified, and placed there as captain sir William de Cadoudal, a Breton. The French lords surrounded it on all sides, and did a great deal of damage, by the fierce assaults they made upon it; but the garrison defended themselves so valiantly, that their opponents lost more than they gained. As soon as the countess of Montfort was informed of the return of the French lords into Brittany, with so great a force, she sent sir Amauri de Clisson to king Edward in England, to intreat his assistance, upon condition that her young son should take for his wife one of the daughters of the king, and give her the title of duchess of Brittany.

The king, at that time, was in London, feasting the earl of Salisbury, newly returned from prison. When sir Amauri de Clisson had made known to the king the cause of his visit, his request was directly complied with. The king ordered sir Walter Manny to collect as many men at arms as sir Amauri should judge proper, and to make every possible haste to go to the assistance of the countess of Montfort; and also to take with him two or three thousand of the best archers of England. Sir Walter, therefore, embarked with sir Amauri de Clisson: and with them went the two brothers de Land-Halle, sir Lewis and sir John, le Haze of Brabant, sir Herbert de Fresnoi, sir Alain de Sirefonde, and many others, with six thousand archers. But they were overtaken by a great tempest, and, by contrary winds, forced to remain on the sea forty days. The lord Charles, in the mean time, kept Rennes closely besieged, and harassed the citizens so much, that they would willingly have surrendered it; but sir William de Cadoudal would not listen to them. When they had been harder pressed, and saw no likelihood of any succours arriving, they became impatient; but sir William continued firm: at length the commonalty seized him, flung him into prison, and sent information to Lord Charles that they would surrender themselves to him on the morrow, on condition that all those who were of the Montfort party might retire in safety to wherever they thought proper. The lord Charles complied with these terms; and thus was the city of Rennes surrendered, in the year 1342, in the beginning of May. Sir William de Cadoudal, not desiring to remain at the court of the lord Charles of Blois, left it, and went to Hennebon, where the countess of Montfort was, who had not had any tidings of Sir Amauri de Clisson, or of his company.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS BESIEGES THE COUNTESS OF MONTFORT, IN HENNEBON.

Soon after the surrender of Rennes, and when the inhabitants had performed their homage and fealty to lord Charles of Blois, he was advised to set out for Hennebon, where the countess of Montfort resided; for as her husband was safe confined at Paris, if he could but get possession of her person, and of her sons, the war must be concluded. The countess had with her in Hennebon, the bishop of Léon, uncle to sir Hervé de Léon, who was attached to lord Charles, and had ever been so since the capture of the earl of Montfort; sir Yves de Tresiquidi, the lord of Landreman, the before-mentioned sir William de Cadoudal, the governor of Guingamp, the two brothers de Quirich, sir Oliver, and sir Henry de Spinefort, and many others. When the countess and her knights heard that their enemies were coming to besiege them, and that they were hard by, they ordered the alarm-bells to be rung, and every one to arm himself for defending the town. Lord Charles drew near to Hennebon, and then encamped his men. Some of the youths among the Spaniards, French and Genoese advanced to the barriers to skirmish; which those from the town seeing, sallied out to meet them; so there was a sharp conflict, and the Genoese lost more than they gained. About vespers, they all retired to their different quarters. On the morrow, the lords determined to make an assault on the barriers, to see what mien those within had, and to try to gain some advantage. On the second day, therefore, they made so very vigorous

an attack upon the barriers early in the morning, that those within made a sally: among them were some of their bravest, who continued the engagement till noon with great courage; so that the assailants retired a little to the rear, carrying off with them numbers of wounded, and leaving behind them a great many dead. When the lords of France perceived their men retreat, they were much enraged, and made them return again to the assault more fiercely than before: whilst those of the town were in earnest to make a handsome defence.

The countess, who had clothed herself in armour, was mounted on a war-horse, and galloped up and down the streets of the town, entreating and encouraging the inhabitants to defend themselves honourably. She ordered the ladies and other women to unpave the streets*, carry the stones to the ramparts, and throw them on their enemies. She had pots of quicklime brought to her for the same purpose. That same day, the countess performed a very gallant deed: she ascended a high tower, to see how her people behaved; and, having observed that all the lords and others of the army had quitted their tents, and were come to the assault, she immediately descended, mounted her horse, armed as she was, collected three hundred horsemen, sallied out at their head by another gate that was not attacked, and, galloping up to the tents of her enemies, cut them down, and set them on fire, without any loss, for there were only servants and boys, who fled upon her approach. As soon as the French saw their camp on fire, and heard the cries, they immediately hastened thither, bawling out, "Treason! Treason!" so that none remained at the assault. The countess, seeing this, got her men together, and, finding that she could not re-enter Hennebon without great risk, took another road, leading to the castle of Brest, which is situated near. The lord Lewis of Spain, who was marshal of the army, had gone to his tents, which were on fire; and, seeing the countess and her company galloping off as fast as they could, he immediately pursued them with a large body of men at arms. He gained so fast upon them, that he came up with them, and wounded or slew all that were not well mounted; but the countess, and part of her company, made such speed that they arrived at the castle of Brest, where they were received with great joy.

On the morrow, the lords of France, who had lost their tents and provisions, took counsel, if they should not make huts of the branches and leaves of trees near to the town, and were thunderstruck when they heard that the countess had herself planned and executed this enterprise: whilst those of the town, not knowing what was become of her, were very uneasy; for they were full five days without gaining any intelligence of her. The countess, in the mean while, was so active that she assembled from five to six hundred men, well armed and mounted, and with them set out, about midnight, from Brest, and came straight to Hennebon about sun-rise, riding along one of the sides of the enemy's host, until she came to the gates of the castle, which were opened to her: she entered with great triumph, and sounds of trumpets and other warlike instruments, to the astonishment of the French, who began arming themselves, to make another assault upon the town, while those within mounted the walls to defend it. This attack was very severe, and lasted till past noon. The French lost more than their opponents: and then the lords of France put a stop to it, for their men were killed and wounded to no purpose. They next retreated, and held a council whether the lord Charles should not go to besiege the castle of Aurai, which king Arthur had built and inclosed. It was determined he should march thither, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, sir Robert Bertrand, marshal of France; and that sir Hervé de Léon was to remain before Hennebon with a part of the Genoese under his command, and the lord Lewis of Spain, the viscount of Rohan, with the rest of the Genoese and Spaniards. They sent for twelve large machines which they had left at Rennes, to cast stones and annoy the castle of Hennebon; for they perceived that they did not gain any ground by their assaults. The French divided their army into two parts: one remained before Hennebon, and the other went to besiege the castle of Aurai. The lord Charles of Blois went to this

* Lord Berners reads, "She caused damoselles and other women *to cut shorte their kyrtels*," instead of "to unpave the streets," as Mr. Johnes translates it. The words in D. Sauvage's edition are, "dépecer leschaussées," to tear up the *causeways*, but when we consider that the streets of cities were very rarely paved at this period, Lord Berners' version appears the more probable, and may be reconciled to the text if we read "chausses" for chaussées," which not unlikely to be an error in transcribing.—Ed.

last place, and quartered all his division in the neighbourhood; and of him we will now speak, and leave the others. The lord Charles ordered an attack and skirmish to be made upon the castle, which was well garrisoned: there were in it full two hundred men at arms, under the command of sir Henry de Spinefort and Oliver his brother.

The town of Vannes, which held for the countess of Montfort, was four leagues distant from this castle; the captain whereof was sir Geoffry de Malestroit. On the other side, was situated the good town of Guingamp, of which the captain of Dinant was governor, who was at that time with the countess in the town of Hennebon; but he had left, in his hotel at Dinant, his wife and daughters, and had appointed his son, sir Reginald, as governor during his absence. Between these two places there was a castle* which belonged to the lord Charles, who had well filled it with men at arms and Burgundian soldiers. Girard de Maulin was master of it; and with him was another gallant knight, called sir Peter Porte-bœuf, who harassed all the country round about, and pressed these two towns so closely that no provisions or merchandize could enter them, without great risk of being taken; for these Burgundians made constant excursions, one day towards Vannes, and another day to Guingamp. They continued their excursions so regularly, that sir Reginald de Dinant took prisoner, by means of an ambuscade, this sir Girard de Maulin and thirty-five of his men, and at the same time rescued fifteen merchants and all their goods, which the Burgundians had taken, and were driving them to their garrison, called la Roche Perion; but sir Reginald conquered them, and carried them prisoners to Dinant, for which he was much praised.

We will now return to the countess of Montfort, who was besieged by sir Lewis of Spain in Hennebon. He had made such progress by battering and destroying the walls with his machines, that the courage of those within began to faulter. At that moment, the bishop of Léon held a conference with his nephew, sir Hervé de Léon, by whose means, it has been said, the earl of Montfort was made prisoner. They conversed on different things, in mutual confidence, and at last agreed, that the bishop should endeavour to gain over those within the town, so that it might be given up to the lord Charles: and sir Hervé, on his side, was to obtain their pardon from the lord Charles, and an assurance that they should keep their goods, &c. unhurt. They then separated, and the bishop re-entered the town. The countess had strong suspicions of what was going forward, and begged of the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, that they would not doubt but she should receive succours before three days were over. But the bishop spoke so eloquently, and made use of such good arguments, that these lords were in much suspense all that night. On the morrow he continued the subject, and succeeded so far as to gain them over, or very nearly so, to his opinion; insomuch that sir Hervé de Léon had advanced close to the town to take possession of it, with their free consent, when the countess, looking out from a window of the castle towards the sea, cried out, most joyfully, "I see the succours I have so long expected and wished for coming." She repeated this expression twice; and the town's-people ran to the ramparts, and to the windows of the castle, and saw a numerous fleet of great and small vessels, well trimmed, making all the sail they could towards Hennebon. They rightly imagined, it must be the fleet from England, so long detained at sea by tempests and contrary winds.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—SIR WALTER MANNY CONDUCTS THE ENGLISH INTO BRITTANY.

When the governor of Guingamp, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, sir Galeran de Landreman, and the other knights, perceived this succour coming to them, they told the bishop that he might break up his conference, for they were not now inclined to follow his advice. The bishop, sir Guy de Léon, replied, "My lords, then our company shall separate; for I will go to him who seems to me to have the clearest right." Upon which he sent his defiance to the lady, and to all her party, and left the town to inform sir Hervé de Léon how matters stood. Sir Hervé was much vexed at it, and immediately ordered the largest machine that

* La Roche Perion. This Dinant is a different place from the town of the same name, in the diocese of St. Malo.—*Hist. de Bretagne.* I should imagine, it must be St. Sauveur de Dinan which is a village in Brittany.

was with the army to be placed as near the castle as possible, strictly commanding that it should never cease working day nor night. He then presented his uncle to the lord Lewis of Spain, and to the lord Charles of Blois, who both received him most courteously. The countess, in the mean time, prepared, and hung with tapestry, halls and chambers, to lodge handsomely the lords and barons of England whom she saw coming, and sent out a noble company to meet them. When they were landed, she went herself to give them welcome, respectfully thanking each knight and squire, and led them into the town and castle, that they might have convenient lodging: on the morrow, she gave them a magnificent entertainment. All that night, and the following day, the large machine never ceased from casting stones into the town.

After the entertainment, sir Walter Manny, who was captain of the English, inquired of the countess the state of the town and of the enemy's army. Upon looking out of the window, he said, he had a great inclination to destroy that large machine which was placed so near, and much annoyed them, if any would second him. Sir Yves de Tresiquidi replied, that he would not fail him in this his first expedition; as did also the lord of Landreman. They went to arm themselves, and then sallied quietly out of one of the gates, taking with them three hundred archers; who shot so well, that those who guarded the machine fled; and the men at arms who followed the archers, falling upon them, slew the greater part, and broke down and cut in pieces this large machine. They then dashed in among the tents and huts, set fire to them, and killed and wounded many of their enemies before the army was in motion. After this, they made a handsome retreat. When the enemy were mounted and armed, they galloped after them like madmen. Sir Walter Manny, seeing this, exclaimed, "May I never be embraced by my mistress and dear friend, if I enter castle or fortress before I have unhorsed one of these galloppers." He then turned round, and pointed his spear towards the enemy, as did the two brothers of Lande-Halle, le Haze de Brabant, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, sir Galeran de Landreman, and many others, and spitted the first coursers. Many legs were made to kick the air. Some of their own party were also unhorsed. The conflict became very serious, for reinforcements were perpetually coming from the camp; and the English were obliged to retreat towards the castle, which they did in good order until they came to the castle ditch: there the knights made a stand, until all their men were safely returned. Many brilliant actions, captures, and rescues might have been seen. Those of the town who had not been of the party to destroy the large machine now issued forth, and, ranging themselves upon the banks of the ditch, made such good use of their bows, that they forced the enemy to withdraw, killing many men and horses. The chiefs of the army, perceiving they had the worst of it, and that they were losing men to no purpose, sounded a retreat, and made their men retire to the camp. As soon as they were gone, the townsmen re-entered, and went each to his quarters. The countess of Montfort came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed sir Walter Manny, and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant dame.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—THE CASTLE OF CONQUET * TWICE TAKEN.

THE next day, the lord Lewis of Spain called to him the viscount de Rohan, the bishop of Léon, sir Hervé de Léon, and the commander of the Genoese, to have their advice what was to be done; for they saw how strong the town of Hennebon was, and that succours had arrived there, particularly those archers who had always discomfited them. If they remained longer, it would be but lost time; for there was not the smallest appearance that they could gain any advantage; they therefore resolved to decamp on the morrow, and make for Aurai, which the lord Charles was besieging. They broke up their huts and tents, and set off, as they had before determined: the town's people, pursuing them with hootings, and attempting to harass their rear, were driven back, and lost some of their men before

* Le Conquêt, a seaport town in Brittany, five leagues from Brest.

they could re-enter the town. When the lord Lewis of Spain was come to lord Charles with his army and baggage, he explained to him the reasons why he had quitted the siege of Hennebon. It was then determined, by a full and long council, that the lord Lewis should march to besiege the good town of Dinant, which was only defended by a palisade and ditch. During his march, he passed near an old castle called Conquêt, in which the countess had placed as governor, a Norman knight of the name of Mencon, who had with him many soldiers. The lord Lewis drew up his army, and made an assault upon it, which was very sharp, and lasted until midnight; for those within defended themselves well. Finding he then could not do more, he lay with his men before it, and renewed the attack on the morrow. The assailants came quite close up to the walls, for the ditch was not deep, and made a large breach in them; through which they entered, and put all to death, except the governor, whom they made prisoner. They appointed another in his room, and left with him sixty soldiers to guard it. Then the lord Lewis departed, and marched to lay siege to Dinant.

The countess of Montfort, upon hearing that the lord Lewis of Spain was with his army before Conquêt, sent for sir Walter Manny and his brethren at arms, and told them, that if they could break up the siege before this castle, and discomfit the lord Lewis, they would obtain great glory. They assented to it, and, on the morrow, left Hennebon with so many volunteers that few remained behind. They pushed on till they came to the castle about noon, and found there the French garrison who, the evening before, had conquered it: upon which sir Walter said, he would not leave it before he knew what they were made of, and how they had got it. But when he was informed that the lord Lewis was gone to besiege Dinant, he was much grieved, as he should not have an opportunity of fighting with him. He and his friends made ready to attack the castle, and began the assault well covered by their shields. The garrison, seeing such a force coming against them, made as good a defence as they were able; but the attack was very severe, and the archers came so close that they discovered the breach through which the castle had been gained the preceding evening. They also entered by this breach, and killed all within, except ten, whom some knights took under their protection. They then returned to Hennebon, for they did not think it safe to be at too great a distance from it, and left the castle of Conquêt without any garrison, for they saw that it could make no resistance.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—THE LORD LEWIS TAKES THE TOWNS OF DINANT AND GUERRANDE.

To return now to the lord Lewis; he quartered his army in haste all round the town of Dinant, and ordered boats and vessels to be immediately prepared, that he might atack it by sea as well as by land. When the inhabitants of the town, which was only defended by a palisade, saw this, they were much frightened, both great and small, for their lives and fortunes: on the fourth day after the army had encamped before it, they surrendered, in spite of their governor, sir Reginald de Guingamp, whom they murdered in the market-place, because he would not consent to it. After the surrender of the town, when the lord Lewis had received the homage and fealty of the citizens, he tarried there two days, and gave them for governor sir Gerard de Maulin, whom he had found there prisoner, and the lord Peter Porteboeuf, as his colleague. He then marched towards a large town, situated upon the sea-coast, called Guerrande. He besieged it on the land side, and found at Croisic a great many boats and ships full of wine, which merchants had brought thither, from Poictou and Rochelle, for sale. The merchants soon sold their wine, but they were badly paid for it: the lord Lewis seized these vessels, in which he embarked men at arms, with some of the Genoese and Spaniards, and assailed the town on the morrow, by sea and land. It was so ill fortified that it could not make any defence: it therefore was soon taken by storm, and pillaged without mercy. Men, women, and children were put to the sword, and fine churches sacrilegiously burnt: at which the lord Lewis was so much enraged, that he immediately ordered twenty-four of the most active to be hanged and strangled upon the spot. The booty they gained there was immense, every one got as much as he could carry;

for the town was very rich, from its great trade. After they had taken this town of Guerrande, they were uncertain which way they should proceed to gain more: the lord Lewis therefore, in company with sir Antony Doria and some other Genoese and Spaniards, embarked in the vessels they had seized, and sailed to seek adventures at sea. The viscount de Rohan, the bishop of Léon, sir Hervé de Léon his nephew, and the others, returned to the army of the lord Charles, which was lying before Aurai. They found there a great many lords and knights newly arrived from France; such as sir Lewis of Poictiers, count de Valence, the count d'Auxerre, the count de Porcien, the count de Joigny, the count de Boulogne, and many others, whom king Philip had sent to their assistance; some had come as volunteers, to see the lord Charles, and to serve under him. The strong castle of Aurai was not yet won; but there was so severe a famine in it, that for the last seven days they had eaten nothing but horse flesh. Lord Charles would grant them no other conditions, than that they should surrender themselves for him to do with them as he thought proper. When they saw, therefore, that they could not expect any thing but death, they issued out by God's will silently in the night, and passed through one of the wings of the enemy's army. Some few were perceived, and killed: but sir Henry de Spinefort and his brother Oliver saved themselves; they escaped through a little wood hard by, and came to the countess in Hennebon. Thus the lord Charles conquered the castle of Aurai, after having lain more than ten weeks before it. He had it put in good repair, well supplied with men at arms, and all sorts of provisions: he then set out with his army to besiege the town of Vannes, which was commanded by sir Geoffry de Malestroit, and encamped all round it. On the morrow, some Bretons and soldiers, that lay in the town of Ploërmel, issued forth in hopes of gain: they fell upon the army of lord Charles, and gave them an alert; but they were surrounded by the enemy, lost many of their men, and the rest who fled were pursued as far as the gates of Ploërmel, which is near to Vannes. When they were returned from this pursuit, they made, that same day, so violent an assault on the town of Vannes, that they took by storm the barriers, and one of the gates of the town: there the conflict became more violent, and many were killed on both sides. It ended with the night, when a truce was agreed upon, to last all the next day. The citizens assembled together to consult if they should surrender or not; and, on the morrow, they determined to surrender, in spite of their governor, who, when he saw this, got secretly out of the town, during their conferences, and went away to Hennebon. The conference ended in such a manner, that the lord Charles and the lords of France entered the city, where they remained five days, and then set out to besiege another town called Carhaix.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—SIR WALTER MANNY DEFEATS THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN, AT QUIMPERLE.

When the lord Lewis of Spain had embarked with his company at the port of Courrande, they sailed towards Lower Brittany, and came to the port of Quimperlé, which is near to Quimpercorentin and St. Mahé. They disembarked, and began to pillage and destroy the country; where they found a great deal of riches, which they carried to their vessels, and then set off to do the same in other parts, not finding any to oppose them. As soon as this news was brought to sir Walter Manny and sir Amauri de Clisson, they had a great desire to go after them; and having opened themselves on this subject to sir Yves de Tresiquidi, the governor of Guingamp, the lord of Landreman, sir William de Cadoudal, the two brothers de Spinefort, and to all the other knights at Hennebon, they consented cheerfully to follow them.

They immediately set off, embarking with them three thousand archers, and never slackened sail until they came to the port where the vessels of the lord Lewis were. They entered the harbour, killed all those who guarded the vessels, and were astonished at the quantity of riches they found in them. They then disembarked, and went to many places, burning the houses and villages. Having divided themselves into three divisions out of prudence, the more readily to find their enemies, and leaving three hundred archers to guard

the vessels and the riches they had taken, they set out after them by different roads. News of this event was soon carried to the lord Lewis of Spain, who collected his army together, and began his retreat with great speed towards his vessels; but, meeting with one of the three divisions, he saw he must fight, and put a good countenance upon it. He made many knights upon the occasion, especially his nephew named Alphonso. When the lord Lewis and his party made their first onset, it was so brilliant, numbers were unhorsed; and they would have carried the day, if the other two divisions had not come up, alarmed by the noise and cries of the country people. The attack was then very serious, and the English archers performed so well, that the Genoese and Spaniards were discomfited, almost all being killed or wounded; for the country people pursued them with stones and slings, so that the lord Lewis had difficulty to escape, very badly wounded. He fled towards his vessels: and of the six thousand, which his army consisted of, he did not save more than about three hundred: he left dead his nephew, whom he much loved. When he came to his ships, he was prevented from entering them by those archers who remained to guard the fleet. He then embarked, in the greatest haste, on board a vessel called a *lique*, with as many of his people as he could collect together, and escaped with all possible expedition.

As soon as sir Walter Manny and his party were come to the fleet, in pursuit of the lord Lewis, they embarked on board the first vessels they found ready, and hoisting every sail, made after him, leaving those of the country to take care of what remained of his army, to revenge themselves, and recover what they had been robbed of. Sir Walter and his company had a favourable wind; but though they were within sight, all the time, of the lord Lewis, they could not come up with him. His mariners made such exertions that they got into the port of Redon, where he immediately landed, with all those who had escaped; having entered the town, he made no long stay there; for the English had disembarked, and were close after, to fight with him; so he hastened away, mounted upon such horses as he could borrow in the town, and made for Rennes, which was not far off. Those who could not get any were obliged to do as well as they could, and follow their companions on foot. Many were so tired and badly mounted, that they fell into the hands of their enemies. The lord Lewis, however, made such speed that he got into Rennes; and the English and Bretons returned to Redon, where they reposed themselves that night. On the morrow, they embarked, in order to return to the countess, their lady, at Hennebon; but they had contrary winds, which forced them to land about three leagues from the town of Dinant. They advanced into the country, destroying it as they marched, and taking what horses they could lay hands on; so that some were mounted without saddles or bridles, and went forwards until they came to Roche Perion; when sir Walter Manny addressing his companions, said, "Gentlemen, I should like much to attack this strong castle, all fatigued as I am, if I had any to assist me, to see if we could not conquer it." The other knights replied, "Go on, sir, boldly; we will follow you until death." They then all set forward to the assault of the castle. The captain of it was Girard de Maulin; the same who had been prisoner at Dinant, as before related: he armed his people, and placing them upon the battlements and other parts of the defence, without sheltering himself behind them, prepared for the assault. It was very sharp and perilous: among many who were severely wounded were, sir John Boteler of Warrington and sir Matthew Trelawney; insomuch that they were obliged to be carried off, and laid in a field, with the other wounded.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—SIR WALTER MANNY TAKES THE CASTLE OF GOY LA FORET.

This Girard de Maulin had a brother of the name of René de Maulin, who was captain of another little fort, called Faouet, situated at least half a league from Roche Perion. When René heard that the English and Bretons were attacking his brother, he armed forty of his companions, and set out for Roche Perion, to adventure his own person, and to see if by any means he could give aid to his brother. René therefore came suddenly upon those knights and squires, who lay wounded in the field, attended by their servants; and falling upon them,

made them prisoners, and drove them before him to Faouet, wounded as they were. Some of their attendants fled to sir Walter Manny, who was eagerly engaged at the assault; when they had informed him what had happened he put an end to it, and with all his company hastened towards Faouet, in order to overtake those who were carrying his friends away prisoners; but, with all his speed, he was not in time to hinder René from entering his castle with them.

When the English and Bretons had come there, they directly made an assault, tired as they were; but they did little, for the garrison defended themselves valiantly, and the night was far advanced. They lay before it that night, in order to renew the assault the next day. Girard de Maulin was soon informed of what was passing, and mounting his horse, set out alone for Dinant, where he arrived a little before day-break. He related to the lord Peter Portebœuf, governor of Dinant, the cause of his coming; who, when it was day, summoned all the citizens to the town-hall. Girard de Maulin there so eloquently displayed the reasons of his arrival, that the citizens and soldiers were unanimous to assist him. All sorts of people immediately armed themselves, and set off towards Faouet in the best manner they could: in all, they were six thousand persons at least. Sir Walter Manny was informed of this by a spy; and calling a council of his companions, they considered it would be best for them to retreat towards Hennebon; for their situation would be very dangerous, if those from Dinant should attack them on one side, and the army of the lord Charles of Blois on the other: they might be surrounded and taken prisoners or slain. They therefore judged it most expedient, for the present, to leave their friends in prison, and give up all thoughts of assisting them till a better opportunity should offer.

As they were returning to Hennebon, they passed near a castle, called Goy la Forêt, which a fortnight before, had surrendered itself to the lord Charles. Sir Walter told his companions, he would not advance a step farther, in spite of his fatigue, until he had made an assault on this fort, and seen who were within it. Then hanging his target to his neck, he galloped up to the barriers and ditch of the castle, the English and Bretons following him. The attack was sharp, and those within defended themselves vigorously. Sir Hervé de Léon and sir Guy de Goy were with the lord Charles before Carhaix. The assault lasting some time, sir Walter encouraged his men, by posting himself at their head in the most dangerous situations: the archers shot so dexterously, that those within the castle dared not show themselves. Sir Walter and his party made such exertions, that the ditches on one side were filled with straw and wood, so that they could approach the walls; in which, with mallets and pick-axes, they made an opening six feet wide. They then entered through this opening, took the castle by storm, and slew all that were within. They remained there that night; on the morrow they continued their march, and arrived at Hennebon *.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN OF CARHAIX †.

When the countess of Montfort was informed of the return of the English and Bretons, she went out to meet them, and most nobly thanked them with kisses and embraces: she gave a grand dinner and entertainment to all the knights and squires of renown. At this period, the lord Charles had conquered the town of Vannes, and was besieging Carhaix. The countess and sir Walter Manny sent special messengers to king Edward, to inform him how the lord Charles of Blois, and the lords of France, had recaptured Rennes, Vannes, and many other large towns and castles in Brittany; and that, unless there were succours speedily sent, they would gain the remainder of that duchy. The ambassadors set out from Hennebon, and arrived at Cornwall, whence they journeyed towards Windsor.

We will now return to lord Charles of Blois, who had so pressed the town of Carhaix by his attacks and his engines that it was surrendered to him, the lives and fortunes of the

* I suspect, although the historian of Brittany copies Froissart exactly, that La Roche Perion must be Rosperden, which is in Bleau's map of Brittany; and Barnes calls it Rosternan: but I cannot find anywhere this Dinan, for Dinan le Sauveur is in the diocese of St. Malo, which must have been too far off. There is much confusion in the names of places.

† Carhaix,—a town in the diocese of Quimper.

inhabitants being preserved. He pardoned what was past, and the inhabitants swore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him for their true lord. Lord Charles placed new officers in the town, and remained there with the lords of France, to recruit themselves and the army. He held a council upon marching to Hennebon, which being determined on, they besieged it as closely as they were able. That town was very well provided with men, provisions, and ammunition.

The lord Lewis of Spain came to these lords the fourth day after they had begun the siege: he had remained at Rennes six weeks, in order to have his wounds properly attended to and cured. They were rejoiced to see him, as he was much esteemed by these noblemen. The French army increased every day; for as great numbers of barons and knights were daily returning from the king of Spain (who at that time was at war with the king of Granada and the Saracens), in passing through Poitou, hearing of this war in Brittany, they turned their steps thither. The lord Charles had erected fifteen or sixteen large engines before Hennebon, which threw great stones over the walls into the town: but those within were not much alarmed at them, for they had taken every precaution to shelter themselves against their effects: they frequently came to the walls and battlements, and, by way of joke, kept rubbing them, crying out, "Go your ways, and seek for your friends who are sleeping in the plains of Quimperle;" which vexed mightily the lord Lewis of Spain and the Genoese.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—SIR JOHN BOTELER AND SIR MATTHEW TRELAWNEY ARE RESCUED FROM DEATH.

The lord Lewis of Spain came one day into the tent of lord Charles of Blois, where were numbers of the French nobility, and requested of him a boon for all the services he had done him, and as a recompense for them. The lord Charles promised to grant whatever he should ask, as he held himself under many obligations to him. Upon which the lord Lewis desired that the two prisoners, sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney, who were in the prison of the castle of Faouet, might be sent for, and delivered up to him, to do with them as should please him best. "This is the boon I ask; for they have discomfited, pursued, and wounded me, have also slain the lord Alphonso my nephew, and I have no other way to be revenged on them than to have them beheaded in sight of their friends who are shut up in Hennebon." The lord Charles was much amazed at this request, and replied, "I will certainly give you the prisoners, since you have asked for them; but you will be very cruel and much to blame if you put to death two such valiant men; and our enemies will have an equal right to do the same to any of our friends whom they may capture, for we are not clear what may happen to any one of us every day. I therefore entreat, dear sir and sweet cousin, that you would be better advised." Lord Lewis said, that if he did not keep his promise, he would quit the army, and never serve or love him as long as he lived. When the lord Charles saw that he must comply, he sent off messengers to the castle of Faouet, who returned with the two prisoners, and carried them to the tent of lord Charles. Neither prayers nor entreaties could prevail on lord Lewis to desist from his purpose of having them beheaded after dinner, so much was he enraged against them.

All the conversation, and every thing that passed between the lord Charles and lord Lewis, relative to these two prisoners, was told to sir Walter Manny and sir Amauri de Clisson by friends and spies, who represented the danger in which the two knights were. They bethought themselves what was best to be done, but, after considering different schemes, could fix on none: at last sir Walter said, "Gentlemen, it would do us great honour if we could rescue these two knights: if we adventure it, and should fail, king Edward would hold himself obliged to us; and all wise men who may hear of it in times to come, will thank us, and say that we had done our duty. I will tell you my plan, and you are able to undertake it; for I think we are bound to risk our lives in endeavouring to save those of two such gallant knights. I propose, therefore, if it be agreeable to you, that we arm immediately, and form ourselves into two divisions: one shall set off, as soon after dinner as possible, by this gate, and draw up near the ditch, to skirmish with and alarm the enemy;

who, you may believe, will soon muster to that part; and, if you please, you, sir Amauri de Clisson, shall have the command of it, and shall take with you a thousand good archers, to make those that may come to you retreat back again, and three hundred men at arms. I will have with me a hundred of my companions, and five hundred archers, and will sally out at the postern on the opposite side privately, and coming behind them, will fall upon their camp, which we shall find unguarded. I will take with me those who are acquainted with the road to lord Charles's tent, where the two prisoners are, and will make for that part of the camp. I can assure you, that I and my companions will do every thing in our power to bring back in safety these two knights, if it please God."

This proposal was agreeable to all; and they directly separated, to arm and prepare themselves. About the hour of dinner, sir Amauri and his party set off; and having had the principal gate of Hennebon opened for them, which led to the road that went straight to the army of lord Charles, they rushed forward, making great cries and noise, to the tents and huts, which they cut down, and killed all that came in their way. The enemy was much alarmed, and, putting themselves in motion, got armed as quickly as possible, and advanced towards the English and Bretons, who received them very warmly. The skirmish was sharp, and many on each side were slain. When sir Amauri perceived that almost the whole of the army was in motion, and drawn out, he retreated very handsomely, fighting all the time, to the barriers of the town, when he suddenly halted: then the archers, who had been posted on each side of the ditch beforehand, made such good use of their bows, that the engagement was very hot, and all the army of the enemy ran thither, except the servants. During this time, sir Walter Manny with his company issued out privily by the postern, and making a circuit, came upon the rear of the enemy's camp: they were not perceived by any one, for all were gone to the skirmish upon the ditch. Sir Walter made straight for the tent of lord Charles, where he found the two knights, sir John Boteler and sir Matthew Trelawney, whom he immediately mounted upon two coursers which he had ordered to be brought for them, and, returning as fast as possible, entered Hennebon by the same way as he had sallied forth. The countess came to see them, and received them with great joy. The English and Bretons continued still fighting at the barriers, where they gave their enemies sufficient employment.

News was soon brought to the nobles of France, that the two knights had been rescued; which when the lord Lewis heard, he was sorely disappointed, and inquired the way the English and Bretons, who had rescued them, had taken: they informed him, that they had immediately returned, and were probably now in Hennebon. The lord Lewis, upon this, left the assault, and retired to his tent in despite; and all the rest of the army began to retreat from the barriers. In this combat, two knights of the countess's party were captured, who had adventured too far; the lord of Landreman and the governor of Guingamp; which gave the lord Charles much pleasure. They were carried to his tent, where they were so effectually talked to, that they turned on his side, and swore homage and fealty to him.

Three days after, there was a council of all the nobles held in Lord Charles's tent, to consider what was best to be done; for they saw that the town and castle of Hennebon was too well provided with men and provisions for them to expect to make any impression there; and, on the other hand, the country round about was so destroyed that they had difficulty in finding forage: winter was also approaching. They therefore determined to separate; and they earnestly advised lord Charles to place sufficient garrisons, with able and valiant captains, in all the castles and towns he had taken, to prevent his enemies from reconquering them: they agreed, that if any person should interfere, and propose a truce, to last until Whitsuntide, they would readily consent to it.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF JUGON *.

All the army agreed to what this council had determined upon; for it was between the feasts of St. Remy and All Saints 1342: they then separated, and went each to his country. Lord Charles marched to Carhaix, and took with him all the barons and lords of Brittany that were of his party. He also kept with him many of the French nobles, to advise with and consult. Whilst he was in Carhaix, settling and ordering his different garrisons to their posts, it happened that a rich citizen and great merchant of the town of Jugon was met by his marshal, sir Robert de Beauvais†, whom he captured, and brought to lord Charles in the town of Carhaix. This citizen provided all the purveyances for the countess of Montfort, in the town of Jugon and elsewhere, and was much beloved and esteemed in that town, which is well enclosed and finely situated: the castle is also handsome and strong. He was very much afraid of being put to death, and begged that he might be allowed to pay for his ransom. To make short of it, the lord Charles had him so often examined on different subjects, that at last he agreed to betray the town of Jugon to him, and engaged to deliver one of the gates of it at a certain time in the night; for he was so much respected in the town, that he had the keeping of the keys: and, to give security for his promise, he left his son as hostage for him. Lord Charles promised to give him five hundred livres of yearly rent.

The day fixed for the opening of the gate of Jugon arrived, and lord Charles entered the town at midnight, with a large force. The watch of the castle, perceiving this, gave the alarm, and cried out, "Treason! treason!" The inhabitants, not suspecting any thing, began to stir; and, when they saw that their town was lost, they ran in crowds towards the castle. The citizen who had betrayed them ran thither also, in order to hide his treachery. As soon as it was day, lord Charles and his party entered the houses of the inhabitants, to repose themselves; and took whatever they pleased. When he saw that the castle was so strong and full of citizens, he declared he would never quit the place, until he should have possession of it. The governor, sir Girard de Rochefort, and the citizens, soon found out they had been betrayed; they seized, therefore, the traitor, and hung him on the battlements, on the outside of the walls of the castle. Having received notice of the lord Charles's declaration, that he would not depart until he had gained the castle, and finding that they had not provisions for more than ten days, they consented to surrender it, upon having their lives spared, and the remnant of their chattels restored to them. This was granted; and they swore homage and fealty to lord Charles, who continued the same sir Girard de Rochefort governor of it, having reinforced the town and castle with men and provisions. Whilst these things were passing, some prudent and wise men in Brittany were busy in proposing a truce between the lord Charles of Blois and the countess of Montfort, who consented to it, as did all her allies: for the king of England had advised them so to do, by the messengers which came to him from the countess and sir Walter Manny. As soon as this truce was concluded, the countess of Montfort embarked, and passed over to England.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MAKES GREAT FEASTS AND TOURNAMENTS AT LONDON, THROUGH AFFECTION FOR THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

It has been related in the foregoing parts of this history, how the king of England had great wars in many distant parts and countries, and that he maintained every where armies and garrisons at a heavy expense: that is to say, in Picardy, Normandy, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, Brittany, and in Scotland. You have also heard how passionately he was smitten with the charms of the noble lady, Catherine countess of Salisbury; insomuch that he

* In the diocese of the St. Pol de Léon, five leagues from the sea, and seven from St. Brieux.

† Robert de Beaumanoir, mareschal de Bretagne.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

could not put her out of his mind, for love reminded him of her day and night, and represented her beauties and lively behaviour in such bewitching points of view, that he could think of nothing else, notwithstanding that the earl of Salisbury was one of his most trusty counsellors, and one who in England had most loyally served him. Out of affection for the said lady, and his desire to see her, he ordered a great feast and tournament to be proclaimed, to be holden in London the middle of August. He sent his proclamation into Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and France, promising passports to all knights and squires, from whatever country they might come, for their arrival and return. He commanded, that all barons, lords, knights and squires, of his own realm, should be there without fail, if they had any love for him: and he expressly ordered the earl of Salisbury to have the lady his wife there, with as many young ladies as he could collect to attend her. The earl very cheerfully complied with the king's request; for he thought of nothing evil; and the good lady dared not say nay. She came, however, much against her will; for she guessed the reason which made the king so earnest for her attendance, but was afraid to discover it to her husband, imagining, at the same time, by her conduct and conversation to make the king change his opinion.

There were at this feast, which was very noble and magnificent, William earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle, and great numbers of barons and knights of high birth: the dancing and feasting continued for the space of fifteen days. The lord John, eldest son of the viscount* Beaumont in England, was killed at this tournament. He was a handsome and hardy

Tournament from a MS. Froissart, of the 15th Century.

knight, and bore for arms a shield azure, besprinkled with flower-de-luces or, with a lion or rampant, and a battoon gules upon the shield. The ladies and damsels were most superbly dressed and ornamented, according to their different degrees, except the countess of Salisbury,

* No mention is made of this in Dugdale, and there were no viscounts, but barons, at that period.

who came there in as plain attire as possible. She was not willing that the king should give up too much time to admire her; for she had neither wish nor inclination to obey him in any thing evil, that might turn out to her own or her husband's dishonour. At this feast were Henry, surnamed Wry-neck, earl of Lancaster, sir Henry his son earl of Derby, lord Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond, the earl of Northampton and Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Hereford, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Cornwall, the earl of Oxford, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Stamford, and many other barons and knights of England. The king, on the departure of these nobles, received letters from different lords in the countries of Gascony, Bayonne, Flanders, and from his great friend Jacob von Artaveld. He also heard from the borders of Scotland, from the lord Roos of Hamlake and lord Percy, and the lord Edward Baliol, who was governor of Berwick, that the Scots kept the truce, which had been agreed to last year between the English and Scots, very indifferently; and that they had issued out proclamations for assembling a large force, but he was uncertain to what part they would direct it.

The garrisons which he kept in Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, and the Bourdolois, wrote to inform him that the French were making great preparations for war; and that as the truce agreed to by the kings of France and England at Arras, after the breaking up of the siege of Tournay, was near expiring, it behoved his majesty to have good advice. He answered every part of their letters.

CHAPTER XC.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS INTO BRITTANY.

During the sessions of a parliament held at London, the king was desirous of putting every thing else aside, and to succour the countess of Montfort, who at that time was on a visit to the queen of England. He entreated, therefore, his dear cousin lord Robert d'Artois, that he would collect as many men at arms and archers as he could, and pass over with the countess into Brittany. The lord Robert made his preparations, and, having assembled his number of men at arms and archers, went to Southampton, where they lay a considerable time on account of contrary winds. About Easter, they embarked and put to sea. At this same parliament, the barons earnestly advised the king, in consideration of the multitude of business he had upon his hands, to send the bishop of Lincoln to his brother-in-law the king of Scotland, to treat for a firm and stable truce to last for two other years. The king was loath to do it; as he was desirous to carry on the war against the Scots in such a manner that they themselves should request a truce. His council, however, with all due deference, said, that that would not be the most advisable means, considering he had before so ruined and destroyed that country, and that he had more important affairs on his hands in other parts. They added, that it was great wisdom, when engaged in different wars, to pacify one power by a truce, another by fair words, and make war on the third. The king was persuaded, by these and other reasons, and begged the above-mentioned prelate to undertake this mission. The bishop would not say nay, but set out on his journey. He soon returned without doing any thing, and related to the king, that the king of Scotland had no power to make a truce without the will and consent of the king of France. Upon hearing this, the king exclaimed aloud, that he would shortly so ruin and destroy the kingdom of Scotland, it should never recover from it. He issued out a proclamation through his realm, for all persons to assemble at Berwick, by the feast of Easter, properly armed, and prepared to follow him wherever he should lead them, except those who were to go into Brittany.

When Easter came, the king held a great court at Berwick. All the princes, lords, and knights, who at that time were in England, were there, as well as great numbers of the common people of the country. They remained there three weeks, without making any excursion; for prudent and good men were busily employing themselves to form a truce, which at last was agreed and sworn to, for two years; and the Scots had it confirmed by the king of France. The king of England sent all his people to their own homes: he himself returned to Windsor. He sent the lord Thomas Holland and sir John Darvel to Bayonne, with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, to guard that frontier against the French.

CHAPTER XCI.—A SEA ENGAGEMENT, OFF GUERNSEY, BETWEEN THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS AND THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN.

We must now return to Lord Robert d'Artois and his army. Easter fell so late that year, that it was about the beginning of May; and the middle of that month was the period when the truce between the lord Charles and the countess of Montfort was to expire. The lord Charles had received information of the countess of Montfort's journey into England, of her solicitations for assistance, and of the succour the king of England was to give her: on which account, the lord Lewis of Spain, sir Charles Grimaldi, and sir Otho Doria, were stationed off Guernsey, with thirty-two large vessels, having on board three thousand Genoese, and a thousand men at arms. The lord Robert d'Artois, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Oxford, the baron of Stamford, the lord Despencer, the lord Bouchier, with many other knights from England, and their followers, were accompanying the countess of Montfort to Brittany, and had a wind to their wish: when in an afternoon, as they were near the island of Guernsey, they perceived the large fleet of the Genoese, of which the lord Lewis was commander. Upon this, the sailors cried out, "Gentlemen, arm yourselves and make ready, for here are the Genoese and Spaniards bearing down upon us." The English then sounded their trumpets, spread out their pennons to the wind, ornamented with the devices of their arms and with the banner of St. George. Every one posted himself properly at his quarters, and filling up the intervals with archers, they advanced full sail toward the enemy. They might be about forty-six vessels, great and small; but there were none so large as nine of those under the lord Lewis, who had likewise three galleys; in each of which were the three chiefs, the lord Lewis, sir Charles Grimaldi, and sir Otho Doria. The fleets approached each other, and the Genoese began to shoot with their cross-bows at random, which the English archers returned. This continued some time, and many were wounded: but when the barons, knights, and squires, were able to come to close combat, and could reach each other with their lances, then the battle raged, and they made good trial of each other's courage. The countess of Montfort was equal to a man, for she had the heart of a lion; and, with a rusty sharp sword in her hand, she combated bravely.

The Genoese and Spaniards, who were in these large vessels, threw down upon their enemies great bars of iron, and annoyed them much with very long lances. This engagement began about vespers, and lasted until night parted them; for, soon after vespers, there came on such a fog, they could scarcely distinguish each other; they therefore separated, cast anchor, and got their ships in order, but did not disarm, for they intended renewing the fight the next day. About midnight, a violent storm arose; and so tremendous was it, that it seemed as if the world would have been destroyed: there were not, on either side, any so bold, but who wished themselves on shore; for these barges and vessels drove so furiously against each other, that they feared they would go to pieces. The English lords inquired of the sailors what was best to be done: they answered, to disembark as soon as they could; for there were such risks at sea, that if the wind should continue as violent as it then was, there would be danger of their being all drowned. They therefore drew up their anchors, set their sails about half a quarter, and made off. On the other hand, the Genoese weighed their anchors, and put off to sea; for their vessels, being so much larger than the English, could weather the tempest more securely; and also, if they should drive too near the shore, they ran a risk of being wrecked, which made them take to the deep. As they were going off, they fell in with four English vessels, laden with provisions, which had kept out of the engagement: they seized them, and took them in tow. The wind and tempest were so vehement, that, in one day, they were driven more than a hundred leagues from the place where they had fought. The lord Robert gained land at a small port near the city of Vannes; and they were all rejoiced when they set foot on shore.

CHAPTER XCII.—THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS TAKES THE CITY OF VANNES.

Thus by this tempest was the engagement at sea interrupted, between the lord Robert and lord Lewis and their fleets. It is difficult to say to whom the honour belongs; for they separated unwillingly, on account of the badness of the weather. The English, having landed near Vannes, disembarked, on the sand, their horses, provisions, and arms. They then ordered their fleet to make for Hennebon, and determined to lay siege to Vannes. The lords Hervé de Léon and Olivier de Clisson were in it, as governors for the lord Charles of Blois: the lords of Tournemine and Loheac were there also. When they perceived that the English were coming to besiege them, they looked well to the castle, their watch-towers, and gates; and at every gate they posted a knight, with ten men at arms and twenty archers among the cross-bows. To return to the lord Lewis and his fleet, who were, all that night and the morrow until noon, violently driven about by the tempest, and in very great danger: they lost two of their ships, with all that were on board. The third day early, the stormy weather abated, when the knights asked the sailors which was the nearest land; who answered, the kingdom of Navarre: and the masters of the vessels said, the tempest had driven them more than one hundred and twenty leagues from the coasts of Brittany. They cast anchor, and waited for the return of the tide. When flood came, they had a tolerably fair wind to carry them towards La Rochelle. They coasted by Bayonne, but did not touch there: and falling in with four vessels belonging to Bayonne, which were coming from Flanders, they attacked and took them, and put all whom they found on board to death. They made for La Rochelle, and, in a few days, came to Guerrande, where they landed; and, having heard that the lord Robert d'Artois was laying siege to Vannes, they sent to lord Charles, who was at Rennes, to know how he would have them act.

The lord Robert, as you have heard, was before Vannes, with a thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers. He overran, burnt, and destroyed all the country round about, as far as Dinant and Goi la Forêt, so that no one dared remain in the flat country. During this siege of Vannes, there were many skirmishes and attacks at the barriers of the town, the inhabitants of which were eager to defend themselves. The countess remained all the time with lord Robert at the siege. Sir Walter Manny, who had continued in Hennebon the whole time that the countess was in England, gave up the charge of it to the lord of Cadoudal; and taking with him sir Yves de Tresiquidi, a hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, came to the army before Vannes. Soon after his arrival, the town was assaulted in three places at once; and the English archers shot so thickly, that scarcely any one dared to show themselves at the battlements. This combat lasted a whole day, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. Towards evening, the English retired to their quarters, and the inhabitants to their houses, quite tired, when they disarmed themselves: but the army did not so; they only took off their helmets, and drank once to refresh themselves. Presently after, by the advice of lord Robert, the army was drawn out again in three divisions: two of them were led to that part of the town where they intended to make the strongest assault, and the third was ordered to remain quiet, until the engagement should have lasted some time, which would probably bring all the inhabitants to that quarter to defend themselves: they were then to advance to the weakest part of the place, and, being provided with rope ladders and iron hooks, they were to attempt to scale the walls and conquer the town. This was executed. The lord Robert marched with the van division, and skirmished close up to the barriers: the earl of Salisbury did the same at another gate: and because it was very late, to alarm the inhabitants more, they made great fires, so that the flames lighted the whole town; which made many think their houses were on fire. They cried out "Treason! treason! arm yourselves;" for many were already gone to rest, as they had worked hard in the day time. They got up as quickly as they could, and ran, without any order, and without speaking to their captains, to the part where the fires were. The lords also, who were in their hôtels, armed themselves. In the midst of this bustle, the earl of Oxford and sir Walter Manny advanced, with the third division, to

a part where there was no guard; and, having fixed their ladders, mounted them, with their targets on their heads, and entered the town very quietly, without the French or Bretons, who were within it, having the least suspicion until they saw their enemies in the streets. They then all took to flight, each to save himself: their captains, not having time to get into the castle, mounted their horses, and, passing through a postern, gained the fields, to save their lives: happy were those who could by this means escape. However, the four knights mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, saved themselves, and a part of their people; but all who were encountered by the English were slain or made prisoners. The town of Vannes was overrun and sacked; all sorts of people entered into it; and the countess of Montfort made her entry there with lord Robert d'Artois, to her great joy.

CHAPTER XCIII.—THE DEATH OF THE LORD ROBERT D'ARTOIS.

THUS, as I have related, was the town of Vannes taken. Five days after that event, the countess of Montfort, sir Walter Manny, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, and many other English and Breton knights, returned to Hennebon. At the same time, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, with three thousand men at arms and three thousand archers, took leave of the lord Robert, left Vannes, and went towards Rennes, which the lord Charles and his lady had quitted four days before, and were gone to Nantes; but they had left in that city great numbers of knights and squires. The lord Lewis of Spain remained at sea with his Genoese and Spaniards, and so carefully guarded the coasts of England, that no one could come from thence, or go into Brittany, without much danger; and this year he did great damage to the English.

The country was much agitated by the capture of the city of Vannes; for they imagined that the captains who were within it ought to have defended it against all the world, as it was sufficiently strong, very well provided with men at arms, artillery, and all other sorts of provision. The lord of Clisson and sir Hervé de Léon were quite ashamed of their mishap; and, their enemies speaking villanously of what they had done, they sent to a great number of knights and squires of Brittany, and entreated they would meet them at an appointed rendezvous, by a certain day, with as many followers as they could bring. They all cheerfully promised, and exerted themselves so much, as did many of the people in Brittany, that, by the appointed time, there came before the town of Vannes twelve thousand men armed, including freemen and feoffs. Thither came, with a numerous body, the lord Robert de Beaumanoir, marshal of Brittany; and having besieged the city on every side, they began to assault it very sharply. When the lord Robert found himself thus besieged in Vannes, he was not negligent to defend it valiantly against the Bretons, who repeated their attacks with great courage and eagerness, lest those who had gone for Rennes should return and disappoint their enterprise. They gave one assault so well supported by the knights, squires, and even by the commonalty of the country, that they overpowered the barriers of the town, then the gates, and entered the town by storm, putting the English to flight, killing and wounding many. Among the last was the lord Robert, who was very badly wounded, insomuch that it was with difficulty he escaped being taken: he fled through a postern gate, and lord Stafford with him. At this capture of Vannes, the lord Despencer, son of the lord Hugh Spencer, mentioned at the beginning of this history, was taken prisoner by sir Hervé de Léon; but he was so badly wounded that he died the third day afterwards. Thus did the French regain the town of Vannes.

Lord Robert d'Artois continued some little time in Hennebon; but at last he was recommended to return to England, where he would find more skilful surgeons and physicians. On his voyage, he was so much affected and oppressed by sea-sickness that his wounds grew worse: he survived but a short time after he had been carried to London. He was courteous, courageous, and gallant, and of the first blood in the world. He was buried at London in the church of St. Paul; and the king of England made his obsequies as solemn as if they had been for his cousin-german the earl of Derby. The lord Robert was much lamented in England; and when the king was informed of his death, he swore he would

never rest until he had revenged it: he would go himself into Brittany, and reduce the country to such a situation that it should not recover itself for forty years. He issued out his summons for all manner of persons to get themselves in readiness to follow him at the end of the month; and he collected a numerous fleet, well provided with every thing that was necessary. At the end of the month he put to sea, and anchored near Vannes, at the same place where lord Robert had landed with his army. It took them three days to disembark their horses, provisions, &c.: on the fourth, they advanced toward Vannes. The earls of Salisbury and Pembroke, with the English before named, were all this time carrying on the siege of Rennes.

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE KING OF ENGLAND CONTINUES THE WAR IN PERSON IN BRITTANY.

The English king was so active from the time of his landing in Brittany, that he advanced with his whole army before Vannes, and laid siege to it. At that time there was in Vannes Olivier de Clisson, sir Hervé de Léon, the lord of Tournemine, sir Geoffry de Malestroit, sir Guy de Loheac, who having imagined for some time that the king of England would come to Brittany, had amply provided the town and castle with men, and every kind of stores and provisions. When the king had quartered his men, he ordered an assault, and his archers to make good use of their bows. This lasted half a day; but he won nothing, though they laboured hard, so well was the town defended. As soon as the countess of Montfort knew of the arrival of the king of England, she set out from Hennebon, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and other knights and squires, and came towards Vannes to compliment the king, and entertain him and all the barons of his army. After a stay of four days, she and her suite returned to Hennebon.

We must now speak of the lord Charles of Blois, who remained in the city of Nantes. When he was informed that the king of England was come into Brittany, he signified it to the king of France, his uncle, in order to obtain assistance. The king of England perceiving that Vannes was strong, and well provided with every necessary, and hearing from his people that the country round about was poor, and so destroyed that they had difficulty in getting forage for themselves and horses, as they were very numerous, ordered the earl of Arundel, the baron of Stafford, sir Walter Manny, sir Yves de Tresiquidi, sir Girard de Rochefort, with five hundred men at arms and six thousand archers, to remain there. He himself, with the rest of his army, advanced towards Rennes, burning and ruining the country on all sides, and was most joyfully received by his army, who lay before it, and had been there for a considerable time. When he had tarried five days, he learnt that the lord Charles was at Nantes, collecting a large force of men at arms. He set out, therefore, leaving those whom he had found at Rennes, and came before Nantes, which he besieged as closely as he could; but he was unable to surround it, such was its size and extent. The marshals therefore, and their people, overran the country, and destroyed it. The king of England drew out one day his army in battle array on a hill near Nantes, in expectation that the lord Charles would come forth, and offer him an opportunity of fighting with him: but, having waited from morning till noon in vain, they returned to their quarters: the light horse however, in their retreat, galloped up to the barriers, and set fire to the suburbs.

The king of England, in this manner, remained before Nantes: the lord Charles, who was within it, sent frequent information to the king of France of the state of his affairs, who had already ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to his assistance, and which duke was then come to Angers, where he had fixed the rendezvous for his forces that came to him from all quarters. During this siege, the king of England made frequent skirmishes, but without success, always losing some of his men. When, therefore, he found he could gain nothing by his assaults, and that the lord Charles would not come out into the plains to fight with him, he established there the earl of Oxford, sir Henry Beaumont, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, the lord Delawar, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Lisle, with six hundred men armed and two hundred archers. He himself advanced into

the country of Brittany, wasting it wherever he went, until he came to the town of Dinant, of which sir Peter Portebœuf was governor. He immediately laid siege to it all round, and ordered it to be vigorously assaulted: those within made a valiant resistance. Thus did the king of England, in one season and in one day, make an assault by himself, or those ordered by him, upon three cities in Brittany and a good town.

CHAPTER XCV.—THE LORD OF CLISSON AND SIR HERVE DE LEON ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.

During the time that the king of England was thus overrunning the country of Brittany, his army that was besieging Vannes made every day some sharp assaults upon one of the gates: all the most expert warriors of each side were attracted to that place, and many gallant deeds of arms were performed; for those of Vannes had opened the gate, and posted themselves at the barriers, because they had noticed the banners of the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, the baron of Stafford, and sir Walter Manny, who appeared to them to adventure themselves too rashly. Upon which the lord of Clisson, sir Hervé de Léon, and some other knights, took more courage. The engagement was well supported on both sides, and lasted a considerable time: but finally the English were repulsed, and driven back from the barriers. The Breton knights, opening the barriers, pushed forward, sword in hand, leaving behind them six knights, with a sufficient force, to guard the town, and pursued the English, who fought well as they retreated. The conflict became stronger; for the English increased and were strengthened, which forced the Bretons to retire, but not so regularly as they had advanced. The struggle now was very hard: the Breton knights had much difficulty to return, and many were killed and wounded. When those at the barriers saw their people retreating and driven back, they closed them, but so untimely that the lord of Clisson was shut out, and also sir Hervé de Léon, who were both taken prisoners. On the other hand, on the part of the English, who had advanced too eagerly, was the baron of Stafford, who was enclosed between the barriers and the gate, where the combat raged very fiercely. The lord Stafford was taken, and many of his people were made prisoners, or slain. So the English retreated to their quarters, and the Bretons into the city of Vannes.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND TAKES THE TOWN OF DINANT.—THE LORD LEWIS OF SPAIN MAKES SOME CRUISES AT SEA.

In the manner above related were these knights taken prisoners. After that engagement, there were not any others of consequence; for each side was upon its guard. The king of England had laid siege to Dinant, who when he had been four days before it, collected a great number of boats, in which he placed his archers, and had them rowed up to the palisades of wood with which the town was enclosed. They shot so well that no one dared scarcely to show himself at the windows, or any where else, to defend it. With the archers, there were others who with sharp axes, whilst the archers made use of their bows, cut the palisades, and in a short time did so much damage that they flung down a large part of them, and entered the town by force. The town's people then fled towards the market-place; but there was little regularity or order among them, for those who had passed the ditch in boats, and had entered the town, advanced to the gate, and opened it, so that every one might pass. Thus was the town of Dinant in Brittany taken, sacked and pillaged, and the governor, sir Peter Portebœuf, made prisoner. The English took whatever they pleased, and made a rich booty, for the town at that time was very wealthy and full of merchandise. When the king of England had achieved this deed, and had conquered the town, he left it empty, not having any intention of keeping it, and advanced towards Vannes, where he took up his quarters.

We must now speak of the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord Charles Grimaldi, and lord Otho Doria, who at this time had under their command eight galleys, thirteen barges, and thirty-

nine vessels, manned by Genoese and Spaniards. They kept cruising between England and Brittany, and at times did great mischief to the English, who were coming to recruit their countrymen with troops and provisions. Once, among other times, they attacked the fleet of the king of England, that lay at anchor in a small port of Brittany near Vannes, which not being sufficiently guarded, they slew a great part of the mariners, and would have done much more damage, if the English, who were before Vannes, had not hastened to their assistance. When this news was brought to the army, every one was in motion: but, notwithstanding the speed they made, they could not prevent the lord Lewis and his party from carrying off four vessels laden with provisions, and sinking three others, the crews of which were all drowned. The king was then advised to send one part of his fleet to the harbour of Brest, and the other to that of Hennebon, which he complied with, and continued to besiege both Vannes and Rennes.

CHAPTER XCVII.—THE DUKE OF NORMANDY BRINGS WITH HIM SOME LORDS OF FRANCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND IN BRITTANY.

We will now return to the army which the duke of Normandy was marching into Brittany, to assist his cousin the lord Charles of Blois. The duke, after having collected his forces, was informed how the king of England was laying waste all the country of Brittany; that he was besieging three cities, and had taken the town of Dinant: he set out therefore with a very great force from the city of Angers, having more than four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand others. All the baggage took the high road for Nantes, under the command of the two marshals of France, the lord of Montmorency, and the lord de St. Venant. After them came the duke of Normandy, the earl d'Alençon his uncle, the earl of Blois his cousin, the duke de Bourbon, the earl de Ponthieu, the earl of Boulogne, the earl of Vendôme, the earl of Dammartin, the lord of Craon, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Sully, the lord of Fresnes, the lord of Roye, and so many barons and knights from Normandy, Auvergne, Limousin, Berry, Maine, and Poitou, that it would take too much time to name them all; and they were every day increasing, for the king of France had reiterated his summons. The English lords before Nantes received intelligence, that the duke of Normandy was on his march with forty thousand men: this news they sent off in great haste to king Edward; the receiving of which made him very thoughtful; and he had at one time the idea of breaking up the siege of Vannes, as well as that of Rennes, and to retire towards Nantes. He was, however, advised to continue where he was, as his position was strong, and near to his fleet, and to wait for his enemies. He was also advised to send for the division of his army that was before Nantes, and continue the siege of Rennes; as that place was not so far distant but that his army could come to his assistance, if there should be any necessity for it. The king followed this counsel, and sent for those that were before Nantes, who came to the siege of Vannes. The duke of Normandy and his army arrived at Nantes, where the lord Charles and a number of knights were. The lords were lodged in the town, and the army round about; for there was not room for them in the city or suburbs.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE DUKE OF NORMANDY ENCAMP THEIR ARMIES OPPOSITE TO EACH OTHER, NEAR TO VANNES.

During the time the duke of Normandy remained in Nantes, the lords of England who were before Rennes made a vigorous assault upon that city: they had, for a long time before, prepared machines for this attack. Though it lasted a whole day, they gained no advantage, but lost many of their men. The baron d'Ancenis, the lord du Pont, sir John de Malestroit, Yvain Charruel, and Bertrand du Guesclin, then a squire, were in the town, and, as well as the bishop, defended themselves so valiantly, that they suffered no loss.

Notwithstanding this, the English remained before the place, and wasted and destroyed the country round about.

The duke of Normandy left Nantes with his army, and was advised to advance towards Vannes, that he might the sooner meet the enemy; for he had heard that that town was much straitened, and in greater danger of being lost than Rennes. He and his whole army, therefore, took their route to Vannes, under the command of the two marshals and sir Geoffry de Charny: the earl of Guines, son to the constable of France, had the rearward. They continued their march until they came pretty near to Vannes, on the opposite side to where the king of England was quartered: they then halted, encamped in a fine meadow, and made a large ditch in their front. The marshals, and sir Robert de Beaumanoir, marshal of Brittany, made frequent excursions: there were skirmishes on both sides, which occasioned the overthrow and death of many. The king of England sent for the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Pembroke, and the rest who were besieging Rennes. The English, and the Bretons of the Montfort party, might amount to nearly two thousand five hundred men at arms, six thousand archers, and three thousand men on foot. The French were four times that number, well conditioned and well armed. The king of England had taken such a position before Vannes, that the French could not attack him but to their disadvantage; and since the arrival of the duke of Normandy, he had not made any assault upon the town, wishing to spare his men and his artillery.

Thus these two armies lay near each other for a long time. When the winter set in, pope Clement VI. sent thither the cardinal of Preneste and the cardinal of Clermont, who made frequent visits from one army to the other, to endeavour to reconcile them; but they would not consent to a peace.* There were frequent engagements between the foragers, and many killed on each side. The English were obliged to go out foraging in large parties, for fear of falling into ambuscades; and every time they went abroad they were in great danger of them. Add to this, that the lord Lewis of Spain, and his fleet, guarded so carefully the coast, that the English army could scarcely receive any thing from England, which made them suffer much. It was the intention of the duke to keep the king thus in a manner besieged; but the French endured much pain from the inclemency of the weather, for it rained night and day, which destroyed the greater part of their horses, and forced them to dislodge and lie in the open fields, from the great quantity of water which inundated their camp. The cardinals now exerted themselves so effectually, that a truce for three years was agreed to; and the king of England and the duke swore, as is customary, not to infringe it during that time.

CHAPTER XCIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE LORD OF CLISSON, AND MANY OTHER LORDS OF BRITTANY AND NORMANDY, TO BE BEHEADED.

Thus these great armies were separated, and the siege of Vannes raised. The duke of Normandy retired to Nantes, and took the two cardinals with him: the king of England went to the countess of Montfort at Hennebon. There was an exchange made of the lord of Clisson for the baron of Stafford. When the king of England had been some time at Hennebon with the countess, and had arranged his affairs, he gave her in charge to the two brothers de Spinefort, sir William de Cadoudal, and others, and set out with his knights for England, where he arrived about Christmas†. The duke of Normandy returned into France, and, having disbanded his army, each went to his own home.

Soon afterwards, the lord of Clisson was arrested, upon suspicion of treason, and confined in the prison of the Châtelet in Paris: at which all who heard it were much surprised. The barons and knights of France asked each other what could be the reason, for they could

* The first of these prelates was Peter des Près, born in Quercy, chancellor of the church of Rome, and bishop of Frescati: the other was Annibal de Cecano, bishop of Palestine. The conferences were held in the priory of the Magdalen, in the town of Malestroit. The commissioners on the part of France were, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and Peter duke of Bourbon; on the part of England, Henry earl of Lancaster, William Bohun and William Montacute.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

† Edward embarked about the end of February, and landed at Weymouth on a Sunday, 2nd March, 1343.—*Rymer.*

not make out any thing satisfactory; but they imagined it might be occasioned by jealousy, because the king of England had preferred to exchange him for lord Stafford to sir Hervé de Léon, who was still a prisoner: so that the favour the king of England had shown to the lord of Clisson in preference to sir Hervé, his enemies thought had been improperly gained, and grounded upon that the suspicion for which he lost his head at Paris, and which occasioned great grief, for no one could find a sufficient reason for it *. Shortly afterwards, many other knights were accused of similar crimes. The lord of Malestroit and his son, the lord of Avaugour, sir Tibaut de Morillon, and other lords of Brittany, to the number of ten knights and squires, were beheaded at Paris. Four other knights of Normandy, sir William Baron, sir Henry de Malestroit, the lord of Rochetesson, and sir Richard de Persy, were put to death upon reports, whether well founded or not I am ignorant, which caused afterwards great troubles in Brittany and Normandy. The lord of Clisson left behind him a son, named Olivier de Clisson after his father, who withdrew himself immediately to the castle of Montfort, with the countess and her son, who was nearly of the same age with himself, and without a father; for in truth the earl of Montfort had died in the Louvre at Paris †.

CHAPTER C.—KING EDWARD INSTITUTES THE ORDER OF ST. GEORGE, AT WINDSOR.

About this time, the king of England resolved to rebuild and embellish the great castle of Windsor, which king Arthur had first founded in time past, and where he had erected and established that noble round table from whence so many gallant knights had issued forth, and displayed the valiant prowess of their deeds at arms over the world. King Edward, therefore, determined to establish an order of knighthood, consisting of himself, his children, and the most gallant knights in Christendom, to the number of forty. He ordered it to be denominated "knights of the blue garter," and that the feast should be celebrated every year, at Windsor, upon St. George's day. He summoned, therefore, all the earls, barons and knights of his realm, to inform them of his intentions; they heard it with great pleasure; for it appeared to them highly honourable, and capable of increasing love and friendship. Forty knights were then elected, according to report and estimation the bravest in Christendom, who sealed, and swore to maintain and keep the feast and the statutes which had been made. The king founded a chapel at Windsor, in honour of St. George, and established canons, there to serve God, with a handsome endowment. He then issued his proclamation for this feast by his heralds, whom he sent to France, Scotland, Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, and the empire of Germany, and offered to all knights and squires, that might come to this ceremony, passports to last for fifteen days after it was over ‡. The celebration of this order was fixed for St. George's day next ensuing, to be held at Windsor, 1344; and the queen was to be present, accompanied by three hundred ladies and damsels, all of high birth, and richly dressed in similar robes §.

* The lord Stafford was exchanged for Olivier de Clisson, and Godfrey de Harcourt. They entered into a treaty with Edward, and the earl of Salisbury was the person to whom it was intrusted. On the earl's return to England, on hearing from his countess Edward's conduct to her during his absence, he retired from the court secretly, and went to France, when he delivered up to Philip de Valois the engagements of Olivier de Clisson and the other knights. Olivier was beheaded, and his body hung on the gibbet at Montfaucon. Godfrey de Harcourt, being banished the kingdom, retired to England.—*Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 268.

† See a former note, p. 96, respecting his death.

‡ The number of knights of the garter were only twenty-six: underneath are the names of the first knights:—

1. King Edward.	10. Bartholomew lord Burgherst.	19. Sir Hugh Wrottesley.
2. Edward prince of Wales.	11. John lord Beauchamp.	20. Sir Nele Loring.
3. Henry earl of Lancaster.	12. John lord Mohun of Dunster.	21. Sir John Chandos.
4. Thomas earl of Warwick.	13. Hugh lord Courtenay.	22. Lord James Audley.
5. Piers de Greilly, captal of Buch.	14. Thomas lord Holland.	23. Sir Otho Holland.
6. Ralph lord Stafford.	15. John lord Gray of Codnore.	24. Sir Henry Eam of Brabant.
7. William earl of Salisbury.	16. Sir Richard Fitzsimon.	25. Sir Sanchio d'Ambreticourt.
8. Roger earl of March.	17. Sir Miles Stapleton.	26. Sir Walter Paveley.
9. John lord Lisle.	18. Sir Thomas Wale.	

§ The first mention of robes for the queen, &c., is an. 7 Ric. 2; but it is supposed the custom originated at the institution.—*Ashmole.*

For further particulars respecting the order of the garter, see Ashmole and Anstis.

CHAPTER CI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SETS AT LIBERTY SIR HERVE DE LEON.

WHILST the king of England was employed in making preparations for the reception of the lords and ladies whom he expected at this feast, news was brought him of the death of the lord of Clisson and the other knights. He was so much enraged at it, that he had determined to retaliate upon the body of sir Hervé de Léon, who was his prisoner, and would surely have executed it, if the earl of Derby, his cousin, had not remonstrated, and showed in council such good reasons, as, for the sake of his own personal honour, induced him to refrain from this revenge. He added, "My lord, if that king Philip has, through rashness, had the villany to put to death such valiant knights as these were, do not suffer your courage to be tainted by it; for in truth, if you will but consider a little, your prisoner has nothing to do with this outrage: have a goodness, therefore, to give him his liberty, at a reasonable ransom." The king ordered the captive knight to be brought before him, and said, "Ha, sir Hervé, sir Hervé, my adversary, Philip de Valois, has shown his treachery in too cruel a manner, when he put to death so many knights. It has given me much displeasure; and it appears as it were done in despite of us. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you; for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other; but I shall endure it, and let him act according to his own will. I will preserve my own honour unspotted, and shall allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requested it; but upon condition, that you perform what I am going to ask of you." The knight replied, "Dear sir, I will do, to the best of my power, whatever you shall command." The king said, "I know, sir Hervé, that you are one of the richest knights in Brittany; and, if I were to press you, you would pay me thirty or forty thousand crowns for your ransom. But you will go to king Philip de Valois, my adversary, and tell him from me, that, by putting so many knights to death in so dishonourable a manner, he has sore displeased me: and I say and maintain, that he has by this means broken and infringed the truce which we had agreed to; and that from this moment I consider it as broken, and send him by you my defiance. In consideration of your carrying this message, I will let you off for ten thousand crowns, which you will pay, or send to Bruges, in five days after you shall have crossed the sea. You will also inform all such knights and squires as wish to attend my feast, for we shall be right glad to see them, not to desist on this account, for they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it be over." "Sir," answered the knight, "I will perform your message to the best of my abilities; and God reward you and my lord of Derby for your kindness to me."

Sir Hervé de Léon did not after this remain long in prison, but, having taken leave of the king, went to Southampton, and embarked on board a vessel, with the intention of landing at Harfleur. A violent storm, however, which lasted fifteen days, prevented it. He lost his horses, as well as those of his servants, which were thrown overboard; and he himself was so ill by it, that he never after enjoyed good health. At last the mariners, with much danger, landed at Crotoy *; from whence sir Hervé and his suite went on foot to Abbeville, where they procured horses; but sir Hervé was so ill, he could not bear the motion of the horse: he was therefore put in a litter, and came to Paris, to king Philip, to whom he delivered his message, word for word; but he did not live long. He died in returning to his own country, in the city of Angers. God have mercy on his soul!

* Crotoy, a town in Picardy, situated at the mouth of the Somme, opposite to St. Valery.

CHAPTER CII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF DERBY TO MAKE WAR IN GASCONY.

St. George's day drew near, when the grand feast was to be celebrated at the castle of Windsor. The king had made great preparations for it; and there were earls, barons, ladies, and damsels, most nobly entertained. The festivities and tilts lasted a fortnight. Many knights came to them from beyond sea, from Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, but not one from France. During the holding of these feasts, the king received intelligence from different countries, particularly from Gascony. The lord de l'Esparre, the lord de Chaumont, the lord de Mucident, were sent thence by the other barons and knights who at that time were dependent on the king of England; such as the lord d'Albret, the lord de Pumiers, the lord de Montferrant, the lord of Duras, the lord of Craton, the lord of Grailley, and many others; and some were likewise sent by the cities of Bordeaux and Bayonne. These ambassadors were most courteously entertained and received by the king and his council; to whom they explained the weakness of the country of Gascony, and that his good friends in that country and the loyal city of Bordeaux wanted aid: they therefore entreated, that he would send thither such a captain and force of men at arms, as he might think able to make head against the French, who kept the field in opposition to all that were sent to meet them. The king soon afterward appointed his cousin the earl of Derby leader of this expedition, and nominated those knights that he had fixed upon to be under him: first, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, the lord Stafford, sir Walter Manny, sir Frank van Halle, sir Henry Eam of Brabant, sir Richard Fitzsimon, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Stephen Tombey, sir Richard Haydon, sir John Norwich, sir Richard Radcliffe, sir Robert Oxendon, and several more. They were fully three hundred knights and squires, six hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers. The king advised the earl his cousin to take plenty of gold and silver with him, and to bestow it liberally among the knights and squires, in order to acquire their good opinion and affection.

The king also, during the time of these festivals, sent sir Thomas Dagworth into Brittany, to reinforce the countess of Montfort, and assist her in preserving that country; for notwithstanding the truce, he doubted not but that king Philip would begin the war, on account of the message he had sent to him by sir Hervé de Léon. He therefore despatched thither one hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, under the command of sir Thomas. He likewise ordered the earl of Salisbury into the county of D'ulnestre; for the Scots had rebelled against him, had burnt much in Cornwall, and had advanced as far as Bristol, and besieged the town of D'ulnestre*. However, the earl of Salisbury marched thither, with three hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers well appointed. Thus the king sent forth his people, and directed his treasurers to deliver out to the commanding officers a sufficiency of money for their own expenses, and to pay their fellow-soldiers; and each set out according to the orders he had received.

We will speak first of the earl of Derby, as he had the greatest charge, which he conducted to Southampton, and embarking on board the fleet stationed there for him, made sail for Bayonne: it was a handsome city, and had always held out for the English. He arrived there, without accident, on the 6th day of June 1344, when he disembarked and landed all his stores: they were joyfully received by the inhabitants, and he remained there seven days, to refresh himself and his horses. The earl of Derby and his army left Bayonne the eighth day after his arrival, and set out for Bordeaux, where a grand procession came out to receive him. The earl was lodged in the abbey of St. Andrew, and his people within the

* This passage has puzzled me much. Mr. Barnes, in his Life of Edward III., says, it was the *young* earl of Salisbury. One of my MSS. calls him the lord William earl of Salisbury, which was the name of the earl's son. But Dugdale contents himself with saying, that in the 18th of Edward III., "the earl of Salisbury" (speaking of the first earl) "was sent into the north, with the earl of Ulster, one hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers, against the Scots, then in hostility."

If the Scots had advanced to Bristol, then it may perhaps be Dunster castle.

Froissart seems to have been under a mistake, from misinformation, as I cannot find any traces of this invasion.

city. When the count de Lisle was informed of the arrival of the English, he sent for the count de Comminges, the count de Perigord, the count de Carmain, the viscount de Villemur, the count Duras, the count de Valentinois, the count de Mirande, the lord of Mirade, the lord de la Barde, the lord of Pincornet, the viscount de Châtillon, the lord of Chateauneuf, the lord de Lescun, the abbot of St. Savin, and for all the other lords who were attached to the king of France. As soon as they were all assembled, he demanded their counsel on the arrival of the earl of Derby. The lords, in reply, said, they were sufficiently strong to defend the passage of the river Dordogne, at Bergerac, against the English. This answer mightily pleased the count de Lisle, who was at that time like a king in Gascony, and had been so since the commencement of the wars between the two kings. He had taken the field, captured towns and castles, and waged war upon all who were of the English party. These lords sent immediately to assemble their dependants on all sides, and advanced to Bergerac, where they entered the suburbs, which are large, strong, and partly surrounded by the Dordogne. They had all their purveyances brought to them there in safety.

CHAPTER CIII.—THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS BERGERAC *.

When the earl of Derby had remained at Bordeaux for about fifteen days, he was informed that the barons and knights of Gascony were in Bergerac: he therefore, one morning, marched that way with his army, and ordered his marshals, sir Walter Manny and sir Frank van Halle, to push forward. The English marched that morning no more than three leagues, to a castle called Montcroullier, which belonged to them, and was situated a short league from Bergerac. At this castle of Montcroullier, they tarried that day and night. The day following, their scouts were sent as far as the barriers of Bergerac: and, on their return, they related to sir Walter Manny, that they had reconnoitred the position of the French, which did not appear to them any thing very formidable. This day, the English dined early; and, during the repast, sir Walter Manny, addressing himself to the earl of Derby, said, "My lord, if we were good knights, and well armed, we might, this evening, partake of the wines of these French lords who are in garrison in Bergerac." The earl answered, "that it should not be his fault if they did not." When their companions heard this, they said, "Let us hasten to arm ourselves; for we will ride towards Bergerac." It was no sooner said than done: they were all armed, and mounted, in an instant. When the earl of Derby perceived such willingness in his men, he was exceedingly joyful, and cried out, "In the name of God, and of St. George, let us march to our enemies." They then rode on, with banners displayed, during the greatest heat of the day, until they came to the barriers of Bergerac: which was not a place easily to be taken, for a part of the river Dordogne surrounded it. The French lords who were in the town, seeing the English coming to attack them, said they should be well received, and sallied forth in battle array: they had with them a multitude of foot soldiers, and country people badly armed. The English made their approaches in close order, so that they were plainly to be distinguished by the townsmen, and the archers began to shoot thickly. When the foot soldiers felt the points of the arrows, and saw the banners and pennons glittering in the air, which they had not been accustomed to see, they fell back upon their own men at arms: the archers continued to shoot with great quickness, doing much mischief to them. The lords of England then advanced, mounted on their excellent coursers, with lances in their rests, and, dashing into the midst of this infantry, drove them down at pleasure, and killed and wounded the French men at arms in abundance; for they could not in any way exert themselves, as these runaways had blocked up the road.

There was a severe engagement, and many were killed and unhorsed: for the English archers, being posted on each side of the road, shot so well together, that no one dared to venture upon it. Thus were those of Bergerac driven back again to the suburbs, but with so much loss, that the first bridge and bars were taken by storm, and the English entered

* A populous town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

with them. Upon the pavement were many knights and squires slain and wounded, and many prisoners made of those who came forward to defend the passage. The lord of Mirepoix was slain under the banner of sir Walter Manny, who was the first that entered the suburbs. When the count de Lisle saw that the English had got possession of the suburbs, and were knocking down and killing his people without mercy, he and the other lords of Gascony made a handsome retreat towards the town, and passed the bridge with great difficulty. At this place the engagement was very severe, and lasted a considerable time: the noblemen of France and of England, named in the preceding chapters, combated most valiantly hand to hand: neither knight nor bachelor could there conceal himself. Sir Walter Manny had advanced so far among his enemies, that he was in great danger. The English made prisoners of the viscount de Bousquetin, the lords of Châtillon, of Chateauneuf, and of Lescun. The French retreated into the fort, let down the portcullis, and, getting upon the battlements, began to throw stones and other things, to drive their enemies away. This assault and skirmish lasted until vespers, when the English retreated, quite weary, into the suburbs, which they had won; where they found such quantities of provision and wine, that might, on occasion, have lasted them for four months most plentifully.

When the morrow dawned, the earl of Derby had his trumpets sounded, and his forces drawn out in battle array, to approach the town, and make a mighty assault, which lasted until noon. They had not much success; for they found that there were within it men at arms who defended themselves valiantly. At noontide, the English retreated, perceiving that they only lost their time. The lords then assembled in council, and determined to attack the town on the side next the river; for it was there only fortified by palisades. The earl of Derby sent therefore to the fleet at Bordeaux for vessels, which he ordered to come to him up the Dordogne: there were upwards of sixty barks and other vessels lying at Bordeaux, that came to Bergerac. In the evening of the following day, the English made their arrangements, and at sun-rise, all those who were ordered to attack the town, and the fleet, were quite ready, under the command of the lord Stafford. There were many knights and squires who had requested to be on this expedition, in hopes of preferment, as well as a body of archers. They advanced in haste, and came to some large round piles placed before the palisades, which they flung down. The townsmen, seeing this, went to the count de Lisle, the lords, knights, and squires, who were present, and said to them, "Gentlemen, we pray you to take heed what you are about; for we run a great risk of being ruined. If the town be taken, we shall lose all we have, as well as our lives: it will therefore be much better that we surrender it to the earl of Derby, before we suffer more damage." The count replied, "We will go to that part where you say the danger is; for we will not consent to surrender it so easily." The Gascon knights and squires came, therefore, to defend the palisades; but the archers, who were in the barks, kept up so quick an attack with their arrows, that none dared to show themselves, unless they chose to run the risk of being killed or wounded. In the town, there were with the Gascons two or three hundred Genoese cross-bowmen, whose armour shielded them from the arrows: they kept the archers well employed all the day, and many on each side were wounded. At last, the English who were in the vessels exerted themselves so much, that they broke down a large piece of the palisades; those of Bergerac then retreated, and requested time to consider, if they should not surrender the place. The remainder of that day and night was granted them, upon condition that they did not attempt to repair the breaches: and every one retired to his quarters. The lords of Gascony held, that night, a long council; and, about midnight, having packed up all their baggage, they set out from Bergerac, and followed the road to la Rèole*, which is not far distant, whose gates were opened to them, and there they took up their quarters.

The English, on the morrow morning, re-embarked on board their fleet, and came to the part where the palisades had been broken down: they found in that place great numbers of the townsmen, who entreated the knights, that they would beseech the earl of Derby to have mercy on them and allow them their lives and fortunes, and from thenceforward they

* Rèole,—a town of the Bazadois, on the Garonne.

would yield obedience to the king of England. The earl of Pembroke and the earl of Oxford replied, they would cheerfully comply with their request, and went to the earl of Derby who was not present, and related to him what the inhabitants of Bergerac had desired of them. The earl of Derby answered, "He who begs for mercy should have mercy shown him: tell them to open their gates, and let us enter, when we will assure them of safety from us and from our people." The two lords returned, and reported what the earl had said. Upon which the townsmen went to the market-place, where every one men and women being assembled, they rang the bells, threw open the gates, went out in procession to meet the earl of Derby, and with all humility conducted him to the church, where they swore homage and fealty to him, acknowledging him as their lord, for the king of England, by virtue of a procuration which he had with him.

CHAPTER CIV.—THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS MANY TOWNS AND FORTRESSES IN UPPER GASCONY.

THE same day that the count de Lisle, the barons and knights of Gascony, had retreated to la Rèole, they held a counsel, and resolved to separate and withdraw into fortresses, to carry on the war from these garrisons, and to form a body of four or five hundred combatants, by way of frontier guard, under the command of the seneschal of Toulouse. The count de Villemur was ordered to Auberoche *; sir Bertrand des Pres to Pelagrue †; the lord Philip de Dyon to Montagret ‡; the lord of Montbrandon to Mauduran; sir Arnold de Dyon to Montgis; Robert de Malmore to Beaumont, in Laillois; sir Charles de Poitiers to Pennes in the Agenois. All these knights departed for their different garrisons; but the count de Lisle remained in la Rèole, and had the fortress put in proper repair. When the earl of Derby had taken possession of Bergerac, and staid there two days, he asked the seneschal of Bordeaux, what was most advisable for him next to undertake, as he wished not to remain idle. The seneschal replied, that he thought it would be best to go towards Perigord and upper Gascony. The earl of Derby then gave out his orders to march to Perigord, and left sir John de la Santé § captain of Bergerac. As the English advanced, they came to a castle called Langon ||, of which the provost of Toulouse was governor: they halted there, not thinking it prudent to leave such a post in their rear, and the marshal's battalion immediately began the assault, which lasted all that day, but they gained nothing. Almost the whole army was employed against it the next day; and, with wood and faggots, they filled up the ditches, so that they could approach the walls. Sir Frank van Halle asked the besieged if they were willing to surrender, because they might delay it until it was too late. Upon this, they demanded a truce to consider of it, which being granted them, after some little time spent in counsel, they all set out for Monsac ¶, in the French interest, but took nothing with them. The earl of Derby appointed a squire called Aymon Lyon, governor of the castle of Langon **, and gave him thirty archers.

The earl of Derby then rode on towards a town called Le Lac; but the townsmen came out to meet him, brought him the keys of the town, and swore homage and fealty to him. The earl passed on, and came to Mandarant, which he took by storm: after he had placed a garrison in the fortress, he came before the castle of Montgis, won it in the same manner, and sent the governor prisoner to Bordeaux. He afterwards advanced to Punach, which he took, and did the same to the town and castle of Lieux ††, where he staid three days, to refresh himself and army. On the fourth day he marched to Forsath ‡‡, which he gained easily enough, and then the town of Pondaire. He next came to a town of considerable

* In Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

† A small town of Condomois, in the diocese of Condom.

‡ A town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

§ In one MS. it is Sonce: in Barnes' history of Edward III., sir John St. John; but he does not mention his authority for so altering it. In my printed copies and another MS. it is Santé, and is so in lord Berners' translation.

|| Langon,—a town in Bazadois, upon the Garonne, about six leagues from Bordeaux.

¶ A town in Perigord, diocese of Sarlat.

** Barnes calls him an *English* squire, *Timothy* Lyon; but I see no authority for it.

†† In Gascony, diocese of Comminge

‡‡ Fronsac,—upon the Dordogne, six leagues from Bordeaux.

size, called Beaumont en Laillois, which was a dependency on the count de Lisle. The earl was three days before it, and many vigorous attacks were made; for it was well provided with men at arms and artillery, who defended themselves as long as they were able: at last it was taken, with much slaughter on all those that were found in it. The earl of Derby recruited his forces there with fresh men at arms, and then advanced towards the principal town of the inheritance of the count de Lisle, which was under the command of the lord Philip de Dyon and the lord Arnold de Dyon. He invested it on all sides, and made his archers advance to the barriers, where they shot so well that none durst appear to defend them: the English, having won the barriers, and every thing even to the gate, retired in the evening. On the next morning, they renewed the attack in different places at once, and gave those within so much to do, that they did not know which way to defend themselves. The inhabitants therefore requested two knights who were there to treat with the earl of Derby for a peace, that their fortunes might be saved. They sent before them a herald, who obtained a short truce, to see if any agreement could be entered into. The earl of Derby ordered his men to retire, and came himself, accompanied by the lord Stafford and sir Walter Manny to the bars, to confer with the inhabitants. The earl at first would hear of nothing but unconditional submission: at last it was settled, that the town should put itself under the dependency of the king of England, as duke of Guienne, and that twelve of the principal citizens should be sent to Bordeaux, as hostages. The French knights and squires left the place with passports, and went to la Rèole.

CHAPTER CV.—THE EARL OF OXFORD IS TAKEN PRISONER IN GASCONY, BUT SET AT LIBERTY BY EXCHANGE.

After this conquest, and that the earl of Derby had left there men at arms and archers, he came before Bonneval *, and made a violent attack upon it, in which many were killed and wounded. At last he took it, and showed mercy. After he had reinforced it with men at arms, and another governor, he pushed forward, and, entering the county of Perigord, passed by Bordelles †, but did not attack it, as he saw it would be only pains thrown away. He still advanced, until he came before Perigueux ‡. There was in the town the earl of Perigord, the lord Roger de Perigord his brother, the lord of Duras, and fully six-score knights and squires of that country. When the earl of Derby came there, he considered in what manner he might attack it most advantageously, for he saw it was very strong. But, after having maturely weighed it, he thought it most prudent not to waste his time: he therefore retreated two leagues, and took up his quarters upon the banks of a river, in order to attack the castle of Pelagrue §.

Towards midnight, about two hundred lances, well mounted, sallied out of Perigueux: they rode so fast, that before daylight they came to the English camp, and falling upon it, killed and wounded many. They entered the tent of the earl of Oxford, whom they found arming himself: he was immediately attacked and taken prisoner, as well as three knights of his household, otherwise he would have been slain. The Gascons finding they had awakened the whole army, retired, and took their road to Perigueux. It was time for them to do so: and fortunately they found the gates of the barriers open; for they were so closely pursued that they were thrown into confusion: but the Gascons, as soon as they could rally themselves, dismounted, and, sword in hand, fought with the English, and maintained their ground so well that they lost nothing.

The English returned to the earl of Derby, who marched forward until he came before Pelagrue, where he remained six days, and many an assault was made upon it. During the time he continued there, the earl of Oxford and his companions were exchanged, for the viscount de Bousquetin, the viscount de Châtillon, the lord of Lescun, the lord of Chateauneuf; and upon condition that the lands of Perigord should remain in peace for three years: not, however, but that any knight or squire might take up arms, without forfeiting the

* A village in the diocese of Agen.
† A village in Bazadois, election of Condom.
‡ Capital of Perigord.
§ A town in the Condomois.

treaty; but nothing was to be burnt or pillaged in that country for that space of time. The English therefore departed from before Pelagrue, as it was part of Perigord, and rode towards Auberoche *, where there is a handsome and strong castle, appertaining to the archbishop of Toulouse. The English took up their quarters round about it, as if they meant to remain there for a length of time, and sent word to those within, that if they did not surrender speedily, when the town was taken, they should be all put to the sword without mercy. The inhabitants of the town and castle were much alarmed; and, seeing no appearance of any succour coming to them, they put themselves under the obedience of the earl of Derby, upon condition that their lives and fortunes were spared, and acknowledged him as their lord, for the king of England.

The earl then made a handsome retreat towards Bordeaux, having left in Auberoche a sufficient garrison, under the command of sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and sir John Lendal. On his road he came to Libourne, a fair and large town, twelve leagues from Bordeaux; to which he laid siege, and told those about him, that he would not quit it before he had got possession of it. The inhabitants consulted together; and considering well the good and evil of being assaulted and vexed, they surrendered themselves to the earl of Derby, and did homage to him during the three days he remained there. The earl of Derby sent the earl of Pembroke to Bergerac, and left the lord Stafford, sir Steven de Courcy, and the lord Alexander de Haulfiel †, with their men, in Libourne. He himself, accompanied by the earl of Oxford and sir Walter Manny, took the road for Bordeaux, where they arrived.

CHAPTER CVI.—THE COUNT DE LISLE, LIEUTENANT FOR THE KING OF FRANCE IN GASCONY, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF AUBEROCHE.

The earl was joyfully received on his return to Bordeaux: the clergy and inhabitants of the town came out to meet him, in a grand procession: they allowed him to take provisions, and whatever else he desired, according to his will and pleasure; and he and his army continued in the town, amusing themselves with the citizens and their wives

We will now return to the count de Lisle, whom we left in la Rèole: as soon as he was informed that the earl of Derby had returned to Bordeaux, and had taken up his residence there, he did not think it probable he would undertake any more expeditions this season. He sent letters therefore to the earls of Perigord, of Carmain, of Comminges, of Bruniguel, and to all the barons of Gascony that were in the French interest, to desire that they would collect as many people as they could, and come with them properly armed, by an appointed day, to meet him at Auberoche, as he intended to besiege it. They all obeyed his summons; for he was as a king in these parts of Gascony. The knights who were in Auberoche were not aware of this, until they found themselves so closely besieged on all sides that no one could go out of the garrison without being seen. The French brought from Toulouse four large machines, which cast stones into the fortress night and day; and they made no other assault; so that in six days' time they had demolished all the roofs of the towers, and none within the castle dared to venture out of the vaulted rooms on the ground floor. It was the intention of the army to kill all within the castle, if they would not surrender themselves unconditionally.

News was brought to the earl of Derby, that Auberoche was besieged; but he did not imagine his friends were so hard pushed. When Sir Frank van Halle, sir Alain de Finefroide, and Sir John Lendal, who were thus besieged, saw how desperate their situation was, they asked their servants, if there were not one among them who would, for a reward, undertake to deliver the letters they had written to the earl of Derby at Bordeaux. One from among them stepped forward, and said, he would be the man who would cheerfully undertake the commission, not through lust of gain, but from his desire to deliver them from the peril they were in. The following night the servant took the letters, sealed with their seals, and sewed them up in his clothes. He was let down into the ditches: when he was at the bottom, he climbed up the opposite side, and took his road through the army; for he

* A town in Perigord. † Barnes makes him Sir Alexander Hussey.

could not avoid passing through it. He was met by the first guard, but was not stopped, for he understood the Gascon language well, and named one of the lords of the army, as if belonging to him; so he was suffered to pass on: but he was afterward arrested, and detained under the tents of some other lords, who brought him to the main watch. He was interrogated, searched, and the letters found upon him, and guarded until morning, when the principals of the army assembled in the tent of the count de Lisle, where the letters were read. They were rejoiced to find that the garrison was so much straitened that they could not hold out longer; and, seizing the servant, they hung the letters round his neck, thrust him into one of the machines, and flung him into Auberoche. The valet fell quite dead amidst the other valets of the castle, who were much terrified at it.

About this time, the earl of Perigord, his uncle sir Charles de Poitiers, the earl of Carmain, and the lord of Duras, mounting their horses, rode as near to the walls of the castle as they could, and, calling out to those within by way of derision, said, "Gentlemen, inquire of your messenger where he found the Earl of Derby, and whether he is prepared to assist you, since your man was so eager to quit your fortress, and has returned as quickly." Sir Frank van Halle replied, "By my faith, gentlemen, if we be so closely confined in this place, we will sally forth whenever it shall please God and the earl of Derby. I wish to Heaven he were acquainted with our situation; for if he were, the proudest of you all would be afraid of standing your ground; and, if you will send any one to give him this information, one of us will surrender himself to you, to be ransomed as becomes a gentleman." The French answerod, "Nay, nay, matters must not turn out so: the earl of Derby, in proper time, shall be made acquainted with it; but not until our engines have battered your walls level with the ground, and you shall have surrendered yourselves to save your lives." "That, for certain, will never happen," said Sir Frank van Halle; for we will not surrender ourselves, should we all die upon the walls." The French lords then rode on, and returned to their army. The three English knights remained in Auberoche, quite confounded by the force of these engines, which flung such quantities of stones, that in truth it seemed as if the thunder from heaven were battering the walls of the castle.

The TREBUCHET, a machine for casting stones, engraved in Grose's Military Antiquities. From an ivory carving of the period.

CHAPTER CVII.—THE EARL OF DERBY MAKES THE COUNT OF LISLE AND NINE MORE COUNTS AND VISCOUNTS PRISONERS, BEFORE AUBEROCHE.

ALL these speeches, the treatment of the messenger, the contents of the letters, and the perilous situation of Auberoche, were known to the earl of Derby, by means of a spy he had in the French army. The earl therefore sent orders to the earl of Pembroke in Bergerac, to meet him at an appointed place and hour; and also to the lord Stafford and sir Stephen Tombey, who were at Libourne. The earl of Derby then, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and the forces he had with him, took the road towards Auberoche as secretly as possible; for he had guides who were acquainted with all the by-roads. They came to Libourne, where they staid a whole day for the earl of Pembroke; but hearing no tidings of him, and being impatient to succour their friends who were so distressed, the earl of Derby, the earl of Oxford, sir Walter Manny, sir Richard Hastings, sir Stephen Tombey, the lord Ferrers, and other knights, set out from Libourne: riding all night, they came on the morrow within two leagues of Auberoche. They entered a wood, when, alighting from their horses, they tied them to the trees, and allowed them to pasture, in expectation of the arrival of the earl of Pembroke: they waited all that morning, and until noon, in vain, not knowing what to do; for they were but three hundred lances and six hundred archers, and the French were from ten to twelve thousand men. They thought it would be cowardice to suffer their friends to be lost, when they were so near them. At last sir Walter Manny said, "Gentlemen, let us who are now here mount our horses, skirt this wood, and advance until we come to their camp: when we shall be close to it, we will stick spurs into our horses, and, with loud shouts, fall upon them. It will be about their hour for supper; and we shall see them so much discomfited, that they can never rally again." The knights present replied, that they would all do as he had proposed. Each went to his horse, re-girthed him, and tightened his armour: they ordered their pages, servants and baggage, to remain where they were.

They advanced in silence by the side of the wood until they came to the other end, where the French army was encamped in a wide valley, near a small river: they then displayed their banners and pennons, and sticking spurs into their horses, dashed into the midst of the French and Gascon forces, who were quite confounded and unprepared for this attack, as they were busy about their suppers, many having set down to table. The English were well prepared to act, and crying, "Derby, Derby for ever!" they cut down tents and pavilions, and slew and wounded all that came in their way. The French did not know where to turn, so much were they surprised; and when they got into the plains, if there were any large body of them, the archers and cross-bowmen made such good use of their weapons, that they were slain or dispersed. The count de Lisle was taken, in his tent, badly wounded; the earl of Perigord in his pavilion, and also sir Charles, his uncle; the lord of Duras was killed, and so was sir Aymery de Poitiers; but his brother, the earl of Valentinois, was made prisoner. Every one took to his heels as fast as he could; but the earl of Comminges, the earls of Carmain, Villemur, and Bruniguel, the lords le la Barde and de la Taride, with others, who were quartered on the opposite side of the castle, displayed their banners, and, having drawn up their men, marched for the plain: the English however, who had already defeated the largest body of the army, fell upon them most vigorously. In this engagement, many gallant deeds of arms were performed, many captures made, and many rescues. As soon as sir Frank van Halle and sir John Lendal, who were in Auberoche, heard the noise, and perceived the banners and pennons of their friends, they hastened to arm themselves, and all those that were with them; when, mounting their horses, they sallied out of the fortress, made for the plain, and dashed into the thickest of the combat, to the great encouragement of the English.

Why should I make a long story of it? All those who were of the count de Lisle's party were discomfited, and almost all taken prisoners, or slain. Scarcely any would have escaped, if night had not closed so soon. Nine earls and viscounts were made prisoners, and so many barons, knights and squires, that there was not a man at arms among the English that had

not for his share two or three. This battle before Auberoche was fought on the eve of St. Laurence's day, in the year 1344. The English treated their prisoners like friends: they received many upon their promises to surrender themselves by a certain day at Bordeaux, or Bergerac. The English retired into Auberoche; and the earl of Derby entertained at supper the greater part of the prisoners, earls, viscounts, barons, and knights. They gave thanks and praises to God, for having enabled them to overcome upwards of ten thousand men, when they themselves were not more than one thousand, including every one, and to rescue the town and castle of Auberoche, in which were their friends, that must have been captured in two days' time. On the next morning, a little after sun-rise, the earl of Pembroke arrived with three hundred lances and four thousand archers; he had been informed of the event of the battle as they came along, and said to the earl of Derby, "Certainly, cousin, you have neither been courteous, nor behaved honourably, to fight my enemies without waiting for me, seeing that you had sent for me; and you might have been assured, that nothing should have prevented my coming to you." The earl replied, "Fair cousin, we were very anxious for your arrival, and we waited for you from the morning until vespers: when we saw no appearance of your coming, we dared not wait longer; for had our enemies been informed of our arrival, they would have had the advantage over us; but now, thanks to God, we have conquered them, and we pray of you to help us in conducting them to Bordeaux." They remained that day and night in Auberoche: on the next day early, they were armed and mounted, and set off, leaving there a Gascon knight in their interest, as governor, named the lord Alexander of Chaumont. They took the road to Bordeaux, and carried with them the greater part of their prisoners.

CHAPTER CVIII.—THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES DIFFERENT TOWNS IN GASCONY, IN HIS ROAD TOWARDS LA REOLE.

The earl of Derby and his army, upon their arrival at Bourdeaux, were received with very great rejoicings: the inhabitants thought they never could enough testify their joy to the earl, and to sir Walter Manny, for their enterprise; in which the count de Lisle and more than two hundred knights were made prisoners. The winter passed over, without any action taking place in Gascony that is worthy of being recorded. Easter, which may be reckoned the beginning of the year 1345, was about the middle of May, and the earl of Derby, who had tarried all the winter in Bordeaux, collected a very large body of men at arms and archers, and declared he would make an expedition to la Rèole, where the French had fixed their head-quarters. He went the first day from Bordeaux to Bergerac, where he found the earl of Pembroke ready with his troops. These two noblemen, with their forces, remained for three days in Bergerac, and on the fourth departed. When they were got into the open country they halted their men, counted them, and found that they had about a thousand men at arms, and two thousand archers. They pushed forward, until they came to a castle called St. Basile, to which they laid siege. Those within, considering that the principal barons of Gascony were prisoners, and that they had no expectations of receiving succours from any place, resolved to swear fealty to king Edward of England. The earl of Derby continued his route, and took the road towards Aiguillon*; but, before he arrived there, he came to the castle of Roche-milon, which was well provided with soldiers and artillery; nevertheless, the earl ordered it to be vigorously assaulted. As the English advanced to the attack, those within threw down upon them stones, bars of iron, and pots full of hot lime; by which many were slain and wounded who adventured themselves too rashly.

When the earl of Derby perceived that his men were labouring in vain, and getting themselves killed without any advantage, he sounded a retreat: on the morrow, he ordered the peasants to bring great quantities of brushwood, faggots, straw, and turf, and to throw them all into the ditches of the castle, and plenty of earth with them. When a part of the ditch was so filled that one might get to the foot of the walls, he assembled three hundred archers,

* A town of Guienne, situated at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne.

well armed, and in battle array, and sent before them two hundred countrymen covered with shields*, having large pick-axes and hooks: whilst these first were employed in picking the walls, the archers made such good use of their bows, that no one dared to show himself on the battlements. This lasted the greatest part of the day, when the pick-axe men made so large a breach in the walls, that ten men might enter abreast. The inhabitants of the town and castle were quite confounded; some fled towards the church, and others by a back way out of the town. The fortress was immediately taken and pillaged; and all the garrison were put to death, excepting such as had taken refuge in the church, whom the earl of Derby pardoned, for they had submitted to his mercy. The earl placed in the castle a fresh garrison, under the command of two English captains, Richard Willes and Robert Scot; and then he came before Monsegur†, where he ordered his men to prepare huts for themselves and horses: he continued before it fifteen days.

The governor of the town was sir Hugh de Bastefol, and there never passed a day without some assault being made upon it. They sent for large machines from Bordeaux and Bergerac; and the stones which they cast into the town destroyed roofs, tiles, and the principal buildings. The earl of Derby sent every day to let them know, that if they suffered the town to be stormed, every one would be put to the sword; but, if they would render obedience to the king of England, he would pardon them, and treat them like friends. The townsmen would cheerfully have surrendered; and they went to the governor to consult him, and to sound his intentions, who answered them by ordering them to the battlements, for that he had provision of every sort in sufficiency to hold out for half a year, if it were necessary. They left him in apparent good-humour; but about the time of vespers they seized him, and closely confined him; assuring him at the same time, he should never be set at liberty, if he did not assist them to make some terms with the earl of Derby. When he had sworn that he would do every thing in his power, they let him go: he went directly to the barriers of the town, and made signs that he wished to speak with the earl of Derby. Sir Walter Manny being present came to the governor, who said to him, "Sir Walter Manny, you ought not to be surprised if we shut our gates against you, for we have sworn fealty to the king of France; but not perceiving any one coming from him to stop your career, and believing that you will still proceed further—for these reasons, in behalf of myself and the inhabitants of this town, we wish you would allow us these terms, namely, that no hostilities be carried on against us for the space of one month; and if in that time the king of France, or the duke of Normandy, come into this country in such force as to give you battle, we then shall hold ourselves free from our engagement; but if neither of them come, we will then enter under the obedience of the king of England."

Sir Walter Manny went to relate this proposal to the earl of Derby, who acceded to it, upon condition that there should not in the mean time be any repairs made to the fortifications of the town, and that, if any of the English army should want provisions, they might be at liberty to purchase them. Upon this there were sent twelve of the principal citizens as hostages, who were ordered to Bordeaux. The English refreshed themselves with provisions from the town, but none were suffered to enter it. They then continued their march, burning and destroying all the country as far as Aiguillon; the governor of which place came out to meet the earl, and surrendered the town and castle to him, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared, to the great astonishment of all the country, for it was one of the strongest castles in the world, and almost impregnable. When the squire, who had thus surrendered Aiguillon, came to Toulouse, which is seventeen leagues distant, the townsmen arrested him on suspicion of treason, and hung him. This castle is situated on the point between two navigable rivers. The earl ordered it to be re-victualled, and the fortifications repaired, in order to its being fit to receive him on his return, and that it might serve for a secure guard to his other possessions. He gave the command of it to sir John de Gombry‡. He then came to a castle called Segart, which he took by storm, and put all the foreign soldiers he found in it to death; from thence he came to the town of la Rèole.

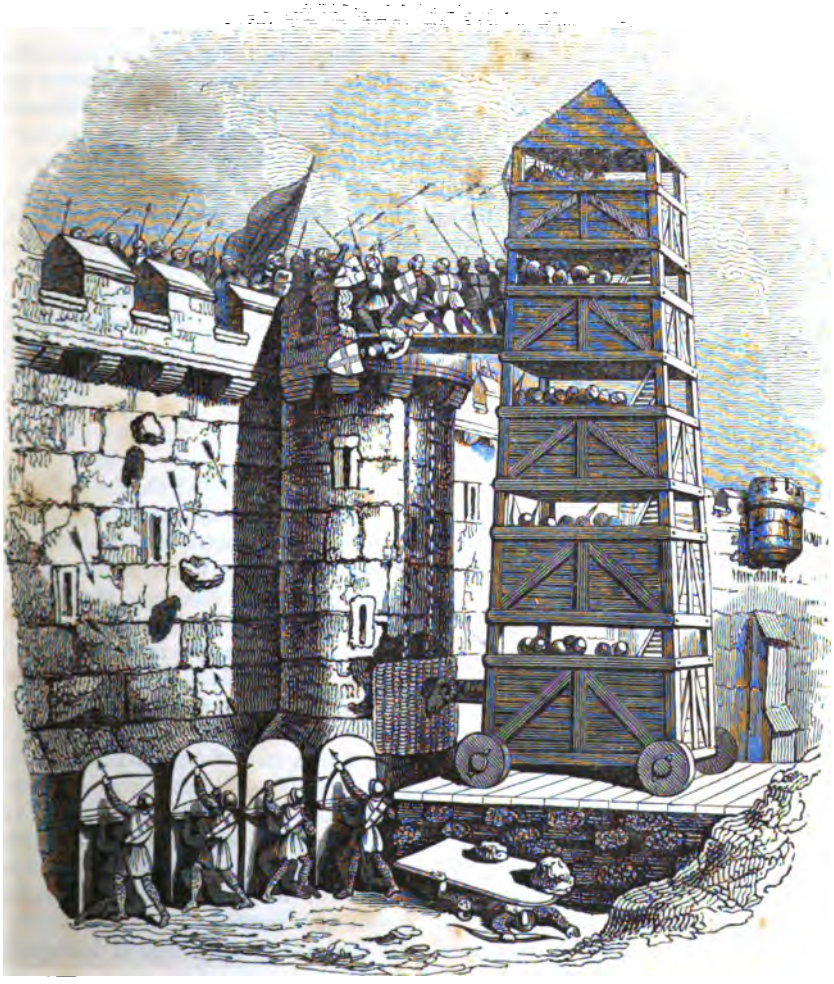
* Pavisses, says Lord Berners, that is large shields or coverings of planks, which being supported by some of the party, sheltered the others whilst at their work. — Ed.

† A town of Bazadois, election of Condom, near to la Rèole.

‡ Barnes says, to the lord John Moubray; but I do not see upon what grounds. I should rather imagine it was *John de Montgomerie*, who was captain of Calais in the 21st of Edward III., and had other charges of trust.

CHAPTER CIX.—THE EARL OF DERBY LAYS SIEGE TO LA REOLE, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM.

When the earl of Derby was arrived at la Rèole, he encompassed it closely all round, erecting towers in the plains, and near to every road, that no provision of any kind could enter it. He caused it to be assaulted almost every day. This siege took up much of the summer; and, when the time had expired which those of Monsegur had fixed for surrendering themselves, the earl of Derby sent thither, and the inhabitants of the town became liege men to the earl, who in all these cases, was the representative of the king of England. Even sir Hugh de Bastefol served under the earl with the men of Monsegur, for a certain salary, which he received from the said earl, for himself and his fellow-soldiers. The English who were besieging la Rèole had lain before it more than nine weeks, and had constructed two large towers of great beams of wood, three stories high: each tower was placed on wheels, and covered over with prepared leather, to shelter those within from fire and from the arrows: in each story were one hundred archers. These two towers, by dint of men's force, were



Breaching Tower:—men-at-arms storming the walls; archers in the moat, shooting under cover of their Pavisors. From an ancient carving of the period, engraved in Grose's Military Antiquities.

pushed close to the walls of the town; for, during the time they were building, they had filled up the ditches, so that these towers could easily pass over them. Those that were in them began immediately to shoot so well and quick, that none dared to appear upon the battlements unless he were well armed, or had a shield. Between these two towers were posted two hundred men with pick-axes and bars, to make a breach in the walls; which they did, and cast away the stones. The inhabitants seeing this, came upon the walls, and inquired for some of the chiefs of the army, to speak to them. The earl of Derby, being informed of it, sent thither sir Walter Manny and the lord Stafford, who found the townsmen willing to surrender the town, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared.

When the governor, sir Agos de Bans, a Provençal, found that the inhabitants wanted to surrender the town, he retired into the castle of la Rèole, with his fellow-soldiers; and, whilst this treaty was going on, he had conveyed into it great quantities of wine and other provision. He then ordered the gates to be fastened, and said, he would never surrender in so shameful a manner. The two knights returned to the earl of Derby, and related to him that the townsmen were desirous of surrendering upon the terms above named: the earl sent them back, to know what the governor's intentions were respecting the castle. They returned with the answer, that he had shut himself up in the castle, and would not yield it. After a little consideration, the earl said, "Well, well, let us have compassion on the inhabitants: by means of the town, we shall soon gain the castle." The knights again went to the townsmen, and received their submissions. They all came out to the plain, and presenting the keys of the town to the earl, said, "Dear sir, from this day forward, we acknowledge ourselves as your loyal subjects, and place ourselves, in every respect, under the obedience of the king of England." They swore by their heads, that they would not in any manner assist or succour those in the castle, but on the contrary, distress them all in their power. The earl forbade under pain of death, that any hurt should be done towards the inhabitants of la Rèole. He then entered it with his army, and surrounding the castle, erected all his machines against it; but they did little mischief, for the castle was very high and built of a hard stone. It was erected a long time since by the Saracens, who laid the foundations so strong, and with such curious workmanship, that the buildings of our time cannot be compared to it. When the earl found that his machines had no effect, he commanded them to desist; and, as he was not without miners in his army, he ordered them to undermine the ditches of the castle, so that they might pass under. This was not however soon done.

CHAPTER CX.—SIR WALTER MANNY FINDS IN LA REOLE THE SEPULCHRE OF HIS FATHER.

Whilst they were lying before this castle, and miners only could be employed, sir Walter Manny was reminded of his father, who formerly had been murdered in his journey from St. James of Compostella; and he had heard in his infancy, that he had been buried in la Rèole, or in that neighbourhood. He therefore made inquiries in the town, if there were no one who could inform him of the truth of this matter, and offered a hundred crowns to whoever would conduct him to the spot. This brought forward an old man, who said to sir Walter Manny, "Certainly, sir, I think I can lead you to the place where your father was buried, or very near to it." Sir Walter replied, "If you prove your words true, I will stick to my bargain and even go beyond it." To explain this matter more clearly, you must know that there was formerly a bishop of Cambray, a Gascon, and of the families of Buc and Mirepoix; and, during the time of his holding that see, a magnificent tournament was held at Cambray, where there were upwards of five hundred knights. A knight from Gascony tilted with the lord of Manny, the father of sir Walter: the Gascon knight was so roughly handled and wounded, that he never enjoyed his health afterwards but died. His death was laid to the door of the lord of Manny, and the bishop and his kindred vowed revenge for it. Two or three years after, some good-hearted people endeavoured to reconcile them; and peace was agreed to, on condition and by way of penance that the lord of Manny made a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella.

During the time of this journey, the earl Charles of Valois, brother to king Philip the

Fair, was besieging la Rèole, and had been there some time; for it appertained, as well as many other cities and towns, to the king of England, the father of him who besieged Tournay; so that the Lord of Manny on his return went to visit the earl Charles of Valois, as William earl of Hainault had married the lord Charles's daughter, and showed him his letters; for, in these parts, he was as king of France. It chanced, one night, as he was returning to his lodgings, he was watched and waylaid by the kindred of him on whose account he had performed this pilgrimage, and was murdered at a small distance from the earl Charles's hôtel. No one knew positively who had done this deed; but the relations of the Gascon knight above mentioned were very strongly suspected: however, they were so powerful, that it was passed over, and excused; for none took the part of the lord of Manny. The earl of Valois had him buried immediately in a small chapel, which at that time was without the walls of la Rèole; and, when the earl of Valois had conquered the town, this chapel was enclosed in it. The old man remembered all these circumstances perfectly well, for he had been present when the lord of Manny was interred. When sir Walter came to the spot, where his father had been formerly buried, with his aged conductor, he found there a small tomb of marble, which his servants had erected over him; and the old man said, "You may be perfectly assured, that your father was buried and lies under this tomb." Sir Walter then caused the inscription, which was in Latin, to be read to him by a clerk, and found that the old man had told him the truth. Two days afterwards, he had the tomb opened, took out the bones of his father, and, placing them in a coffin, sent them to Valenciennes, in the county of Hainault, where they were again buried in the church of the Frercs Mineurs, near the choir. He ordered masses to be said, and continued yearly.

CHAPTER CXI.—THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CASTLE OF LA REOLE.

The earl of Derby was more than eleven weeks besieging the castle of la Rèole: the miners, however, made such advances, that they had got under one of the courts of the castle; but they could not undermine the donjon, for it was built on too hard a rock. The lord Agos de Bans, the governor, then told his companions they were undermined, and in great danger, who were much alarmed at it, and said, "Sir, you will be in equal peril with ourselves, if you cannot find some method of avoiding it. You are our captain, and we ought to obey you. In truth, we have defended ourselves honourably, and no one can blame us if now we enter into a treaty. Will you, therefore, talk with the earl of Derby, and know if he will accept of our surrender, sparing our lives and fortunes, seeing that we cannot at present act otherwise?" Sir Agos went down from the great tower, and, putting his head out of a window, made signs that he wished to speak with some one from the army. A few of the English came near him, and asked what he wanted: he replied, that he would speak with the earl of Derby, or sir Walter Manny. When this was told the earl, he said to sir Walter Manny, and to lord Stafford, "Let us go to the fortress, and see what the governor has to say to us:" they rode therefore up to it. When sir Agos perceived them, he saluted each very respectfully, and said, "Gentlemen, you know for fact that the king of France has sent me to this town and castle, to defend them to the best of my abilities. You know in what manner I have acquitted myself, and also that I should wish to continue it on: but one cannot always remain in the place that pleases one best. I should therefore like to depart from hence, with my companions, if it be agreeable to you; and that we may have your permission, if you will spare our lives and fortunes, we will surrender this castle up to you." The earl replied, "Sir Agos, sir Agos, you will not get off so: we know that you are very much distressed, and that we can take you whenever we please; for your castle now only stands upon props: you must surrender yourselves up unconditionally, and so shall you be received." Sir Agos, answering, said, "Certainly, sir, if we should do so, I hold you of such honour and gallantry, that you will show us every mark of favour, as you would wish the king of France should do towards any of your knights; and, please God, you will never stain your honour and nobility for a few poor soldiers, that are within here, who have gained their money with great pain and trouble, and whom I brought with me

from Provence, Savoy, and Dauphiné: for know, that if the lowest of our men be not treated with mercy, as well as the highest, we will sell our lives in such a manner as none besieged ever did before. I therefore entreat of you to listen to me, and treat us like brother soldiers, that we may feel ourselves obliged to you."

The three knights withdrew to a little distance, and conversed a long time together: when, considering the gallantry of sir Agos, that he was a foreigner, and besides, that they could not undermine the donjon, they returned, and said to him, "Sir Agos, we shall be happy always to treat every stranger knight as a brother at arms; and if, fair sir, you and yours wish to leave the castle, you must carry nothing with you but your arms and horses. "Let it be so then," replied sir Agos. Upon this he returned to his companions, and related what he had done: they immediately armed themselves, and caparisoned their horses, of which they had only six remaining. Some purchased horses of the English, who made them pay dearly for them. Thus sir Agos de Bans gave up the castle of la Rèole, of which the English took possession; and he went to the city of Toulouse.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES CASTEL MORON*, AND AFTERWARDS VILLEFRANCHE†, IN PERIGORD.

When the earl of Derby had gained possession of the town and castle of la Rèole, where he had spent a long time, he pushed forward, but left there an English knight, to see after the repairs, that it might be put in a similar situation as when he had come before it. The earl advanced towards Monpouillant‡, which he instantly ordered to be attacked the moment he arrived. There were in the castle none but the peasantry of the country, who had retired thither with their cattle, depending on the strength of the place; they defended themselves as long as they were able; but at last it was taken by escalade, though it cost the earl dear, in the loss of many archers, and a young English gentleman called sir Richard Pennort §, who bore the banner of the lord Stafford. The earl gave the command of the castle and its dependencies to a squire of his own, called Thomas Lancaster, and left him with twenty archers. The earl then came to Castel Moron, which he attacked; but, finding he could not make any impression, he took up his quarters before it for that night. On the morrow morning, a knight from Gascony came to him, called sir Alexander de Chaumont, and said, "Sir, pretend to decamp with your army, leaving only a small detachment here before the town; and, from the knowledge I have of its inhabitants, I am sure they will sally forth to attack them. Your men will defend themselves as they retreat, and by placing an ambuscade under these olive trees, which as soon as they have passed, one party of your army may fall upon their rear, and the other make for the town." The earl followed this advice, and ordered the earl of Oxford to remain behind, with only one hundred men, giving him directions what he wished to have done. He then ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and to march off, as if he were going to another place: after having posted a strong ambuscade in the valley among the olives and vines, he rode on.

When the townsmen of Castel Moron perceived that the earl and the greater part of his army were marching off, they said among themselves, "Let us hasten to arm, and sally forth to combat this handful of English that stay behind: we shall soon discomfit them, and have them at our mercy, which will bring us great honour and profit." They all agreed to this proposal; and, hastening to arm themselves, they sallied out for the fastest, and might amount to about four hundred. As soon as the earl of Oxford and his party saw them coming, they began to retreat, and the French to follow them with great eagerness; they pursued them, until they had passed the ambush, when those posted there advanced upon them, calling out, "Manny for ever!" for sir Walter commanded this ambuscade. One part of his detachment fell upon those that had come from the town, and the other made for Castel Moron, where they came about midnight, and found the barriers and gates wide

* A town of Bazadois, near la Rèole.
† A small town, not far from Bergerac.
‡ A town of Bazadois.
§ Penford, according to Barnes.

open; for the guards thought it was their own people returning. The first comers therefore seized the bridge, and were soon masters of the town; for the inhabitants that had sallied out were surrounded on all sides, and either slain or made prisoners. Those that had remained in the town surrendered themselves to the earl of Derby, who received them kindly, and, out of his nobleness of disposition, respited the town from being pillaged and burnt. He made a present of it, and all its dependencies, to sir Alexander de Chaumont, through whose advice he had gained it. Sir Alexander made his brother, who was a squire, called Antony de Chaumont, governor: and the earl of Derby left with him his archers, and forty infantry armed with bucklers, in order to enable him the better to guard the town. The earl then came before Villefranche, which he took by storm, as well as the castle. He made an English knight, sir Thomas Cook, governor of it. Thus did the earl of Derby march through every part of the country, without any one venturing out to prevent him. He conquered many different towns and castles; and his army gained so much riches, that it was marvellous to think on.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE EARL OF DERBY CONQUERS THE CITY OF ANGOULEME.

When the earl of Derby gained Villefranche, he advanced towards Miraumont*, approaching nearer to Bordeaux; for, in all this expedition his light horse, or scouts, had never come near to Port Sainte Marie†. He was three days before Miraumont, and on the fourth it surrendered. The earl gave the command of it to one of his squires, called John Briscoe‡: his army took afterwards a small fortified town upon the Garonne, called Tonniens§, and the strong castle of Damazan, which was well provided with men at arms and archers. He then came to the city of Angoulême‖, which he closely besieged, and declared he would not depart before it was in his possession. The townsmen hearing this entered into a treaty that their city should remain unhurt for one month; and twenty-four of the principal inhabitants were sent to Bordeaux, as hostages: if during this time the king should send forces sufficient to make head against the earl of Derby, the hostages should be returned, and they be accounted free to take which side they pleased; but if otherwise, they would put themselves under the obedience of the king of England.

The earl of Derby continued his march, and came before Blayes**, which he besieged on all sides. Two knights from Poitou were governors of it, named sir Guiscard de l'Angle††, and sir William de Roche-chouart, who declared they would never surrender to any man. Whilst the English were besieging Blayes, a detachment of them marched on to Mortaigne‡‡ in Poitou, which was under the command of the lord of Boucicault; and there was a sharp engagement, which ended in nothing, except leaving behind many of their men dead and wounded. They returned, therefore, and came by Mirabeau and Aulnay to the siege before Blayes, where almost every day there was some gallant deed of arms performed. The term of the month being expired when the town of Angoulême was to surrender, the earl sent his two marshals thither, to whom they swore homage and fealty, in the name of the king of England: the city by this means enjoyed peace, and had their hostages returned to them; and the earl, at their request, made sir John Norwich§§ governor of it. The siege of Blayes was still continued, until the English began to be weary of it; for winter was approaching, and as yet they had gained no advantage. They held a council, to consider if it would not be better to retire to Bordeaux, and return in a more favourable season. This was agreed to, and they decamped, passed the Garonne, and came to Bordeaux. Soon afterwards the earl divided his forces, and sent detachments to different garrisons, to keep order, and spread more over the country.

* In the diocese of Agen.

† A town on the Garonne, near Aiguillon.

‡ Barnes and lord Berners call him Bristol, but I see no authority.

§ In the Agenois, diocese of Agen.

‖ The capital of the Angoumois.

** An ancient town upon the Garonne.

†† See more of him, and sir Frank van Halle, in the histories of the order of the garter, and also of sir Henry Eam.

‡‡ Diocese of Rochelle.

§§ Summoned to parliament the 16th and 34th Edward III.—See *Dugdale*.

CHAPTER CXIV.—SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT BANISHED FROM FRANCE.

About this period, sir Godfrey de Harcourt incurred the anger of the king of France. He was a great baron in Normandy, brother to the earl of Harcourt, and lord of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and of many other towns in Normandy. This was occasioned through jealousy; for a little before he was so much in favour with the king and duke, that he could do as he liked with either*. He was publicly banished from France; and, if the king's rage had not subsided, he would have been served as sir Olivier de Clisson and the other knights who had been beheaded the preceding year in Paris. Sir Godfrey, however, had some good friends, who gave him information privately how much the king was incensed against him. He quitted the kingdom as speedily as possible, and went to Brabant, where the duke John, his cousin, received him most joyfully. He remained there a considerable time, and spent what revenue he had in Brabant; for in France he had nothing, as the king had seized all his estates in Coutantin, and received the rents for his own use. The knight could never regain the love of the king of France, notwithstanding all the earnest entreaties of the duke of Brabant.

This hatred cost dear to France, especially to the province of Normandy; for the traces of it appeared a hundred years afterwards, as you will find by the following history†.

CHAPTER CXV.—JACOB VON ARTAVELD IS MURDERED AT GHENT.

Jacob von Artaveld, the citizen of Ghent that was so much attached to the king of England, still maintained the same despotic power over all Flanders. He had promised the king of England, that he would give him the inheritance of Flanders, invest his son the prince of Wales with it, and make it a duchy instead of an earldom. Upon which account the king was, at this period, about St. John the Baptist's day, 1345, come to Sluys, with a numerous attendance of barons and knights. He had brought the prince of Wales with him, in order that Jacob von Artaveld's promises might be realised. The king remained on board his fleet in the harbour of Sluys, where he kept his court. His friends in Flanders came thither to see and visit him; and there were many conferences between the king and Jacob von Artaveld on one side, and the councils from the different capital towns on the other, relative to the agreement before mentioned; as to which, those from the country did not unite in sentiment with the king nor with von Artaveld, who kept continually reminding him of their quarrel, and exhorting them to disinherit earl Lewis, their natural lord, and his youngest son Lewis, in favour of the son of the king of England: but they declared they never would consent to such a thing. At the last conference, which was held in the harbour of Sluys, on board the king's ship, the Catherine (which was of such an enormous size that wonders might be told of it), they made this unanimous reply: "Dear sir, the request you have made has given us much uneasiness, and may in times to come be prejudicial to Flanders and our successors. True it is, that there is not in the world any prince whom we love so much, or for whose profit and advantage we would exert ourselves so greatly as for you: but we alone cannot agree to this proposition, unless all the commonalties of Flanders give their consent. Therefore each of us will return to our different towns, and will explain in a general way this business to the inhabitants: when, if the greater part of them shall consent, we also will agree to it: we will return to you again within a month, and bring such answers as we hope will be satisfactory." Neither the king

* Sir Godfrey de Harcourt's disgrace was caused by a quarrel he had with the maréchal de Briquebec, on account of a marriage being broken. They fought. The king ordered the affair to be discussed in his parliament; but Harcourt, instead of appearing, besieged a castle belonging to the bishop of Bayeux, brother to the marshal, entered into negotiations with the enemies of his country, and by his hatred to his king gained the favour of Edward.

Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, a beautiful copy on vellum in the Hafod Library. They had formed part of the celebrated library of Diane de Poitiers, at Anet.

† Godfrey de Harcourt did homage to king Edward, as king of France, the 13th June, 1345; when Edward engaged, if he could not recover for him his estates in Normandy, to give him their equivalent in England.—*Rymer.*

of England nor Jacob von Artaveld could at that time obtain more or any other answer. They wished to have had a shorter day appointed, but in vain: so the king answered, he was satisfied that it should be as they determined. The conference broke up, and each returned to the town from whence he had been deputed.

Jacob von Artaveld remained some little time longer with the king of England, in order to be made acquainted with all his affairs: he, in return, promised and assured him that he would bring his countrymen over to his opinion; but he deceived himself, and did wrong in staying behind, and not being at Ghent at the time when the citizens who had been deputed by the corporations of the town arrived there: for as soon as they were returned, taking advantage of the absence of von Artaveld, they collected a large meeting of high and low in the market-place, and there explained to them the subject of the late conferences at Sluys, and what the king of England had required of them, through the advice and information of Jacob von Artaveld. The whole assembly began to murmur against him; and this request was received unfavourably by all. They said, "that if it pleased God, they never would be pointed out, or found so disloyal, as to disinherit their natural lord, in favour of a stranger." They then left the market-place much discontented, and angry with Artaveld. Now, see how unfortunately it fell out; for if he had gone to Ghent, instead of Bruges and Ypres, and had remonstrated with them upon the quarrel of the king of England, they would all have consented to his wishes, as those of the two above-mentioned towns had done: but he trusted so much to his prosperity and greatness, that he thought he could recover every thing back in a little time.

When on his return he came to Ghent about mid-day, the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street that he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, "Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne." With this they had also spread a rumour through the town, that Jacob von Artaveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more; that he had usurped the government without rendering an account, for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the earl of Flanders, but kept them securely to maintain his own state, and had, during the time above mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures: of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage; and, as he was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him; for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully, now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began therefore to suspect all was not as usual; and as soon as he had dismounted, and entered his hôtel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, attacked and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many: but at last they could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob von Artaveld saw what efforts were making, and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and fine language, saying, "My good people, what aileth you? Why are you so enraged against me? by what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills." Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, "We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title of reason." Artaveld replied in a soft tone, "Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken any thing from the treasures of Flanders; and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be provided to give so good an account of them, that you must reasonably be satisfied." But they cried out, "No, no, we must have it directly, you shall not thus escape from us; for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it into England, without our knowledge: you therefore shall suffer death." When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said, "Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me: you formerly swore you

would protect me against all the world; and now, without any reason, you want to murder me. You are certainly masters to do it, if you please; for I am but one man against you all. Think better of it, for the love of God: recollect former times, and consider how many favours and kindnesses I have conferred upon you. You wish to give me a sorry recompense for all the generous deeds you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant, that, when commerce was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you in so peaceable a manner, that under my administration you had all things according to your wishes; corn, oats, riches, and all sorts of merchandise which have made you so wealthy." They began to bawl out, "Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height; for we will have an account and statement of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed too long without rendering any account; and it is not proper for an officer to receive the rents of a lord, or of a country, without accounting for them." When Jacob von Artaveld saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hôtel was already broke into on that side, and upwards of four hundred were there calling out for him. At last he was seized by them, and slain without mercy: his death-stroke was given him by a sadler, called Thomas Denys. In this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and wicked men slew him. News of this event was soon spread abroad: some pitied him, whilst others rejoiced at it. The earl Lewis had remained all this time in Dendremonde, and with much pleasure heard of Jacob von Artaveld's death, as he had very much opposed him in all his undertakings: nevertheless, he durst not yet place confidence in those of Flanders, nor return to Ghent.

When the king of England, who was waiting at Sluys for the return of the deputies, was informed in what manner the inhabitants of Ghent had slain his faithful friend and companion Artaveld, he was in a mighty passion, and sore displeased. He immediately departed, put to sea, and vowed vengeance against the Flemings and all Flanders, declaring that his death should be dearly paid for by them. The councils of the principal towns guessed that the king of England would not be much enraged against them; they therefore considered that their best method to soften his anger, would be to go and excuse themselves from the murder of Jacob von Artaveld, especially those of Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, and the franc of Bruges. They sent to the king and his council for a safe conduct, that they might come over to make their excuses; and the king, whose anger was somewhat cooled, granted it to them.

The principal persons of all the chief towns in Flanders, except those of Ghent, came into England about Michaelmas. The king was at that time in Westminster, near London. They made very fair excuses, and swore most solemnly that "they were guiltless of the murder of von Artaveld, which, had they suspected, they would have guarded and defended him: that they were exceedingly vexed at his loss, and regretted it most sincerely; for they knew how kind he had been to them, how useful he was in all their affairs, and that he had reigned and governed Flanders most wisely: that since those of Ghent had slain him, they should make ample amends for it." They also explained to the king and his council, "that though Jacob von Artaveld was dead, he was not the less beloved, or less in the good graces of the Flemings, save and except in the investiture of Flanders, which he wished to be taken from the earl, their natural lord, however he may be attached to the French interest, and from his son, their lawful heir, to give it to the prince of Wales; for the Flemings would not, on any account, listen to it. But, dear sir, you have a fine family of sons and daughters: the prince of Wales, your eldest son, cannot fail being a great prince, with an ample inheritance, without desiring that of Flanders: and you have also a young daughter; we have too a young lord, whom we are bringing up and taking care of, that will be lord of Flanders: it perhaps may be, that a marriage could be brought about between them, so that the county of Flanders will in the end be possessed by one of your children." These speeches softened very much the anger and ill-will of the king of England; and, in the end, both he and the Flemings were equally satisfied with each other. Thus, by degrees, was the death of Jacob von Artaveld forgotten.

CHAPTER CXVI.—WILLIAM EARL OF HAINAULT IS SLAIN IN FRIEZLAND, AND MANY NOBLEMEN WITH HIM.

At this time and season, William earl of Hainault was laying siege to the town of Utrecht, and had been there for a long time, in order to recover some rights which he claimed as belonging to him. He pressed the siege so closely by his vigorous assaults, that he brought it back to its duty, and obtained every thing he wished for. Soon afterwards, in the same year, about the feast of St. Remy (1st of October), the earl collected a large body of men at arms, knights, and squires, from Hainault, Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Gueldres, and Juliers; and, embarking them on board a considerable fleet at Dordrecht, made sail for Friezland; for the earl considered himself as lord thereof. If the Friezlanders had been people to listen to the legality and reasonableness of the claim, the earl was entitled to it: but, as they were obstinate, he exerted himself to obtain it by force, and was slain, as well as a great many other knights and squires. God have mercy on their souls!

Sir John of Hainault did not accompany his nephew, but went to another part. On hearing of his nephew's death, he wanted to combat the Friezlanders like one out of his senses: when his servants found the state he was in, they took him and carried him on board a vessel, whether he would or no. Sir Robert de Glewes, who was his body squire, was most active in saving him. They returned in small numbers, and in disorder, to Gertruydenberg in Holland, where the lady Jane his niece, the wife of the above-mentioned earl, was waiting for him. She was the eldest daughter of the duke of Brabant, and from that moment withdrew to the territory of Binch *, which was her dower. The county of Hainault remained vacant some time, and was governed by sir John of Hainault, until the lady Margaret, mother to earl Albert, came thither, and took possession of the heritage; to whom all the lords did homage and fealty. This lady Margaret, countess of Hainault, was married to the lord Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Rome and king of Germany.

CHAPTER CXVII.—SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT QUITS THE ALLIANCE OF ENGLAND FOR THAT OF FRANCE.

Soon after this, king Philip of France endeavoured by a treaty, through the means of the earl of Blois, to persuade sir John of Hainault to take part with France. He promised to allow him the same subsidy which he received from England, and would assign it upon whatever lands his council might think best. But sir John was not willing to comply; for he had spent the flower of his youth in fighting for England, and king Edward had always much loved and esteemed him. When the earl of Blois, who had married his daughter, and had three sons by her, Lewis, John, and Guy, found that he could not succeed in this business himself, he endeavoured, by means of the lord of Faguinelles, who was the chief friend and adviser of sir John, to gain his point. In order to make him alter his opinion of the English, they made him believe that they would not pay him his subsidy for a considerable time. This put sir John so much out of humour, that he renounced all treaties and agreements which he had entered into with England. The king of France was no sooner informed of it, than he sent to him persons sufficiently authorised, who retained him, as well as his council, for France, at a certain salary: and he recompensed him in his kingdom with a greater revenue than he derived from England.

* Binch, near Mons, in Hainault.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—THE DUKE OF NORMANDY MARCHES WITH A GREAT ARMY INTO GASCONY, AGAINST THE EARL OF DERBY.

THE king of France having received information of the expeditions and conquests that the earl of Derby had made in Gascony, issued a special summons for all nobles, and others, that were capable of bearing arms, to assemble in the cities of Orleans and Bourges, and in that neighbourhoood, by a certain day. In obedience to this summons, there came to Paris, Eudes duke of Burgundy, and his son the earl of Artois and Boulogne: they presented themselves before the king with a thousand lances. Next came the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu his brother; then the earl of Eu and of Guignes, constable of France, each attended by a numerous body of men at arms. The earl of Tancarville, the dauphine of Auvergne, the earls of Forêts, Dammartin, Vendôme; the lords of Coucy, of Craon, of Sully, of Fresnes of Beaujeu, of Roye, the bishop of Beauvais, the lord John of Châlons, and many others, assembled at Orleans; and all those from the west side of the Loire: those from the eastern side and beyond Poitou, Saintonge, la Rochelle, Quercy, Limousin, Auvergne, assembled in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. These all advanced towards Rouergue, where they found great multitudes collected in the city of Rhodez, and on the borders of Auvergne and Provence. At last these lords were all assembled, with their men, in and near Toulouse, for they were too great in numbers to be lodged in the city; they amounted, in the whole, to upwards of a hundred thousand persons. This was the year of grace 1345. Soon after the feast of Christmas, the duke of Normandy, who was the commander in chief of this army, set out to join it, and ordered his marshals, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of St. Venant, to advance with the van. They came first to the castle of Miraumont, which the English had conquered in the summer, and most vigorously assaulted it. There were within it about a hundred Englishmen for its defence, under the command of John Briscoe.

With the French were the lord Lewis of Spain, and a number of Genoese cross-bowmen, that spared none: those within could not defend themselves against so superior a force, but were taken, and the greater part of them slain, even their captain. The marshals, having recruited their battalion with fresh men, advanced further, and came before Villefranche, in the county of Agenois. The army halted there, and surrounded it on all sides. Sir Thomas Cook, the governor, was not there, but at Bordeaux, whither the earl of Derby had sent for him. However, those within made a vigorous defence: but, in the end, they were taken by storm, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword. The army then marched towards the city of Angoulême, leaving the town and castle of Villefranche standing undemolished, and without any guard. The city of Angoulême was closely besieged; and the governor of it for the king of England was sir John Norwich.

The earl of Derby, who was at Bordeaux, heard of the arrival of this great army from France, and that they had already recaptured Miraumont, and Villefranche, which they had plundered and burnt, except the citadel. Having sent for four of his knights, in whom he placed much confidence, he ordered them to take sixty men at arms and three hundred archers, and set out for Villefranche to gain possession of the castle, which was empty, and put it, as well as the gates of the town, into good repair: if the French should come to attack them, to make a good defence, for he should hasten to their assistance, let it cost what it would. These knights did according to their orders, and their names were sir Stephen Tombey, sir Richard Heydon, sir Ralph Hastings, and sir Normant de Finefroide. The earl then requested the earl of Pembroke, sir Walter Manny, sir Frank van Halle, sir Thomas Cook, sir John Touchet, sir Richard de Beauvais*, sir Philip Radcliff, sir Robert Neville, sir Thomas Bisset, and many other knights and squires, that they would immediately set off to defend Aiguillon, for he should be very much displeased if he lost that town. They departed, in number about forty knights and squires, and three hundred men at arms and archers. They got into the castle of Aiguillon, where they found about six score

* Bayeux.—BARNES.

brother soldiers, whom the earl of Derby had left there. They laid in a sufficient stock of meal, and all other sorts of provision. As the four first-mentioned knights were on their road to Villefranche, they collected a quantity of cattle, sheep, corn, and all other provision, which they drove before them to Villefranche. They entered the castle, and repaired its walls, as well as those of the town, and were upwards of fifteen hundred fighting men, well supplied with provision for six months.

The duke of Normandy was a long time before Angoulême; and, when he found that he made no impression by his assaults, so well was it defended, but lost many of his people every day, he ordered them to cease from their attacks, and to take up their quarters nearer the city. One day during this siege, the seneschal of Beaucaire came to the duke, and said, "Sir, I am very well acquainted with all this country; and, if you will let me have six hundred men at arms, I will make an excursion, in search of cattle and provision; for very shortly, if we remain here, we shall be in need of both." This was very agreeable to the duke and his council; and on the morrow morning, the seneschal took those knights and squires who were desirous of advancement. Among those who placed themselves under his command were the duke of Bourbon, his brother the earl of Ponthieu, the earls of Tancarville, Forêts, the dauphine of Auvergne, the lords of Pons, of Partenay, of Coucy, of Daubigny, of Aussemont, of Beaujeu, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord of Saintré, and many others, to the amount of nine hundred lances. Towards the evening they mounted their horses, and riding all night, came about the dawn before a large town called Athenis*, which had but lately surrendered to the English. A spy came to the seneschal, and informed him that in the town there were six score men at arms, Gascons and English, and three hundred archers, who would defend themselves well, if they were attacked: "but," added the spy, "I have observed that their cattle are without the town; and in a meadow underneath it are two hundred large beasts feeding." The seneschal then addressed himself to his companions, and said, "Gentlemen, I think it most advisable that you should remain in this valley: I will go, with sixty men, to collect the booty, which I will drive this way; and I am mistaken, if the English do not sally out, thinking to rescue them, which will throw them into your power." This was executed; and the seneschal, accompanied by sixty companions well mounted, rode through bye roads round the town, until he came to the fine meads, where the cattle were pasturing. He then separated his companions, for them to collect the beasts together, and drive them under the walls of the town by a different road.

The watch on the walls and on the castle, seeing this, began to make a great noise, and to sound the alarm to awaken their fellow-soldiers and the townsmen; for, as it was very early, many were asleep: they immediately began to stir, and, saddling their horses, assembled in the market-place. They came there as well armed as they could, and left none in the town but servants. The English were very eager in the pursuit, to recover their cattle, crying out to the French, "You must not think to get off so." The seneschal hastened the more, so that the English fell into the ambuscade, which attacked them; and, through the disorder they were in by their too great eagerness, in the space of an hour they were all overcome. Their captain, sir Stephen Lacy, was made prisoner, as well as those who, through a point of honour, were around him: the rest were slain. The French then made for the town, which they entered by storm; for there were none to defend it. The first battalion which entered was that of the duke of Bourbon. These lords took possession of it; and, having placed a new garrison and governor, they set out with all their booty and prisoners, and returned the next day to the army before Angoulême. Notwithstanding there were many greater lords in this expedition than the seneschal of Beaucaire, he had all the honour and glory of it.

* Mr. Barnes makes it *Ancenis*; but that is too far off; and he quotes *Du Chesne*, page 663. In my opinion, it must be *St. Jean d'Angely*, as that is in Saintonge, and not too far distant for this excursion.

CHAPTER CXIX.—SIR JOHN NORWICH ESCAPES FROM ANGOULEME, WHEN THAT TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

The lords of France remained for a very considerable time before Angoulême. The French overran all the country which had been conquered by the English: they created much trouble, and, whenever they found a fit opportunity, brought to their camp many prisoners and much pillage: the two brothers of Bourbon acquired great praise from all, as they were the foremost in every excursion. When sir John Norwich, the governor of Angoulême, found that the duke of Normandy would not break up the siege until he had gained the city; that his provisions were growing short, and that the earl of Derby showed no signs of coming to his relief: having also perceived that the inhabitants were much inclined to the French, and would have turned to them before, if they had dared: he began to be suspicious of treason, and bethought how he could best save himself and his companions. On the eve of the Purification, he came on the battlements of the walls of the city alone, without having mentioned to any one his intentions, and made signs with his cap that he wanted to speak with some one from the army. Those who had noticed the signal came to know what he wanted: he said, "he wished to speak with my lord the duke of Normandy, or with one of his marshals." They went to inform the duke of this, who came there, attended by some of his knights. As soon as sir John saw the duke, he pulled off his cap, and saluted him. The duke returned the salute, and said, "Sir John, how fares it with you? Are you inclined to surrender yourself?" "I have no intentions to do that," replied sir John; "but I could wish to entreat of you, in reverence to the feast of our Lady, which is to-morrow, that you would grant us a truce for that day only, that neither of us may hurt the other, but remain in peace." The duke said, "he was willing to consent to it."

Early the next morning, which was Candlemas day, sir John and his companions armed themselves, and packed up all they had. They then ordered one of the gates to be opened, and issued forth; which being perceived by the army, some part of it began to put itself in motion: sir John, upon this, rode up to them, and said, "Gentlemen, gentlemen, beware that you do no harm to us; for we have had a truce agreed on for this whole day, as you must know, by the duke of Normandy; and we shall not touch you. If you have not been informed of it, go and inquire; for we can, upon the faith of this truce, ride and go wherever we please." This information was brought to the duke, and he was asked what was to be done, who replied, "Let them go, in God's name, whatever way they choose; for we cannot force them to stay. I will keep the promise I made them." Thus sir John Norwich passed through the whole French army unhurt, and took the road to Aiguillon. When those who were in garrison there heard in what manner he had escaped and saved his men, they said he had acted very cunningly. The inhabitants of Angoulême held a council on Candlemas day, and determined to surrender themselves to the duke: they sent persons properly authorised to treat, who managed so well, that the duke showed them mercy, and pardoned them. He entered the city and castle, where he received their homage, and appointed sir Anthony de Villiers governor, with a hundred soldiers to defend it. The duke afterwards decamped, and came before the castle of Damazan *, which he laid siege to for fourteen days. There were continued assaults; but at last it was taken, and all within it, Gascons and English, put to the sword. The duke gave this castle and its dependencies to a squire, from Beausse, named the Borgne de Nully. He then came before Tonniens †, which is situated on the Garonne, and which he found well provided with Gascons and English. There were many attacks and skirmishes; and he remained some time before it. However, at last they surrendered, upon condition of preserving their lives and fortunes, and to be conducted in safety to Bordeaux. When these foreigners had left it, the town entered under obedience to the duke, who staid here with his whole army, and on the banks of the Garonne, until after Easter, when he advanced towards Port St. Marie upon the same

* A town in Gascony, in the election of Condom. † Diocese of Agen.

river. There were about two hundred English to defend the town and this passage, who had strongly fortified it; but they, and all within, were taken by assault. The French, after they had repaired and reinforced it with men at arms, set out and took the road towards Aiguillon.

CHAPTER CXX.—THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO AIGUILLON, WITH A HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN.

The noblemen of France, under the command of the duke of Normandy, pushed on until they came before the castle of Aiguillon, when they encamped and divided their forces in the extensive and handsome meadows on the banks of the river Garonne, which is navigable for great vessels. Each lord was posted with his own people, and every company by itself, according to the orders of the marshals of the army. This siege continued until the beginning of October; and there were upwards of one hundred thousand men in arms, including cavalry and infantry. Those within were obliged to defend themselves against this army two or three times every day, and most commonly from noon until eve without ceasing; for there were continually pouring upon them fresh forces, Genoese or others, who gave them no repose. The chiefs of the French army found they could never attack, with advantage, the fortress, unless they passed the river, which was wide and deep: the duke therefore ordered a bridge to be constructed, that they might cross it: three hundred workmen were employed at this bridge, who worked day and night. As soon as the knights who were in Aiguillon perceived that this bridge was nearly finished, and that one half of it was completed, they prepared three vessels, in which they embarked, and, driving away the workmen and guards, instantly destroyed what had taken so much time to make. The lords of France, seeing this, got ready other vessels to attack them, in which they placed a number of men at arms, Genoese cross-bowmen and infantry, and ordered the workmen to continue their works, under the support of these guards. When these workmen were thus employed, sir Walter Manny, and some of his companions, embarked about noon, and, dashing upon them, made them quit their work and run off: he soon destroyed all that they had done. This kind of skirmish was continued daily; but at last the French sent such large detachments to guard the workmen, that the bridge was completed in a good and strong manner. The army then passed over it in order of battle, and attacked the castle for the space of one whole day, but did no great harm; and, in the evening, they retreated to their camp, where they were plentifully supplied with everything.

Those within the castle repaired what damage had been done, for they had plenty of workmen. On the morrow, the French resolved to divide their army into four divisions; the first of which should make an attack on this fortress from the dawn until about nine o'clock; the second from that time till noon; the third from noon till four o'clock; and the fourth division from that time till night. This mode of attack was continued for six successive days. However, those within the castle were never so much harassed but that they could defend themselves valiantly; and their enemies gained nothing but the bridge, which was before the castle. The French lords, upon this, held a council, and sent to Toulouse for eight of their largest battering engines, and constructed four other large ones upon the spot. These twelve engines cast stones into the fortress day and night; but the besieged had taken such pains to avoid what mischief they could do, that they only destroyed the roofs of the houses: they had also made counter-engines, which played upon those of their enemies, and in a short space of time totally ruined six of them.

During this siege, sir Walter Manny made frequent excursions beyond the river, with about six score companions, to forage, and often returned with his booty in sight of the army. One day the lord Charles of Montmorency had been on a foraging party, with five or six hundred men, and was conducting a great number of cattle to victual the army, when he met sir Walter Manny under the walls of Aiguillon. They immediately began an engagement, which was very sharp; and many were killed and wounded on both sides. The French were at least five to one. News was brought of this into Aiguillon, when

every one sallied out for the fastest, and the earl of Pembroke with the foremost: they dashed into the midst of them, and found sir Walter Manny unhorsed, and surrounded by his enemies, but fighting most valiantly. He was directly rescued and remounted. During the heat of the engagement, the French hastened to drive off the cattle to a place of safety, or they would have lost them; for the English were coming in crowds to succour their countrymen, and, falling upon the French vigorously, they put them to flight, rescued those they had made prisoners, and captured also many from them. The lord Charles de Montmorency had great difficulty to escape, and retreated as fast as he could, quite discomfited. When it was over, the English returned to Aiguillon.

Such skirmishes frequently happened, for scarcely a day passed without some engagement. The French having one day drawn out their army, ordered those noblemen that were from Toulouse, Carcassonne, and Beaucaire, and their dependencies, to make an attack with their men, from the morning until noon; and those from Rouergue, Cahors, and Agenois, to continue it from their retreat until the evening. The duke promised to any of his soldiers who should gain the draw-bridge of the castle a reward of a hundred golden crowns*. The duke, in order to assist this attack, commanded a number of vessels and barges to come down the river, in which many embarked to cross it, whilst the remainder passed over the bridge. Those in the castle made a gallant defence; but at last, some of the French got into a small boat, and, passing under the bridge, fastened strong hooks and chains to the draw-bridge, with which they pulled so lustily, that they broke the iron chains which held the bridge, and forced it down.

The French, so eager were they to gain the promised reward, leaped upon the bridge in such haste that they tumbled over each other. The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, large beams, and boiling water, so that many were hurt, and drowned in the ditches. The bridge, however, was taken, though it cost them more than it was worth: but they could not gain the gate: therefore, as it was late, they returned to their camp, for they had need of rest; and those within the castle sallied out, and repaired the bridge, making it stronger than it was before.

On the next day, two principal engineers came to the duke, and said, If he would find them wood and workmen, they would build for him two such high towers, as, when they were advanced to the walls of the castle, should overtop them. The duke commanded all the carpenters of the country to be sent for, and handsomely paid. These four towers were constructed, and placed on the decks of four large vessels; but they took a long time in making, and cost much money. Those ordered upon this attack embarked on board the vessels, and, when they were about half way over the river, the besieged let off four martinets†, which they had newly constructed, to defend themselves against these towers. These four martinets cast such large stones, and so very rapidly, that the men at arms in the towers were much hurt by them: and, having no means to shield themselves, they returned back as fast as they were able: but in their retreat one of the vessels foundered and sunk: the greater number of those that were on board were drowned, which was a great pity, as they were chiefly valiant knights who were eager to distinguish themselves. When the duke found that this scheme did not answer his expectations, he ordered them to disembark from the three remaining vessels. He was at a loss what plan to follow, by which he could gain the castle of Aiguillon; for he had vowed he would never quit the place until he was master of it and the garrison, unless the king, his father, ordered otherwise. The lords therefore advised him to send the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville to Paris, to inform king Philip of the state of the siege, and to know if the king wished the duke of Normandy to continue before Aiguillon, until he had, through famine, made himself master of it, since he could not gain it by force.

The king of England, having heard how much pressed his people were in the castle of Aiguillon, determined to lead a great army into Gascony. He set about making his preparations, summoned all the vassals in his kingdom, and collected forces from whatever quarter he could, that were willing to enter into his pay. About this time sir Godfrey de

* 6*s*. 8*d*. each.—Barnes.

† Du Cange, supplement, under the word *Martinetus*, calls it an instrument of war, and quotes this passage for his authority, but does not explain it further.

Harcourt, who had been banished from France, arrived in England. He was received by the king in his palace; and he assigned over to him a handsome estate in England, to maintain him, suitable to his rank. Soon after this, the king assembled a large fleet of ships at Southampton, and sent thither his men at arms and his archers*. About St. John the Baptist's day, 1346, the king took leave of the queen, and, setting out, left her to the care of his cousin, the earl of Kent. He appointed the lord Percy, and the lord Neville of Raby, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Lincoln, to be his lieutenants for the northern parts of his kingdom; and he did not take so many forces out of the realm but that there was a sufficiency of men at arms left to defend it, should there be occasion. He took the road for Southampton, where he tarried until he had a favourable wind, when he embarked with his whole army. On board the king's ship were the prince of Wales and sir Godfrey de Harcourt: the other lords, earls, and barons embarked with their men, as they had been ordered. There might be about four thousand men at arms, and ten thousand archers, not including the Irish and the Welch, who followed the army on foot.

I will enumerate the names of those lords that accompanied king Edward. I must mention first the prince of Wales, who at that time was only thirteen † years old, or thereabouts: there were Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford and Essex, his brother William Bohun earl of Northampton, Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, Richard Fitzalan earl of Arundel, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Clinton earl of Huntington, Robert Hufford earl of Suffolk: of barons, there were the young lord Roger Mortimer, the lord Gerard Lisle, and his kinsman the lord John Lisle, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lords John and Roger Beauchamp, the lord John Mowbray, the lord William Roos of Hamlake, the lord Thomas Lucy of Cockermouth, the lord William Felton, the lord Thomas Bradestan, the lord Ralph Basset of Sapcoat, John lord Willoughby of Eresby, the lord Peter Manly fifth of the name, Thomas lord Ughtred, John lord Fitzwalter, William lord Kerdeston, the lord Roger Say, the lord Almaric de St. Amand, the lord Robert Bourchier, the lord John le Strange, the lord Edward Montagu, the lord Richard Talbot, the lord John Mohun of Dunster, William lord Boteler of Wemme, Robert lord Ferrers, John lord Seymour, John lord Grey, William lord Botreaux, the lord Hugh Spencer, the lord John Striveling, Michael lord Poynings, Robert lord Morley, Thomas lord Ashley, John lord Sutton, the lord Nicholas Cantilupe, and others: of knights-bachelors, sir John Chandos, the lord Peter Audley, and the lord James Audley, the lord Bartholomew Burgherst junior, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Fulk Fitzwarren, sir Richard Pembridge, and several others. There were few strangers: only sir Oulphart de Guistelles, from the country of Hainault, and five or six knights from Germany, whose names I have forgotten.

When they embarked, the weather was as favourable as the king could wish, to carry him to Gascony; but on the third day, the wind was so contrary, that they were driven upon the coasts of Cornwall, where they cast anchor, and remained for six days and six nights. During this time, the king altered his mind with respect to going towards Gascony, through the advice and representations of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his interest to land in Normandy, by such words as these: "Sir, that province is one of the most fertile in the world; and I will answer on my head, that you may land in any part of it you shall please without hindrance, for no one will think of opposing you. The Normans have not been accustomed to the use of arms; and all the knighthood, that otherwise would have been there, are at present with the duke before Aiguillon. You will find in Normandy rich towns and handsome castles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to suffice them for twenty years to come. Your fleet may also follow you, up the river Orne, as far as Caen. I therefore entreat you will listen, and give belief to what I say." The king, who at that time was in the flower of his youth, and

* Edward appoints his son, Lionel, lieutenant of the realm, during his absence, by an ordinance dated Porchester, 5th June, 1346.—*Rymer.*

He was at Porchester the 1st and 2nd of July, 1346.—*Rymer.*

John de Offord, chancellor, delivered up the great seal to John de Thoresby, the 2nd July, in the Isle of Wight.

† This is a mistake; for he was born the 15th June, 1330: he must therefore have been sixteen.

I have copied the names out of Barnes' life of Edward III., wherein he mentions that twenty-two of them, from lord Ughtred, are taken from an old MS. in C. C. C. library, Cambridge, intituled, "Acta Edwardi filii, Edwardi tertii."

who desired nothing better than to combat his enemies, paid much attention to what sir Godfrey de Harcourt, whom he called cousin, had said. He commanded his sailors to steer straight for Normandy, and ordered the flag of the admiral, the earl of Warwick, to be hoisted on board his ship: he took the lead, as admiral of the fleet, and made for Normandy, with a very favourable wind. The fleet anchored near to the shores of Coutantin *, and the king landed at a port called La Hogue St. Vast. News of his arrival was soon spread abroad. it was told all over the country, that the English had landed with a very great army. Messengers were instantly dispatched to Paris, to the king, from the towns of Coutantin. He had already been informed, that the king of England had embarked a numerous army, and was on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany; but he was not sure for what particular part he meant to make. As soon, therefore, as he heard the English had landed, he sent for his constable, the earl of Guignes, and the earl of Tancarville, who were just come from Aiguillon, and ordered them to set off directly for Caen, to defend that place and the neighbourhood against the English.

They replied, they would cheerfully do it, to the utmost of their power, and left the king at Paris, taking with them a number of men at arms, whose ranks were every day increasing, and rode on to Caen, where they were received most joyfully by the inhabitants and the good people of the country, who had retired thither, with their effects. These lords immediately made inquiries into the state of the town, which at that time was not walled, and ordered arms to be prepared, to supply every one with them according to his degree. We will now return to the king of England, who had landed at la Hogue St. Vast, not far from St. Sauveur le Vicomte †, the inheritance of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who at that time was a partisan of England ‡.

CHAPTER CXXI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND MARCHES INTO NORMANDY WITH HIS ARMY IN THREE BATTALIONS.

When the fleet of England was all safely arrived at La Hogue, the king leaped on shore first; but by accident he fell, and with such violence that the blood gushed out at his nose: the knights that were near him said, "Dear sir, let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen." The king instantly replied, "For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me."

His people were much pleased with this answer. The king and his army lay that night upon the sands. In the mean time, they disembarked their baggage, armour, and horses; and there was a council held, to consider how they could act most advantageously. The king created two marshals of his army: one was sir Godfrey de Harcourt; the other the earl of Warwick: and he made the earl of Arundel his constable. He ordered the earl of Huntington to remain with his fleet, with a hundred or six score men at arms, and four hundred archers. He then held another council respecting the order of march, and determined to divide the army into three battalions; one of which should advance on his right, following the sea-coast, and another on his left; and he himself, with the prince his son, and the main body, in the centre. Every night, the marshal's battalion was to retire to the quarters of the king. They thus began their march, as they had resolved upon: those who were on board the fleet coasted the shores, and took every vessel, great and small, they met with. Both the armies of sea and land went forward, until they came to a strong town, called Barfleur §, which they soon gained; the inhabitants having surrendered immediately, for fear of losing their lives: but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and everything precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. They made all the townsmen quit the

* Coutantin,—a district of Normandy, of which Coutances is the capital town.

† Diocese of Coutances.

‡ On the king's landing at La Hogue, he created the Prince of Wales a knight, and, in consequence, demanded the usual aid on such occasions, dated Calais, the Nativity of our Lady, 1346.—*Rymer.*

§ Diocese of Coutances

place, and embarked them on board the fleet; for they did not choose that, after they had continued their march, they should collect together, and attack them.

After the town of Barfleur had been pillaged, but not burnt, they spread themselves over the country, near the sea-coast, where they did whatever they pleased, for there were none to oppose them. They advanced until they came to a considerable and wealthy town called Cherbourg *, which they burnt and pillaged in part; but they could not conquer the castle, as it was too strong, and well garrisoned with men at arms: they therefore passed on, and came before Montebourg, near Valognes, which they pillaged, and then set fire to it. In this manner did they plunder and burn a great many towns in that country: and acquired so much riches that it would have been difficult to have counted their wealth. They afterwards marched to a very considerable town, and well inclosed, called Carentan †, which had a strong castle, garrisoned by a number of soldiers. Those lords that were on board the fleet then disembarked with their people, and made a vigorous attack upon it; which, when the townsmen perceived, they were fearful of losing their own lives, as well as those of their wives and children, and opened the gates to them, in spite of the men at arms and soldiers that were within the town. They voluntarily offered the English all they had, thinking it best for their advantage. The men at arms, finding the inhabitants determined to admit the English, retired into the fortress, which was very strong; and the English entered the town; but, not thinking it right to leave so strong a place behind them, for two successive days they kept up a strong assault against the castle. Those within, not hearing of any assistance coming to them, surrendered, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared. They marched out, and withdrew to another part of the country. The English did what they pleased in the town and castle; but, finding that they could not conveniently keep them, they burnt and destroyed both, and forced the inhabitants to embark on board their fleet, and go with them, as they had done to those of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Montebourg, and all the other towns which they had plundered on the sea-coast.

We will now return to the expedition of the king of England. As soon as he had sent part of his army under the command of the earl of Warwick, one of his marshals, and the lord Reginald Cobham, along the sea-coast, as you have heard, he set out from La Hogue, where he was lodged, under the guidance of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was well acquainted with every part of Normandy. Sir Godfrey, as marshal, advanced before the king, with the van-guard of five hundred armed men and two thousand archers, and rode on for six or seven leagues' distance from the main army, burning and destroying the country. They found it rich and plentiful, abounding in all things; the barns full of every sort of corn, and the houses with riches: the inhabitants at their ease, having cars, carts, horses, swine, sheep, and every thing in abundance which the country afforded. They seized whatever they chose of all these good things, and brought them to the king's army; but the soldiers did not give any account to their officers, or to those appointed by the king, of the gold and silver they took, which they kept to themselves. In this manner did sir Godfrey, every day, proceed on the left of the king's army; and each night returned, with his party, to the place where he knew the king intended fixing his quarters. Sometimes, when he found great plenty of forage and booty, he was two or three days before he returned. The king therefore, with the army and baggage, advanced towards St. Lo ‡, in Coutantin; but, before he arrived there, he took up his quarters on the banks of the river, to wait for the return of that part of his army which he had sent along the sea-coast. When they were come back, with all their booty safely packed in waggons, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Suffolk, the lord Thomas Holland, and the lord Reginald Cobham, took their march, with their battalion, on the right, burning and destroying the country in the same way that sir Godfrey de Harcourt was doing. The king marched, with the main body, between these two battalions; and every night they all encamped together.

* Diocese of Coutances. † About three leagues from the sea, diocese of Coutances. ‡ Diocese of Coutances.

CHAPTER CXXII.—THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A LARGE FORCE, TO OPPOSE THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Thus, whilst the English were burning and destroying great part of Normandy, the king of France was not idle, but had issued out his summons to the lord John of Hainault, who came to him with a powerful company of knights from Hainault and elsewhere: he also sent to every earl, baron and knight that were dependent on him. They obeyed his summons in such numbers as France had not seen for a hundred years; but as those in foreign countries were at great distances, they were long before they arrived, and the king of England had overrun and destroyed the whole district of Coutantin in Normandy, to its great detriment.

When king Philip first heard of the destruction the king of England was making in his realm, he swore that the English should never return without his having combated with them; and, that the mischief they had done to his people should be dearly paid for. He hastened, therefore, to dispatch his letters: he sent first to his good friends in the empire, because they were at the greatest distance, and also to the gallant king of Bohemia, whom he much loved, and to the lord Charles of Bohemia his son, who had then the title of king of Germany, which he had obtained, as was well known, through the influence of his father and the king of France, and he had already quartered the arms of the empire. King Philip intreated of them to come speedily to his assistance, for he was impatient to meet the English, who were despoiling his kingdom. These lords had no intention of excusing themselves, but set about collecting a large body of men at arms, from Germany, Bohemia, and Luxembourg, and came to the king of France with a powerful army. The king of France wrote also to the duke of Lorraine, who came to serve him with upwards of three hundred lances. The earl of Savoy *, the earl of Saltzburgh, the earl of Flanders, and earl William of Namur, came also to king Philip, each of them with a very handsome company.

You before heard the manner of the king of England's march: the two marshals on the right and left, and the king and prince of Wales in the centre. They advanced by short marches; and every day they encamped between ten and twelve o'clock. They found the country so abounding with provisions, that they had no need to seek for forage, except wines, of which there was a reasonable quantity. It is not to be wondered at, if the people of the country were alarmed and frightened; for they had never seen any men at arms, and knew nothing of war or battles: they therefore fled before the English, as soon as ever they heard they were coming, leaving their houses and barns quite full, for they had neither means nor art to save them.

The king of England and Prince of Wales had, in their battalion, about three thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, ten thousand infantry, without counting those that were under the marshals; and they marched on in the manner I have before-mentioned, burning and destroying the country, but without breaking their line of battle. They did not turn towards Coutances, but advanced to St. Lo, in Coutantin, which in those days was a very rich and commercial town, and worth three such towns as Coutances. In the town of St. Lo was much drapery, and many wealthy inhabitants: among them, you might count eight or nine score that were engaged in commerce. When the king of England was come near to the town, he encamped: he would not lodge in it for fear of fire. He sent, therefore, his advanced guard forward, who soon conquered it, at a trifling loss, and completely plundered it. No one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth. If there had been any purchasers, they might have bought enough at a very cheap rate.

The English then advanced towards Caen, which is a much larger town, stronger, and fuller of draperies and all other sorts of merchandize, rich citizens, noble dames and damsels, and fine churches. In particular, there are two very rich monasteries; one dedicated to St. Stephen, and the other to the Trinity. The castle is situated on one side of the town: it is the handsomest in all Normandy: and sir Robert de Blargny was governor, with a garrison of three hundred Genoese.

* The earl of Savoy did not come, as you will see further on.

In the heart of the town was the earl of Eu and of Guignes, the constable of France, and the earl of Tancarville, with a crowd of men at arms. The king rode on very prudently; and, having united his three battalions, he took up his quarters, for that night, in the fields, two short leagues from Caen, near a town called Estreham *, where there is a haven. He ordered the earl of Huntington, whom he had made admiral of his fleet, to sail for that place. The constable of France, and the other lords who were assembled in Caen, watched it well that night; and, on the morrow, they armed themselves, and all the inhabitants. After they were drawn out, the constable and the earl of Tancarville ordered that no one should leave the town, but should guard well the bridge, the gates, and the river. They gave up the suburbs to the English, because they were not inclosed; and they thought they should find sufficient employment to guard the town, which was only defended by the river. The townsmen, however, said, they would march out into the plains, as they were in sufficient force to fight with the English. When the constable perceived their willingness, he said, "It shall be so then; but, in God's name, you shall not fight without me." They then marched out of the town, in handsome order, and made a show as if they would fight valiantly, and risk their lives upon the event.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—THE BATTLE OF CAEN. THE ENGLISH TAKE THE TOWN.

On this day the English rose very early, and made themselves ready to march to Caen: the king heard mass before sun-rise, and afterwards mounting his horse, with the prince of Wales, and sir Godfrey de Harcourt (who was marshal and director of the army, and through whose advice the king had undertaken this expedition) marched forward in order of battle. The battalion of the marshals led the van, and came near to the handsome town of Caen.

When the townsmen, who had taken the field, perceived the English advancing, with banners and pennons flying in abundance, and saw those archers whom they had not been accustomed to, they were so frightened that they betook themselves to flight, and ran for the town in great disorder, without regarding the constable and the men at arms who were with them. The English pursued them eagerly; which, when the constable and the earl of Tancarville saw, they gained a gate at the entrance of the bridge in safety, and a few knights with them, for the English had already entered the town.

Some knights and squires of the French, who knew the road to the castle, made for it; and the governor, sir Robert de Blargny received them all; as the castle was very large, and plentifully victualled, those were safe that could get there.

The English, who were after the runaways, made great havoc; for they spared none When the constable, and those that had taken refuge with him within the gate of the bridge, looked round them, and saw the great slaughter the English were making, for they gave no quarter, they began to fear lest they should fall into the hands of some of those archers, who would not know who they were. But they perceived a knight who had but one eye, named sir Thomas Holland (whom they had formerly known in Prussia and Grenada), coming towards them, in company with five or six other knights: they called to him, and asked if he would take them as his prisoners? Sir Thomas and his company advanced to the gate, and, dismounting, ascended to the top, with sixteen others, where he found the above-mentioned knights, and twenty-five more, who surrendered themselves to sir Thomas †.

Having left a sufficient guard over them, he mounted his horse, rode through the streets, and prevented many acts of cruelty: as did also other knights and squires, to whom several

* Estreham,—diocese of Bayeux, at the mouth of the river Orne, four leagues from Caen.

† "But here whatsoever Froissart doth report of the taking of this town, and of the yielding of these two noblemen, it is to be proved, that the said earl of Tancarville was taken by one surnamed Legh, ancestor to sir Peter Legh now living; whether in the fight or within the tower I have not to say: but for the taking of the said earl, and for his other manlike prowess shewed here and elsewhere in this journey, king Edward, in recompense of his agreeable service, gave him a lordship in the county of Chester, called Hanley, which the said sir Peter Legh doth now possess, as successor and heir to his ancestor, the foresaid Peter Legh, to whom it was so first given."—*Hollingshed.*

of the citizens owed their lives, and many a nun was protected from violation by their interference. It was fortunate for the English, that it was ebb tide in the river, which carries large vessels, and the water very still, so that they could pass and repass it without any danger from the bridge *. Those inhabitants who had taken refuge in the garrets flung down from them, in these narrow streets, stones, benches, and whatever they could lay hands on; so that they killed and wounded upwards of five hundred of the English, which so enraged

Battle of Caen, from a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

the king of England, when he received the reports in the evening, that he ordered the remainder of the inhabitants to be put to the sword, and the town burnt. But sir Godfrey de Harcourt said to him: "Dear sir, assuage somewhat of your anger, and be satisfied with what has already been done. You have a long journey yet to make before you arrive at Calais, whither it is your intention to go: and there are in this town a great number of inhabitants, who will defend themselves obstinately in their houses, if you force them to it: besides, it will cost you many lives before the town can be destroyed, which may put a stop to your expedition to Calais, and it will not redound to your honour: therefore be sparing of your men, for in a month's time you will have call for them; as it cannot otherwise happen, but that your adversary king Philip must soon come to give you battle, and you may meet with many difficulties, assaults and skirmishes, that will find full employment for the number of men you have, and even more if we could get them. We are complete masters of the town without any more slaughter; and the inhabitants, and all they possess, are at our disposal." The king replied: "Sir Godfrey, you are our marshal; therefore order as you please; for this time we wish not to interfere."

Sir Godfrey then rode through the streets, his banner displayed before him, and ordered,

* This is scarcely intelligible. Lord Berners says, "the ryuer was so lowe that men went in and out *besyde* the bridge," that is across the bed of the river, avoiding the danger of pressing in crowds over a narrow bridge.—Ed.

in the king's name, that no one should dare, under pain of immediate death, to insult or hurt man or woman of the town, or attempt to set fire to any part of it. Several of the inhabitants, on hearing this proclamation, received the English into their houses; and others opened their coffers to them, giving up their all, since they were assured of their lives. However, there were, in spite of these orders, many atrocious thefts and murders committed. The English continued masters of the town for three days; in this time, they amassed great wealth, which they sent in barges down the river of Estreham, to St. Sauveur, two leagues off, where their fleet was. The earl of Huntington made preparations therefore, with the two hundred men at arms and his four hundred archers, to carry over to England their riches and prisoners. The king purchased, from sir Thomas Holland and his companions, the constable of France and the earl of Tancarville, and paid down twenty thousand nobles for them*.

* As the reader may perhaps wish to see another account of Edward's progress, by an eye-witness, I copy from Robert de Avesbury's "Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi tertii," the following very curious letter†:

De Progressu Regis Angliæ de Hogges usque Cadamum.

"You may remember that our lord the King and his army landed at La Hogue St. Vast, the twelfth day of July, and remained there some days to unship the horses, and repose himself, and his people, and provide bread, until the following Tuesday. They found eleven ships at La Hogue, eight of which had castles before and behind; these a man set on fire. On the Friday, whilst the king still remained, a party proceeded to Barfleur, where they expected to have found many people, but there were none of any consequence. Here were eleven ships with castles before and behind, two carracks, and a number of smaller vessels lying at the quays. The town is about as large, and of the same importance, as Sandwich. When this party retired, the mariners set fire to the town, and several good towns and manors were burnt in the country round about. When the king removed on Tuesday he went to Valognes, where they remained all night and found plenty of provisions. The next day they made a long march, as far as a bridge which the inhabitants of Carantan had broken down. The king caused it to be repaired the same night, and the next day proceeded to Carantan, which is not above an English league from the bridge. This town is as large as Leicester, and here they found plenty of wine and provisions. A great part of the city was burnt, in spite of the king's efforts to prevent it. On the Friday the king went on, and lodged in the villages on the banks of a river difficult to pass, for the inhabitants of St. Lô had broken down the bridge. The king caused the bridge to be repaired, and passed it the next day with all his army, and took post close to the town. Those of the town had begun to strengthen it, and had drawn together many men at arms, who ought to have defended the place, but they left it before the coming of the king. Great riches were found in the town, a thousand tuns of wine, and a great quantity of other goods. The town is larger than St. Nicholas. And the next day the king went his way and abode at an abbey, and his host at the villages round about; and those of the host made excursions every day, robbing and destroying every day five or six leagues about, and burnt several places. And the Monday the king removed and lodged in the villages, and Tuesday also. And Wednesday, about the hour of noon, they arrived before the town of Caen, and received intelligence that a great number of men at arms were in the town. The king drew up his forces in good order and in strong number, and sent some of his people to reconnoitre the town. They found the castle well built and strong, and that it was held by the knights and men at arms of the Bishop of Bayeux. The town on the side of the water is very strong and large, and in one part of the town is an abbey as noble as can be, where William the Conqueror is buried; it is enclosed with walls and large and strong battlemented towers; no person remained in the abbey; and in another quarter of the town was another noble abbey of ladies, and nobody remained in the said abbeys nor in the town on that side of the water, where the castle was; and the inhabitants had gone over to the town on the other side of the water, where were the constable of France and the chamberlain of Tankerville, who is a very great lord, and many gentlemen, to the number of five or six hundred, and the commons of the town. The people of our host attacked the bridge without command and without order. The bridge had been strengthened with battlements and barriers, and there was much to do, for the French defended it very stoutly, and they bore much before they gave way; and then the said constable and chamberlain were taken, together with about a hundred knights, and six or seven score esquires. A great multitude of knights, esquires, and others, people of the town, were slain in the streets, houses and gardens; no one can tell how many people of note, for the bodies were so despoiled they could not be known. No gentleman was slain on our side, except one esquire, who was badly wounded and died two days afterwards. Wines, provisions, and other goods, and moveables without number, were found in the town, which is larger than any town in England, except London. When the king left La Hogue, two hundred ships remained, which were taken to Rothemasse; then the country was burnt two or three leagues inland, and many things were taken and brought to the ships; they went as far as Cherbourg, which was a good town, with a strong castle and a handsome and noble abbey; they burnt the said city and abbey, and the whole country on every side, from the sea at Rothemasse to the army at the haven of Caen, a distance of twenty-six English leagues. And the number of ships that were burnt was sixty-one ships of war, with castles before and behind, and twenty-three carracks, besides of other smaller vessels more than twenty-one; they also destroyed thirty tuns of wine. On the Thursday after the king had come before Caen, they of the city of Bions demanded of our lord the king, that they might surrender themselves and their city to him, and do him homage, but he would not admit them to any conditions, but that they should be saved from damage."

† This is given by Mr. Johnes in the original old French, but we considered it would be more agreeable to our readers to present it in an English dress, and have accordingly translated it.—Ed.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—THE ENGLISH COMMIT GREAT DISORDERS IN NORMANDY.—SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT ENCOUNTERS THE MEN OF AMIENS, ON THEIR WAY TO PARIS, AND KING EDWARD MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

WHEN the king had finished his business in Caen, and had sent his fleet to England, loaded with cloths, jewels, gold and silver plate, and a quantity of other riches, and upwards of sixty knights, with three hundred able citizens, prisoners; he then left his quarters and continued his march as before, his two marshals on his right and left, burning and destroying all the flat country. He took the road to Evreux*, but found he could not gain anything there, as it was well fortified. He went on towards another town called Louviers†, which was in Normandy, and where there were many manufactories of cloth: it was rich and commercial. The English won it easily, as it was not inclosed; and having entered the town, it was plundered without opposition. They collected much wealth there; and, after they had done what they pleased, they marched on into the county of Evreux, where they burnt every thing except the fortified towns and castles, which the king left unattacked, as he was desirous of sparing his men and artillery. He therefore made for the banks of the Seine, in his approach to Rouen, where there were plenty of men at arms from Normandy, under the command of the earl of Harcourt, brother to sir Godfrey, and the earl of Dreux.

The English did not march direct towards Rouen, but went to Gisors‡, which has a strong castle, and burnt the town. After this, they destroyed Vernon§, and all the country between Rouen and Pont-de-l'Arche‖: they then came to Mantes¶ and Meulan**, which they treated in the same manner, and ravaged all the country round about. They passed by the strong castle of Roulleboise ††, and everywhere found the bridges on the Seine broken down. They pushed forward until they came to Poissy‡‡, where the bridge was also destroyed; but the beams and other parts of it were lying in the river. The king remained here five days, whilst they were repairing the bridge, so that his army might pass over without danger. His marshals advanced very near to Paris, and burnt St. Germain-en-Laye§§, la Montjoie‖‖, St. Cloud¶¶, Boulogne near Paris, and Bourg la Reine***. The Parisians were much alarmed, for Paris at that time was not inclosed. King Philip upon this began to stir, and having ordered all the pent-houses in Paris to be pulled down, went to St. Denis†††, where he found the king of Bohemia, the lord John of Hainault, the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, and great multitudes of barons and knights, ready to receive him. When the Parisians learnt that the king was on the point of quitting Paris, they came to him, and falling on their knees, said, "Ah, sire, and noble king, what are you about to do? to leave your fine city of Paris?" The king replied: "My good people, do not be afraid: the English will not approach you nearer than they have done." He thus spoke in answer to what they had said, that "our enemies are only two leagues off: as soon as they shall know you have quitted us, they will come hither directly; and we are not able to resist them ourselves, nor shall we find any to defend us. Have the kindness, therefore, sire, to remain in your good city of Paris, to take care of us." The king replied, "I am going to St. Denis, to my army, for I am impatient to pursue the English, and am resolved to fight with them at all events."

The king of England remained at the nunnery of Poissy to the middle in August, and celebrated there the feast of the Virgin Mary. He sat at table in his scarlet robes without sleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines. He afterwards took the field, and his army marched as before: sir Godfrey de Harcourt, one of his marshals, had the command of the

* An ancient town in Normandy, and a bishopric, twenty-eight leagues from Caen.

† Louviers,—in the diocese of Evreux. It still maintains its celebrity for the goodness of its cloths.

‡ Diocese of Rouen, fourteen leagues from Rouen.

§ Diocese of Evreux, thirteen leagues from Rouen.

‖ Diocese of Evreux, four leagues from Rouen.

¶ In the isle of France, diocese of Chartres, nineteen leagues from Rouen.

** In the Isle of France, ten leagues from Paris, twenty-three from Rouen.

†† A village in Normandy, election of Chaumont.

‡‡ In the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

§§ In the Isle of France, five leagues from Paris.

‖‖ Q. if not Montjoye St. Denis.

¶¶ Isle of France, two leagues from Paris.

*** Isle of France, one league from Paris.

††† Isle of France, two leagues from Paris.

vanguard, with five hundred men at arms, and about thirteen hundred archers. By accident, he fell in with a large party of the citizens of Amiens on horseback, who were going to king Philip at Paris, in obedience to his summons. He immediately attacked them with those under his command; but they made a good defence, as they were very numerous and well armed, and had four knights from Amiens with them. The engagement lasted a long time, and many were slain at the onset; but at last those from Amiens were overthrown, killed or taken prisoners. The English seized all their baggage and arms, and found many valuables; for they were going to the king excellently well equipped, and had but just quitted their city. Twelve hundred were left dead on the spot. The king of England entered the country of Beauvais, destroying all the flat country, and took up his quarters in a rich abbey called St. Messien, near to Beauvais*, where he lodged one night. The morrow, as he was on his march, he by chance turned his head round and saw the abbey all in flames; upon which he instantly ordered twenty of those who had set fire to it to be hung, as he had most strictly forbidden that any church should be violated, or monastery set on fire. He passed near Beauvais without attacking it, for he was anxious to be as careful of his men and artillery as possible, and took up his quarters at a small town called Milly†. The two marshals passed so near to Beauvais, that they advanced to attack it and skirmish with the townsmen at the barriers, and divided their forces into three battalions; this attack lasted until the afternoon; for the town was well fortified and provided with everything, and the bishop was also there, whose exertions were of more service than those of all the rest. When the English found they could not gain anything, they set fire to the suburbs, which they burnt quite close to the gates of the town, and then came, towards evening, to where the king was.

The next day, the king and his whole army marched forward, burning and wasting all the country as they went, and lay that night at a village called Grandvillier. On the morrow, he passed near to Argis: his scouts not finding any one to guard the castle, he attacked and burnt it, and passing on, destroyed the country, and came to Poix‡, which was a handsome town with two castles. The lords of both were absent, and no one was there but two handsome daughters of the lord of Poix, who would have been soon violated, if two English knights, sir John Chandos and lord Basset, had not defended them. In order more effectually to guard them, they brought them to the king, who, as in honour bound, entertained them most graciously: he inquired whither they would wish to go? they answered, To Corbie§, to which place they were conducted in safety. The king of England lay that night in the town of Poix. The inhabitants of Poix, as well as those of the castles, had a conference with the marshals of the army, in order to save the town from being plundered and burnt. They offered to pay, as a ransom, a certain number of florins the ensuing day, as soon as the army should have marched off. On the morrow morning, the king and army departed, except some few, who remained behind, by orders of the marshals, to receive the ransom from the townsmen. When the inhabitants were assembled together, and considered the small number of the English who were left with them, they resolved to pay nothing, told them so, and directly fell upon them. The English defended themselves gallantly, and sent after the army for succour. When lord Reginald Cobham and sir Thomas Holland, who commanded the rear-guard, were told of this, they cried out, "Treason! treason!" and returned back to Poix, where they found their countrymen still engaged with the townsmen. Almost all the inhabitants were slain, the town was burnt, and the two castles razed to the ground. The English then followed the king's army, which was arrived at Airaines‖, where he had ordered the troops to halt, and to quarter themselves for that night, strictly commanding, under pain of death, that no harm should be done to the town or inhabitants, by theft or otherwise; for he wished to remain there a day or two, in order to gain information where he could best cross the river Somme, which he was under the necessity of doing, as you will shortly hear.

* A city in the Isle of France, sixteen leagues from Paris.
† A town in the diocese of Beauvais.
‡ Poix—a town in Picardy, six leagues from Amiens.
§ Corbie,—a town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.
‖ A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens.

CHAPTER CXXV.—THE KING OF FRANCE PURSUES THE KING OF ENGLAND, IN THE COUNTRY OF BEAUVAIS.

I WISH now to return to king Philip, whom we left at St. Denis with his army, which was increasing every day. He marched off with it, and pushed forward until he came to Coppigny les Guises, which is three leagues distant from Amiens, where he halted. The king of England, who was still at Airaines, was much embarrassed how to cross the Somme, which was wide and deep, as all the bridges had been broken down, and their situations were well guarded by men at arms. The two marshals, at the request of the king, followed the course of the river, in order if possible to find a passage for the army: they had with them a thousand men at arms and two thousand archers. They passed by Lompré*, and came to Pont de Remy†, which they found defended by numbers of knights, squires, and people of the country. The English dismounted, and attacked the French from the very dawn of the morning until near ten o'clock: but the bridge was so well fortified and guarded, that they could not gain anything; so they departed, and went to a large town called Fontaines-sur-Somme‡, which they completely plundered and burnt, as it was quite open. They next came to another town, called Long, in Ponthieu§; but they could not gain the bridge, so well was it guarded. They then rode on to Pecquigny‖, but found the town, castle, and bridge, so well garrisoned that it was impossible to pass. In this manner had the king of France ordered all the bridges and fords of the river Somme to be guarded, to prevent the king of England from crossing it with his army; for he was resolved to force them to fight when he should see the most favourable opportunity, or else to starve them.

The two marshals, having thus in vain followed the course of the Somme, returned to the king of England, and related to him that they were unable to find a passage anywhere. That same evening, the king of France took up his quarters at Amiens, with upwards of one hundred thousand men. The king of England was very pensive: he ordered mass before sunrise, and his trumpets to sound for decamping. All sorts of people followed the marshals' banners, according to the orders the king had issued the preceding day; and they marched through the country of Vimeu¶, drawing near to the good town of Abbeville. In their march, they came to a town where a great number of the country people had assembled, trusting to some small fortifications which were thrown up there; but the English conquered the town, as soon as they came to it, and all that were within. Many of the townsmen and those from the adjoining country were slain or taken prisoners. The king lodged, that night, in the great hospital.

The king of France set out from Amiens, and came to Airaines about noon: the English king had quitted it about ten o'clock. The French found there provisions of all sorts; meat on the spits, bread and pastry in the ovens, wine in barrels, and even some tables ready spread, for the English had left it in very great haste. The king of France fixed his quarters there, to wait for his nobles and their retinue. The king of England was in the town of Oisemont**. When his two marshals returned in the evening, after having overrun the country as far as the gates of Abbeville, and to St. Valery, where they had had a smart skirmish, the king of England summoned a council, and ordered many prisoners, whom his people had made in the districts of Ponthieu and Vimeu, to be brought before him.

The king, most courteously, asked, "if any of them knew a ford below Abbeville, where he and his army could pass without danger;" and added, "Whoever will show us such a ford shall have his liberty, and that of any twenty of his fellow-soldiers whom he may wish to select." There was among them a common fellow whose name was Gobin Agace, who answered the king, and said, "Sir, I promise you, under peril of my life, that I will conduct you to such a place, where you and your whole army may pass the river Somme without any risk.

* Lompré-Corps-Sainte, a small town in Picardy.
† In the election of Abbeville.
‡ In Picardy.
§ A fertile district of Picardy, between the rivers Somme and Canche.
‖ A town in Picardy, on the Somme, three leagues from Amiens.
¶ A district in Picardy, of which St. Valery is the capital.
** A town in Picardy, four leagues from Amiens, five from St. Valery.

There are certain fordable places where you may pass twelve men abreast twice in the day, and not have water above your knees; but when the tide is in, the river is full and deep, and no one can cross it; when the tide is out, the river is so low that it may be passed, on horseback or on foot, without danger. The bottom of this ford is very hard, of gravel and white stones, over which all your carriages may safely pass, and from thence is called Blanchetaque. You must therefore set out early, so as to be at the ford before sun-rise." "Friend," replied the king, "if I find what thou hast just said to be true, I will give thee and all thy companions their liberty; and I will besides make thee a present of a hundred nobles." The king gave orders for every one to be ready to march at the first sound of his trumpet, and to proceed forward.

CHAPTER CXXVI.—THE BATTLE OF BLANCHETAQUE, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR GODEMAR DU FAY.

The king of England did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpet to sound. Very soon every thing was ready; and, the baggage being loaded, they set out from the town of Oisemont about day-break, and rode on, under the guidance of Gobin Agace, until they came to the ford of Blanchetaque, about sun-rise: but the tide was at that time so full, they could not cross. The king, however, determined to wait there for those of his army who were not yet come up; and he remained until after ten o'clock, when the tide was gone out. The king of France, who had his scouts all over the country, was informed of the situation of the king of England: he imagined he should be able to shut him up between Abbeville and the Somme, and thus take him prisoner, or force him to fight at a disadvantage. From the time of his arrival at Amiens, he had ordered a great baron of Normandy, called sir Godémar du Fay, to guard this ford of Blanchetaque, which the English must cross, and nowhere else. Sir Godémar had set out, in obedience to this order, and had with him, in the whole, one thousand men at arms and six thousand foot, with the Genoese. He had passed St. Ricquier* in Ponthieu, and from thence came to Crotoy†, where this ford was: he had collected, in his march, great numbers of the country people. The townsmen of Abbeville had also accompanied him, excellently well appointed: they had arrived at the passage before the English. They were, in all, fully twelve thousand men: among them were two thousand who had jackets, resembling waggoners' frocks, called *toviquiaux*.

On the arrival of the English army, sir Godémar du Fay drew up his men on the banks of the river, to defend and guard the ford. The king of England, however, did not for this give up his intention of crossing; but, as soon as the tide was sufficiently gone out, he ordered his marshals to dash into the water, in the names of God and St. George. The most doughty and the best mounted leaped in first; and, in the river, the engagement began: many on both sides were unhorsed into the water: there were some knights and squires, from Artois and Picardy, in the pay of sir Godémar, who in hopes of preferment, and to acquire honour, had posted themselves at this ford, and they appeared to be equally fond of tilting in the water as upon dry land.

The French were drawn up in battle array, near the narrow pass leading to the ford; and the English were much annoyed by them as they came out of the water to gain the land; for there were among them Genoese cross-bowmen who did them much mischief. On the other hand, the English archers shot so well together that they forced the men at arms to give way. At this ford of Blanchetaque many gallant feats of arms were performed on each side: but, in the end, the English crossed over, and, as they came on shore, hastened to the fields. After the king, the prince, and the other lords had crossed, the French did not long keep in the order they were in, but ran off for the fastest. When sir Godémar du Fay found his army was discomfited, he saved himself as quickly as he could, and many with him; some making for Abbeville, others for St. Ricquier. The infantry, however, could

* St. Ricquier,—two leagues and a half from Abbeville.
† A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, opposite to St. Valery.

not escape; and there were numbers of those from Abbeville, Arras, Montreuil, and St. Ricquier, slain or taken prisoners: the pursuit lasted more than a league. The English had scarcely gained the opposite bank, when some of the light horse of the French army, particularly those belonging to the king of Bohemia and sir John of Hainault, advanced upon the rear, took from them some horses and accoutrements, and slew several on the bank who were late in crossing. The king of France had set out from Airaines that morning, thinking to find the English on the banks of the Somme: when news was brought to him of the defeat of Sir Godémar and his army, he immediately halted, and demanded from his marshals, what was to be done: they answered, "You can only cross the river by the bridge of Abbeville, for the tide is now in at Blanchetaque." The king of France therefore turned back, and took up his quarters at Abbeville. The king of England, when he had crossed the Somme, gave thanks to God for it, and began his march in the same order as he had done before. He called to him Gobin Agace, gave him his freedom without ransom, as well as that of his companions, and ordered the hundred nobles of gold to be given him, and also a good horse. The king continued his march, thinking to take up his quarters at a good and large town called Noyelle *, situated hard by; but when he was informed that it belonged to the countess d'Aumarle, sister to the late Robert d'Artois, he sent to assure the inhabitants, as well as all the farmers belonging to her, that they should not be hurt. He marched further on; but his two marshals rode to Crotoy, near the sea; they took the town, and burnt it. In the harbour they found many ships, and other vessels, laden with wines, from Poitou, Saintonge, and la Rochelle: they ordered the best to be carried to the English army: then one of the marshals pushed forward, even as far as the gates of Abbeville, and returned by St. Ricquier, following the sea-shore to the town of St. Esprit de Rue †.

These two battalions of the marshals came, on a Friday in the afternoon, to where the king was; and they fixed their quarters, all three together, near Crecy in Ponthieu. The king of England, who had been informed that the king of France was following him, in order to give him battle, said to his people: "Let us post ourselves here; for we will not go farther before we have seen our enemies. I have good reason to wait for them on this spot; as I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, which was given her as her marriage-portion; and I am resolved to defend it against my adversary, Philippe de Valois." On account of his not having more than an eighth part of the forces which the king of France had, his marshals fixed upon the most advantageous situation; and the army went and took possession of it. He then sent his scouts towards Abbeville, to learn if the king of France meant to take the field this Friday; but they returned, and said they saw no appearance of it; upon which, he dismissed his men to their quarters, with orders to be in readiness by times in the morning, and to assemble in the same place. The king of France remained all Friday in Abbeville, waiting for more troops. He sent his marshals, the lord of St. Venant, and lord Charles of Montmorency, out of Abbeville, to examine the country, and get some certain intelligence of the English. They returned, about vespers, with information that the English were encamped on the plain. That night the king of France entertained at supper, in Abbeville, all the princes and chief lords. There was much conversation relative to war; and the king entreated them, after supper, that they would always remain in friendship with each other; that they would be friends without jealousy, and courteous without pride. The king was still expecting the earl of Savoy, who ought to have been there with a thousand lances, as he had been well paid for them at Troyes in Champaign, three months in advance.

* Government of Montreuil.

† Two leagues from St. Valery. I believe it is now called Rue only.

CHAPTER CXXVII.—THE ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ENGLISH AT CRECY, WHO WERE DRAWN UP IN THREE BATTALIONS ON FOOT.

The king of England, as I have mentioned before, encamped this Friday in the plain: for he found the country abounding in provisions; but, if they should have failed, he had plenty in the carriages which attended on him. The army set about furbishing and repairing their armour; and the king gave a supper that evening to the earls and barons of his army, where they made good cheer. On their taking leave, the king remained alone, with the lords of his bed-chamber: he retired into his oratory, and, falling on his knees before the altar, prayed to God, that, if he should combat his enemies on the morrow, he might come off with honour. About midnight he went to his bed; and, rising early the next day, he and the prince of Wales heard mass, and communicated. The greater part of his army did the same, confessed, and made proper preparations. After mass, the king ordered his men to arm themselves, and assemble on the ground he had before fixed on. He had enclosed a large park near a wood, on the rear of his army, in which he placed all his baggage-waggons and horses; and this park had but one entrance: his men at arms and archers remained on foot.

The king afterwards ordered, through his constable and his two marshals, that the army should be divided into three battalions. In the first, he placed the young prince of Wales, and with him the earls of Warwick and Oxford, sir Godfrey de Harcourt, the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Holland, lord Stafford, lord Mauley, the lord Delaware, sir John Chandos, lord Bartholomew Burgherst, lord Robert Neville, lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Bourchier, the lord Latimer, and many other knights and squires whom I cannot name. There might be, in this first division, about eight hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welshmen. They advanced in regular order to their ground, each lord under his banner and pennon, and in the centre of his men. In the second battalion were the earl of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, the lords Roos, Willoughby, Basset, Saint Albans, sir Lewis Tufton, lord Multon, the lord Lascels, and many others; amounting, in the whole, to about eight hundred men at arms, and twelve hundred archers. The third battalion was commanded by the king, and was composed of about seven hundred men at arms, and two thousand * archers.

The king then mounted a small palfrey, having a white wand in his hand, and attended by his two marshals on each side of him: he rode a foot's pace through all the ranks, encouraging and entreating the army, that they would guard his honour and defend his right. He spoke this so sweetly, and with such a cheerful countenance, that all who had been dispirited were directly comforted by seeing and hearing him. When he had thus visited all the battalions, it was near ten o'clock: he retired to his own division, and ordered them all to eat heartily, and drink a glass after. They ate and drank at their ease; and, having packed up pots, barrels, &c., in the carts, they returned to their battalions, according to the marshal's orders, and seated themselves on the ground, placing their helmets and bows before them, that they might be the fresher when their enemies should arrive.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY AT CRECY.

That same Saturday, the king of France rose betimes, and heard mass in the monastery of St. Peter's in Abbeville, where he was lodged: having ordered his army to do the same, he left that town after sun-rise. When he had marched about two leagues from Abbeville, and was approaching the enemy, he was advised to form his army in order of battle, and to let those on foot march forward, that they might not be trampled on by the horses. The king, upon this, sent off four knights, the lord Moyne of Bastleberg †, the lord of Noyers, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Aubigny, who rode so near to the English that they could clearly distinguish their position. The English plainly perceived they were come to

* D. Sauvage's edition and lord Berners' say twelve hundred archers.—Ed.

† The lord Moyne of Bastleburg in Bohemia.—*Barnes.*

reconnoitre them: however, they took no notice of it, but suffered them to return unmolested. When the king of France saw them coming back, he halted his army; and the knights, pushing through the crowds, came near the king, who said to them, "My lords, what news?" They looked at each other, without opening their mouths: for neither chose to speak first. At last, the king addressed himself to the lord Moyne, who was attached to the king of Bohemia, and had performed very many gallant deeds, so that he was esteemed one of the most valiant knights in Christendom. The lord Moyne said, "Sir, I will speak, since it pleases you to order me, but under the correction of my companions. We have advanced far enough to reconnoitre your enemies. Know, then, that they are drawn up in three battalions, and are waiting for you. I would advise, for my part, (submitting, however, to better counsel,) that you halt your army here, and quarter them for the night; for before the rear shall come up, and the army be properly drawn out, it will be very late, your men will be tired and in disorder, whilst they will find your enemies fresh and properly arrayed. On the morrow, you may draw up your army more at your ease, and may reconnoitre at leisure on what part it will be most advantageous to begin the attack; for, be assured they will wait for you." The king commanded that it should so be done: and the two marshals rode, one towards the front, and the other to the rear, crying out, "Halt banners, in the name of God and St. Denis." Those that were in the front halted; but those behind said they would not halt, until they were as forward as the front. When the front perceived the rear pressing on, they pushed forward; and neither the king nor the marshals could stop them, but they marched on without any order until they came in sight of their enemies. As soon as the foremost rank saw them, they fell back at once, in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been fighting. There was then space and room enough for them to have passed forward, had they been willing so to do: some did so, but others remained shy. All the roads between Abbeville and Crecy were covered with common people, who, when they were come within three leagues of their enemies, drew their swords, bawling out, "Kill, kill;" and with them were many great lords that were eager to make show of their courage. There is no man, unless he had been present, that can imagine, or describe truly, the confusion of that day; especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were out of number. What I know, and shall relate in this book, I have learnt chiefly from the English, who had well observed the confusion they were in, and from those attached to sir John of Hainault, who was always near the person of the king of France.

CHAPTER CXXIX.—THE BATTLE OF CRECY, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.

THE English, who were drawn up in three divisions, and seated on the ground, on seeing their enemies advance, rose undauntedly up, and fell into their ranks. That of the prince was the first to do so, whose archers were formed in the manner of a portcullis, or harrow, and the men at arms in the rear. The earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the second division, had posted themselves in good order on his wing, to assist and succour the prince, if necessary.

You must know, that these kings, earls, barons and lords of France, did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the king of France came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marshals, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis." There were about fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed, and with their cross-bows. They told the constable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alençon, hearing this, said, "This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need for them." During this time a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the sun shone very bright; but

the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English in their backs. When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout*, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved.

Battle of Crecy, from a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

They hooted a third time, advancing with their cross-bows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force

* Lord Berners' account of the advance of the Genoese is somewhat different from this; he describes them as *leaping* forward with a *fell* cry, and as this is not mentioned in the printed editions, it seems probable that he followed a MS. varying from those examined by Mr. Johnes. The whole passage is so spirited and graphic that we give it entire, for the gratification of the reader.—Ed.

"Whan the genowayes were assembled toguyder and beganne to aproche, they made a great leape and crye to abasshe thenglysshmen, but they stode styll and styredde nat for all that. Than the genowayes agayne the seconde tyme made another leape and a fell crye and stepped forwarde a lytell, and thenglysshmen remeued nat one fote; thirdly agayne they leapt and cryed, and went forthe tyll they came within shotte; than they shotte feerly with their crosbowes. Than thenglysshe archers stept forthe one pase and lette fly their arowes so hotly and so thycke that it semed snowe. Whan the genowayes felte the arowes persynge through heedes, armes, and brestes, many of them cast downe their crosbowes and dyde cutte their strynges and retourned dysconfited. Whan the frenche kynge sawe them flye away, he said, Slee these rascals, for they shall lette and trouble us without reason; than you shoulde haue sene the men of armes dasshe in among them and kylled a great nombre of them; and euer styll the englysshmen shot where as they sawe thyckest preace, the sharpe arowes ranne into the men of armes and into their horses, and many fell horse and men amonge the genowayes, and when they were downe they coude nat relyne agayne; the preace was so thycke that one ouerthrewe a nother. And also amonge the englysshemen there were certayne rascalles that went a fote with great knyues, and they went in among the men of armes and slewe and murdredde many as they lay on the grounde, both erles, barownes, knyghts, and squyers, whereof the kyng of Englande was after dyspleased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners."

and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed. When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, some of them cut the strings of their cross-bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about and retreated quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men at arms on horseback, richly dressed, to support the Genoese. The king of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, "Kill me those scoundrels; for they stop up our road, without any reason." You would then have seen the above-mentioned men at arms lay about them, killing all they could of these runaways.

The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before; some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welshmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives: these, advancing through the ranks of the men at arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights, and squires, slew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exasperated. The valliant king of Bohemia was slain there. He was called Charles of Luxembourg; for he was the son of the gallant king and emperor, Henry of Luxembourg: having heard the order of the battle, he inquired where his son, the lord Charles, was: his attendants answered, that they did not know, but believed he was fighting. The king said to them; "Gentlemen, you are all my people, my friends and brethren at arms this day: therefore, as I am blind *, I request of you to lead me so far into the engagement that I may strike one stroke with my sword." The knights replied, they would directly lead him forward; and in order that they might not lose him in the crowd, they fastened all the reins of their horses together, and put the king at their head, that he might gratify his wish, and advanced towards the enemy. The lord Charles of Bohemia, who already signed his name as king of Germany, and bore the arms, had come in good order to the engagement; but when he perceived that it was likely to turn out against the French, he departed, and I do not well know what road he took. The king, his father, had rode in among the enemy, and made good use of his sword; for he and his companions had fought most gallantly. They had advanced so far that they were all slain; and on the morrow they were found on the ground, with their horses all tied together.

The earl of Alençon advanced in regular order upon the English, to fight with them; as did the earl of Flanders, in another part. These two lords, with their detachments, coasting, as it were, the archers, came to the prince's battalion, where they fought valiantly for a length of time. The king of France was eager to march to the place where he saw their banners displayed, but there was a hedge of archers before him. He had that day made a present of a handsome black horse to sir John of Hainault, who had mounted on it a knight of his, called sir John de Fusselles, that bore his banner: which horse ran off with him, and forced his way through the English army, and, when about to return, stumbled and fell into a ditch and severely wounded him: he would have been dead, if his page had not followed him round the battalions, and found him unable to rise: he had not, however, any other hindrance than from his horse; for the English did not quit the ranks that day to make prisoners. The page alighted, and raised him up; but he did not return the way he came, as he would have found it difficult from the crowd. This battle, which was fought on the Saturday between la Broyes † and Crecy, was very murderous and cruel; and many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known. Towards evening, many knights and squires of the French had lost their masters: they wandered up and down the plain, attacking the English in small parties: they were soon destroyed; for the English had determined that day to give no quarter, or hear of ransom from any one.

Early in the day, some French, Germans, and Savoyards, had broken through the archers of the prince's battalion, and had engaged with the men at arms; upon which the second battalion came to his aid, and it was time, for otherwise he would have been hard pressed.

* His blindness was supposed to be caused by poison, which was given to him when engaged in the wars of Italy. —*Bonamy. Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xxiii.

† A village in Picardy, election of Mondidier.

The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight* in great haste to the king of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he said, "Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Stafford, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son, are vigorously attacked by the French; and they entreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do." The king replied, "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded that he cannot support himself?" "Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the knight; but he is in so hot an engagement that he has great need of your help." The king answered, "Now, sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have intrusted him." The knight returned to his lords, and related the king's answer, which mightily encouraged them, and made them repent they had ever sent such a message †.

It is a certain fact, that sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was in the prince's battalion, having been told by some of the English, that they had seen the banner of his brother engaged in the battle against him, was exceedingly anxious to save him; but he was too late, for he was left dead on the field, and so was the earl of Aumarle his nephew. On the other hand, the earls of Alençon and of Flanders were fighting lustily under their banners, and with their own people; but they could not resist the force of the English, and were there slain, as well as many other knights and squires that were attending on or accompanying them. The earl of Blois, nephew to the king of France, and the duke of Lorraine, his brother-in-law, with their troops, made a gallant defence; but they were surrounded by a troop of English and Welsh, and slain in spite of their prowess. The earl of St. Pol and the earl of Auxerre were also killed, as well as many others. Late after vespers, the king of France had not more about him than sixty men, every one included. Sir John of Hainault, who was of the number, had once remounted the king; for his horse had been killed under him by an arrow: he said to the king, "Sir, retreat whilst you have an opportunity, and do not expose yourself so simply: if you have lost this battle, another time you will be the conqueror." After he had said this, he took the bridle of the king's horse, and led him off by force; for he had before entreated of him to retire. The king rode on until he came to the castle of la Broyes, where he found the gates shut, for it was very dark. The king ordered the governor of it to be summoned: he came upon the battlements, and asked who it was that called at such an hour? The king answered, "Open, open, governor; it is the fortune of France." The governor, hearing the king's voice, immediately descended, opened the gate, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle; but he had only with him five barons, sir John of Hainault, the lord Charles of Montmorency, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord of Aubigny, and the lord of Montfort. The king would not bury himself in such a place as that, but, having taken some refreshments, set out again with his attendants about midnight, and rode on, under the direction of guides who were well

* Sir Thomas Norwich.—MSS.

† The style of Lord Berners, in many instances, is so different from the mode of expression adopted by Mr. Johnes, as almost to make the parallel passage appear a distinct narrative, and in such cases it is interesting to compare the two translations. The following is Lord Berners' version of this narration.—Ed.

"In the mornyng the day of the batayle certayne frenchmen and almaygnes perforce opyned the archers of the princes batayle, and came and fought with the men at armes hande to hande. Than the second batayle of thenglyshe men came to socour the prince's batayle, the whiche was tyme, for they had as than moche ado, and they with the prince sent a messangar to the kynge who was on a lytell wyndmyll hill. Than the knyght sayd to the kyng, Sir therle of Warwyke and therle of Cāfort (Stafford) sir Reynolde Cobham and other such as be about the prince your sonne are feersly fought with all, and are sore handled, wherefore they desire you that you and your batayle wall come and ayde them, for if the frenchemen encrease as they dout they woll your sonne and they shall have moche a do. Than the kynge sayde, is my sonne deed or hurt or on the yerthe felled? No, sir, quoth the knight, but he is hardely matched wherfore he hath nede of your ayde. Well sayde the kyng, retourne to hym and to them that sent you hyther, and say to them that they sende no more to me for any adventure that falleth as long as my sonne is alyve; and also say to them that they suffer hym this day to wynne his spurres, for if God be pleased, I woll this iourney be his and the honoure therof and to them that be aboute hym. Than the knyght retourned agayn to them and shewed the kynges wordes, the which greatly encouraged them, and repoyned in that they had sende to the kynge as they dyd."

acquainted with the country, until, about day-break, he came to Amiens, where he halted. This Saturday the English never quitted their ranks in pursuit of any one, but remained on the field, guarding their position, and defending themselves against all who attacked them. The battle was ended at the hour of vespers.

CHAPTER CXXX.—THE ENGLISH ON THE MORROW AGAIN DEFEAT THE FRENCH.

When, on this Saturday night, the English heard no more hooting or shouting, nor any more crying out to particular lords or their banners, they looked upon the field as their own, and their enemies as beaten. They made great fires, and lighted torches because of the obscurity of the night. King Edward then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet, and, with his whole battalion, advanced to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in his arms and kissed, and said, "Sweet son, God give you good perseverance: you are my son, for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day: you are worthy to be a sovereign." The prince bowed down very low, and humbled himself, giving all honour to the king his father. The English, during the night, made frequent thanksgivings to the Lord, for the happy issue of the day, and without rioting; for the king had forbidden all riot or noise. On the Sunday morning, there was so great a fog that one could scarcely see the distance of half an acre. The king ordered a detachment from the army, under the command of the two marshals, consisting of about five hundred lances and two thousand archers, to make an excursion, and see if there were any bodies of French collected together. The quota of troops, from Rouen and Beauvais, had, this Sunday morning, left Abbeville and St. Ricquier in Ponthieu, to join the French army, and were ignorant of the defeat of the preceding evening: they met this detachment, and, thinking they must be French, hastened to join them.

As soon as the English found who they were, they fell upon them; and there was a sharp engagement; but the French soon turned their backs, and fled in great disorder. There were slain in this flight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upwards of seven thousand; and had it been clear weather, not one soul would have escaped.

A little time afterwards, this same party fell in with the archbishop of Rouen and the great prior of France, who were also ignorant of the discomfiture of the French; for they had been informed that the king was not to fight before Sunday. Here began a fresh battle: for those two lords were well attended by good men at arms: however, they could not withstand the English, but were almost all slain, with the two chiefs who commanded them; very few escaping. In the course of the morning, the English found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king, or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met: and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers, sent from the cities, towns and municipalities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of the Saturday.

CHAPTER CXXXI.—THE ENGLISH NUMBER THE DEAD SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF CRECY.

This detachment, which had been sent to look after the French, returned as the king was coming from mass, and related to him all that they had seen and met with. After he had been assured by them that there was not any appearance of the French collecting another army, he sent to have the numbers and condition of the dead examined.

He ordered on this business, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Stafford, and three heralds to examine their arms*, and two secretaries to write down all the names. They took much pains to examine all the dead, and were the whole day in the field of battle, not returning but just as the king was sitting down to supper. They made to him a very circumstantial

* In those days, knights, or persons of note, wore over their armour a surcoat, having their arms blazoned upon it. This may be seen in any old paintings of that age.

report of all they had observed, and said, they had found eighty banners, the bodies of eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and about thirty thousand common men.

The English halted there that day, and on the Monday morning prepared to march off. The king ordered the bodies of the principal knights to be taken from the ground, and carried to the monastery of Montenay, which was hard by, there to be interred in consecrated ground. He had it proclaimed in the neighbourhood, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that the dead might be buried. He then marched on, passing by Montreuil-sur-mer *.

His marshals made an excursion as far as Hesdin †, and burnt Vaubain and Serain; but they could make nothing of the castle, as it was too strong and well guarded. They lay that Monday night upon the banks of the Canche, near Blangy. The next day they rode towards Boulogne, and burnt the towns of St. Josse and Neufchatel ‡: they did the same to Estaples, in the country of the Boulonois. The whole army passed through the forest of Hardelou, and the country of the Boulonois, and came to the large town of Wisant, where the king, prince, and all the English lodged; and, having refreshed themselves there one whole day, they came, on the Thursday, before the strong town of Calais.

CHAPTER CXXXII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO CALAIS,—THE POORER SORT OF THE INHABITANTS ARE SENT OUT OF IT.

A BURGUNDY knight, named sir John de Vienne, was governor of Calais; and with him were sir Arnold d'Andreghen, sir John de Surie, sir Bardo de Bellebourne, sir Geoffry de la Motte, sir Pepin de Were, and many other knights and squires. On the king's arrival before Calais, he laid siege to it, and built, between it and the river and bridge, houses of wood: they were laid out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom; and in this town of the king's, there was everything necessary for an army, besides a market-place, where there were markets, every Wednesday and Saturday, for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread, and everything else, which came from England, and Flanders, might be had there, as well as all comforts, for money. The English made frequent excursions to Guines § and its neighbourhood, and to the gates of St. Omer and Boulogne, from whence they brought great booties back to the army. The king made no attacks upon the town, as he knew it would be only lost labour; and he was sparing of his men and artillery; but said, he would remain there so long that he would starve the town into a surrender, unless the king of France should come there to raise the siege. When the governor of Calais saw the preparations of the king of England, he collected together all the poor inhabitants, who had not laid in any store of provisions, and, one Wednesday morning, sent upwards of seventeen hundred men, women and children, out of the town. As they were passing through the English army, they asked them, why they had left the town? They replied, because they had nothing to eat. The king, upon this, allowed them to pass through in safety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two sterlings, as charity and alms, for which many of them prayed earnestly for the king.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.—THE DUKE OF NORMANDY RAISES THE SIEGE OF AIGUILLON.

THE duke of Normandy, whom we left before Aiguillon, which he was besieging, and sir Walter Manny and the other knights who were within it, made, about the middle of August, a skirmish before the castle, which increased so much that almost his whole army was engaged in it. Near about this time, the lord Philip of Burgundy, earl of Artois and of Boulogne, and cousin-german to the duke, arrived. He was a very young knight: as soon as this skirmish commenced, he armed himself, and, mounting a handsome steed, stuck spurs into him, in order to hasten to the combat; but the horse, taking the bit between his teeth,

* In Picardy, diocese of Amiens. † In Artois, situated on the Canche, diocese of Arras. ‡ Villages in Picardy.
§ In Picardy, two leagues and a half from Calais. It was in the possession of the English above two hundred years.

ran off with him, and, in crossing a ditch, fell into it upon the knight, who was so grievously bruised that he never recovered, and in a short time died. Soon afterwards, the king of France sent to his son, the duke of Normandy, to lay all other things aside, and raise the siege, in order to return directly into France, to defend his inheritance against the English. The duke, upon this, demanded advice from the earls and barons there present; for he had vowed he would never move from thence until he had the castle, and all within it, in his power: but they assured him, that since the king, his father, had so expressly ordered him to return, he might comply without any forfeiture of his honour. On the morrow, at break of day, therefore, the French decamped, and, trussing up tents and baggage with great haste, took the road for France.

The knights who were in Aiguillon, seeing this, armed themselves, and mounting their horses, sallied forth, the pennon of sir Walter Manny taking the lead, fell upon the French, who were scarcely all marched off, cut down and slew numbers, and took upwards of forty prisoners, whom they brought back to the castle. From them they learnt the successful campaign the king of England had made in France, and that at present he was laying siege to Calais. Before the king of France left Amiens, after the battle of Crecy, to go for Paris, he was so much enraged against sir Godémar du Fay, for not having done his duty in defending the ford of Blanchetaque, by which means the English had entered Ponthieu, that he had determined to hang him; to which many of his council also were inclined, for they were desirous that sir Godémar should make some amends, by his death, for the defeat the king had suffered at Crecy, and called him traitor; but sir John of Hainault excused him, and averted the king's anger, by saying that it would have been difficult for him to have resisted the English army, when all the flower of the French nobility united could do nothing. Soon after this, the duke of Normandy arrived in France, where he was joyfully received by his parents, the king and queen.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.—SIR WALTER MANNY, BY MEANS OF A PASSPORT, RIDES THROUGH FRANCE, FROM AIGUILLON TO CALAIS.

About this time, sir Walter Manny had a conversation with a great knight from Normandy, whom he detained as his prisoner, and asked him, what sum he was willing to pay for his ransom? The knight replied, "Three thousand crowns." Upon this, sir Walter said, "I know you are related to the duke of Normandy, much beloved by him, and one of his privy councillors. I will let you free upon your honour, if you will go to the duke, and obtain from him a passport for myself and twenty others, that we may ride through France, as far as Calais, paying courteously for whatever we may want: if therefore you obtain this from the king, I shall hold you free from your ransom, and also be much obliged to you; for I have a great desire to see the king of England, and will not remain in any town more than one night. If you cannot accomplish it, you will return in a month to this fortress, as to your prison." The knight set out for Paris, and, having obtained from the duke the passport, returned with it to sir Walter at Aiguillon, who acquitted him of his ransom. Sir Walter, shortly afterward, set out with twenty horse, and took his road through Auvergne. He told everywhere who he was, and, at every place he stopped, showed his passport, and was directly set at liberty; but at Orleans he was arrested, although he showed his papers, and from thence conducted to Paris, where he was confined in the prison of the Châtelet. When the duke of Normandy heard of it, he went immediately to the king, and remonstrated with him on the subject, because sir Walter Manny had had his passport through his means, and demanded that he should, as soon as possible, be set at liberty; otherwise it would be said that he had betrayed him. The king answered, that he intended putting him to death, for he looked upon him as one of his greatest enemies. Upon which the duke said, that if he put his intentions in execution, he would never bear arms against the king of England, and would prevent all those dependent on him from doing the same. Very high words passed between them; and he left the king, declaring he would never serve in any of his armies, so long as Walter Manny should remain in prison.

Things remained in this situation a long time. There was a knight from Hainault, named sir Mansart d'Aisnes, who was eager to serve sir Walter, but had great difficulty in getting access to the duke of Normandy: however, at last the king was advised to let sir Walter out of prison, and to pay him all his expenses. The king would have sir Walter to dine with him in the hôtel de Nesle at Paris; when he presented him with gifts and jewels to the amount of a thousand florins. Sir Walter accepted them, upon condition, that when he got to Calais he should inform the king, his lord, of it; and if it were agreeable to his pleasure, he would keep them, otherwise he would send them back. The king and duke said, that he had spoken like a loyal knight. Sir Walter then took leave of them, rode on by easy days' journeys to Hainault, and remained, to refresh himself, three days in Valenciennes. He arrived at Calais, where he was well received by the king of England, who, upon being informed by sir Walter of the presents he had had from the king of France, said, "Sir Walter, you have hitherto most loyally served us, and we hope you will continue to do so; send back to king Philip his presents, for you have no right to keep them: we have enough, thank God, for you and for ourselves, and are perfectly well disposed to do you all the good in our power, for the services you have rendered us." Sir Walter took out all the jewels, and, giving them to his cousin, the lord of Mansac, said, "Ride into France, to king Philip, and recommend me to him; and tell him, that I thank him many times for the fine jewels he presented me with, but that it is not agreeable to the will and pleasure of the king of England, my lord, that I retain them." The knight did as he was commanded; but the king of France would not take back the jewels: he gave them to the lord of Mansac, who thanked the king for them, and had no inclination to refuse them.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—THE EARL OF DERBY TAKES MANY TOWNS AND CASTLES IN POITOU, AND THE CITY OF POITIERS.

It has been before mentioned, that the earl of Derby had remained in the city of Bordeaux during the siege of Aiguillon. As soon as he was informed that the duke of Normandy had raised the siege, he issued out his summons to all knights and squires in Gascony that were attached to the English. In obedience to which, there came to Bordeaux the lords d'Albret, de l'Esparre, de Rosem, de Mucidan, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Bouqueton, sir Aymery de Traste, and many others. The earl collected twelve hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and three thousand infantry. With these he crossed the Garonne, between Bordeaux and Blayes, and took the road for Saintonge. He first came before Mirabeau*, which he took by assault as well as the castle; and, having placed therein a garrison of his own men, rode on to Aulnay†, which he also took and its castle, and then Benon‡ and Surgeres§: but they could make nothing of the castle of Marans||, which is about three leagues from la Rochelle: they pushed on, therefore, to Mortaigne-sur-mer in Poitou, which they took and re-garrisoned. They then advanced to Lusignan¶ and burnt the town, but could not gain the castle. They next marched to Taillebourg**, and, having conquered the bridge, town and castle, put all the inhabitants to the sword, because they had in the assault killed a valiant knight. The whole country was so much alarmed that they fled before the English, leaving their houses empty and defenceless, to shut themselves up in the fortified towns. There was not any appearance of opposition from the knights and squires of Saintonge, who had retired to their fortresses, without making any effort to combat the English.

The earl of Derby at last came before the town of St. Jean d'Angely††, and immediately began an attack upon it. There were not in the town any men at arms; and at vespers, when the attack was nearly ended, sir William de Rion, mayor of the town, and the principal inhabitants, sent to demand passports for six of the citizens to come and treat with the earl: it was granted them for that night, and the whole of the next day. On the morrow,

* A town in Poitou, diocese of Poitiers.
† A town in Poitou.
‡ A town in Ancenis.
§ A town in Ancenis.
|| A town in Ancenis.
¶ A town in Poitou.
** A town in Saintonge, three leagues from Saintes.
†† In Saintonge, diocese of Saintes.

these citizens came to the earl in his tent, and swore to be good Englishmen as long as the king of England, or any one from him, would keep them in peace from the French. The earl refreshed himself in the town for four days, and received the homage of the inhabitants: he then advanced to Niort*, of which sir Guiscard d'Angle was governor. He made three attacks upon it; but not gaining anything, he passed on, and came to the village of St. Maximien, which he took by storm, and slew all that were within it. He next marched to Montreuil Bonin†, where there were upwards of two hundred coiners, who were minting money for the king of France, and who declared that they would not obey the summons of the earl: but there was so sharp an assault made on it, that the town was taken and all within put to death. The earl placed a new garrison in the castle, and advanced to Poitiers, which is a large straggling city: he could only therefore lay siege to it on one side; for he had not forces sufficient to surround it. He immediately made an assault; but the townsmen of the poorer sort were so numerous, though little prepared for such an attack, and defended the town so well, that the earl's people gained nothing: they retired to their quarters much fatigued. On the morrow some of the earl's knights armed themselves, rode round the town, and afterwards made their report to him of what they had seen and heard. There was then a council held; and it was resolved to attack the town in three different places at once the next day, and to post the greater number of the men at arms and archers at the weakest part; which was executed.

It happened, that at that time there was not any gallant knight in the town who knew what deeds of arms were; nor were they provided with any accustomed to wars, that might advise them how properly to defend themselves. The earl's people, therefore, at this assault entered the town at the weakest part: and, when those within saw themselves thus conquered, they fled for the fastest out of the other gates, for there were many. Upwards of seven hundred were slain; for the earl's people put every one to the sword, men, women and little children. The city was instantly plundered, and was full of wealth, as well of its own inhabitants, as of those in the neighbourhood, who had retired into it as to a place of safety. The army destroyed many churches, committed great waste, and would have done much more, if the earl had not forbidden under pain of death, that either church or house should be set on fire; for he was desirous of remaining there ten or twelve days. Part of the disorders were stopped, but much thieving still continued. The earl remained in the city twelve days: he might have stayed longer had he chosen it, for no one came to oppose him, and the whole country trembled: none dared to show themselves out of their strong garrisons. He left Poitiers empty, for its size rendered it untenable. The army at its departure was so laden with the riches they had found there, that they made no account of clothes, unless they were of gold and silver, or trimmed with furs‡. They returned by easy marches to St. Jean d'Angely, where they remained for some time. The earl during this stay made handsome presents to the ladies and damsels of the town, and almost every day gave them grand dinners or suppers. He enlivened them so much that he acquired great popularity: and they publicly said, he was the most noble prince that ever mounted steed. On his taking leave of them, he made the mayor and principal citizens renew their oath, that they would keep and defend the town, as the legal inheritance of the king of England. The earl then rode on with his whole army to Bordeaux, passing by the fortresses he had conquered, when he dismissed his troops, and gave them many thanks for the services they had done.

* A city in Poitou, nineteen leagues from Poitiers.

† A town in Poitou, three leagues from Poitiers.

‡ The original, according to D. Sauvage's edition, runs thus: "*qu'ils ne faisoient cõpte de draps: fors d'or et d'argent, et de pennes.*" The meaning here is not very clear, and Mr. Johnes has endeavoured to overcome the difficulty by substituting furs for feathers. The author probably intended to say, that they made no account of cloth except it was of gold or silver, nor of anything else except feathers. Lord Berners says, "they sette by nothynge but gold and syluer and fethers for men of warre."—Ed.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE KING OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE SIEGE OF CALAIS, INVADES ENGLAND.

I HAVE been silent some time respecting the king of Scotland; but until this moment I have not had anything worth relating of him; for, as I have before said, mutual truces had been granted between him and the king of England, which had not been infringed. During the time the king of England was carrying on the siege of Calais, the Scots determined to make war upon him, thinking it a good opportunity to be revenged for the many disasters he had brought on them. England had at that time very few men at arms, as the king had a great number with him before Calais, as well as in his other armies in Brittany, Poitou, and Gascony. The king of France took great pains to foment this war, in order that the English might have so much to employ themselves at home as would oblige them to raise the siege of Calais, and return to England.

King David issued his summons for a parliament to be holden at Perth; which was attended by the earls, prelates, and barons of Scotland, who were unanimous for invading England as speedily as possible. Raynald, lord of the isle, who governed the wild Scots, and whom alone they obeyed, was sent to, and entreated to attend the parliament. He complied with the request, and brought three thousand of the wildest of his countrymen with him. When all the Scots were assembled, they amounted together to about forty thousand combatants: but they could not make their preparations so secretly as to prevent news of it coming to the knowledge of the queen of England, who had taken up her residence in the north, near the borders. She wrote, and sent summons to all that were attached to the king of England to come to York by a certain day. Many men at arms and archers, who had remained at home, put themselves in motion, and advanced to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which the queen had appointed as the final place of rendezvous. In the mean while, the Scots set out from Perth, and advanced the first day to Dunfermline; the next day, they crossed a small arm of the sea; but the king went to Stirling, crossed the water there on the morrow, and came to Edinburgh. Here they halted and numbered their men. There were full three thousand knights and squires, well armed, and thirty thousand others, mounted on galloways. They marched to Roxburgh, the first fortress belonging to the English on their road, under the command of the lord William Montacute, who had lately erected it against the Scots. This castle is handsome, and very strong; the Scots therefore passed on without attacking it, and took up their quarters on the banks of a river*, between Precy and Lincolle; whence they began to destroy and burn the country of Cumberland. Some of their scouts advanced as far as York, where they burnt all without the walls and down the river, and returned to their army, within one day's march of Newcastle.

* Probably the river was the Irthing, and the towns Lidel and Lanercrost; for lord Hailes says, in his Annals, that "David stormed the castle of Lidel, and beheaded Walter Selby, the governor. Selby, according to the usage of those loose times, seems to have been both a robber and a warrior, alternately plundering and defending his country."

"He was one of the hand of robbers so famous in English story, who, under their leader, Gilbert Middleton, robbed two cardinals and the bishop of Durham. He afterwards held out the castles of Mitford and Horton against his sovereign.—*Scala Chron. ap. Leland*, t. i. p. 561.

Yet Packington, apud Leland, t. i. p. 470, says, "David, king of Scottes, caused the *noble knight* Walter Selby, capitayne of the Pyle of Lydelle, to be slayne afore his owne face, not suffering him so much as to be confessed."

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.

THE queen of England, who was very anxious to defend her kingdom, and guard it from all disturbers, in order to show that she was in earnest about it, came herself to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. She took up her residence there, to wait for the forces she expected from the different parts of the kingdom. The Scots, who were informed that Newcastle was the place of rendezvous of the English army, advanced thither, and sent their van-guard to skirmish near the town; who, on their return, burnt some hamlets adjoining to it. The smoke and flames came into the town, which made the English impatient to sally out upon those who had done this mischief, but their leaders would not permit them. On the morrow, the king of Scotland, with full forty thousand men, including all sorts, advanced within three short English miles of Newcastle, and took up his quarters on the land of the lord Neville. He sent to inform the army in the town, that, if they were willing to come forth, he would wait for them and give them battle. The barons and prelates of England sent for answer, that they accepted his offer, and would risk their lives with the realm of their lord and king. They sallied out in number about twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand other men, including the Welsh. The Scots posted themselves opposite to the English; and each army was drawn out in battle array.

QUEEN PHILIPPA.—From the Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

The queen of England then came to the place where her army was, and remained until it was drawn out in four battalions. The first was under the command of the bishop of Durham, and the lord Percy; the second, under the archbishop of York, and the lord Neville: the third, under the bishop of Lincoln, and lord Mowbray; the fourth was commanded by lord Baliol, governor of Berwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord Roos. Each battalion had its just proportion of men at arms and archers, as was expedient. The queen now advanced among them, and entreated them to do their duty well, in defending the honour of their lord and king, and urged them, for the love of God, to fight manfully. They promised her that they would acquit themselves loyally, to the utmost of their power, and perhaps better than if the king had been there in person. The queen then took her leave, and recommended them to the protection of God and St. George. The two armies were soon after in motion, and the archers on each side began to shoot; but those of the

Scots did not long continue it, whilst the English shot incessantly. When the battalions were got into close combat, the engagement was sharp, and well fought.

Queen Philippa haranguing her troops before the Battle of Neville's Cross.—From a MS. Froissart, of the 15th Century.

The battle began about nine o'clock, and lasted until noon. The Scots had very hard and sharp axes *, with which they dealt deadly blows; but at last the English gained the field, though it cost them dear by the loss of their men. On the part of the Scots, there fell in the field, the earl of Sys, the earl Dostre, the earl Patris†, the earl of Furlant ‡, the earl Dastredure, the earl of Mar, the earl John Douglass §, sir Alexander Ramsay, who bore the king's banners, and many other barons, knights, and squires ‖. The king of Scotland was

* Q. Lochaber axes.

† Probably Patrick, earl of Dunbar.

‡ Q. Sutherland.

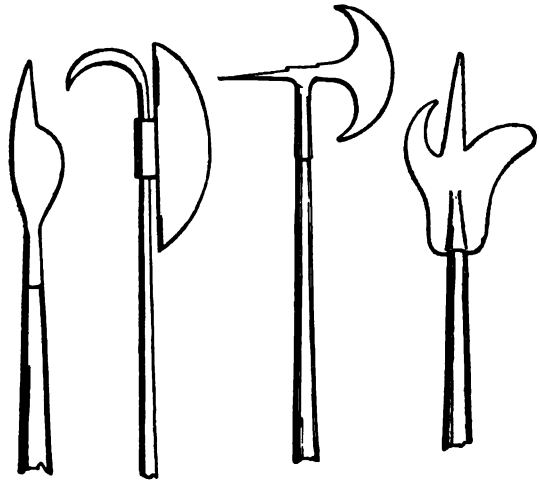
§ No *earl* Douglas at that period.

‖ "Knyghton is the historian who has given the most ample list of the killed at the battle of Durham; yet it is, in various particulars, erroneous; and it has been strangely disfigured by the mistakes of transcribers. Knyghton has afforded the ground-work of the following list; and care has been taken to correct his errors, whenever they could be detected. This was the more necessary, because our writers seem to have despaired of being able to correct the list, and have left many names as erroneous as they found them. Thus, Abercrombie has *Humphry de Blois* and *Robert Maltalent*; and to conceal his ignorance, he affirms them to have been Frenchmen. He has also *David Banant* and *Nicholas Clopodolian*, names for which he has not ventured to account. Some additions have been procured from Fordun, although his list is not so full as that in Knyghton. These additions are marked F.

"It is impossible to give a correct list of all the prisoners of distinction taken at Durham; for it appears, that many persons privately took ransoms for the prisoners whom they had made, and suffered them to depart. This practice became so general, that it was prohibited under pain of death [20th November, and 13th December, 1346].

"Most of the prisoners of distinction, who had not escaped by means of this connivance, were ordered to be

taken prisoner, fighting most gallantly, and badly wounded, before he was captured by a squire of Northumberland, named John Copeland, who, as soon as he got him, pushed through the crowd, and with eight other companions, rode off, and never stopped until he was distant from the field of battle about fifteen miles He came about vespers to Ogle castle, on the



Heads of Lochaber Axes.—From specimens preserved in the Tower of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

river Blythe, and there declared that he would not surrender his prisoner, the king of Scotland, to man or woman except to his lord the king of England. That same day were taken prisoners, the earls of Murray and March, lord William Douglass, lord Robert de Wersy,

conveyed to the tower of London [8th December, 1346]. From that instrument, and from some other scattered notices, I have drawn up a list of prisoners, not so complete, indeed, as might have been wished, yet more authentic and intelligible than any that has been hitherto exhibited.

"KILLED.

"John Randolph, earl of Moray,—the younger son of Randolph the regent. With him the male line of that heroic family ended. He was succeeded in his honours and estate by his sister, the countess of March, vulgarly termed *Black Agnes*.

"Maurice Moray, earl of Strathern,—in right of his mother Mary. The English, in general, did not acknowledge his title. Knyghton mentions him again under the name of *Maurice de Murref*.

"David de laye Haye, constable, F.—Knyghton mentions his name, but without his title of office.

"Robert Keith, marshal, F.—grandson of sir Robert Keith.

"Robert de Peebles, chamberlain, F.—There is considerable uncertainty as to this name.

"Thomas Charters, chancellor, F.—De Carnuto. A name of great antiquity in Scotland. See Crawford, Officers of State, p. 19.

"Humphry de Boys.—Knyghton and his copyists say, *de Bloys*, probably *Boys*, the same with *Boyse*, *Boece*.

"John de Bonneville, F.

"Thomas Boyd.—This is a mistake in Knyghton, unless there were two persons of that name; for there was a Thomas Boyd among the prisoners.

"Andrew Buttergask, F.—This family subsisted until about the beginning of the 15th century, when the heiress, Margaret Buttergask of that ilk, made over her estate to the family of Gray.

"Roger Cameron.

"John de Crawfurd.

"William Frazer, F.—of Cowie; ancestor of lord Salton.

"David Fitz-Robert.—Probably some person who had not as yet assumed a surname.

"William de Haliburton.—Fordun says *Walter*, but there is a Walter de Haliburton among the prisoners.

"William de la Haye.

"Gilbert de Inchmartin, F.

"Edward de Keith.

"Edmunde de Keith.—According to Knyghton, the brother of Edward de Keith.

"Reginald Kirkpatrick.

"David de Lindesay,—said by Fordun to have been 'the son and heir of lord David de Lindesay,' ancestor of the earls of Crawfurd and Balcarras.

"John de Lindesay.

"Robert Maitland,—called *Mantalent* by Knyghton: from whence Abercrombie formed '*Maltalent*, a French knight:' plainly *Matulent*, now *Maitland*, of Thirlestane, ancestor of the earl of Lauderdale.

"——Maitland,—the brother of Robert Maitland of Thirlestane.

"Philip de Meldrum,—called *de Mildron* by Knyghton.

"John de la More.

"Adam Moygrave.

"William Moubray.—There was a William Mowbray among the prisoners.

"William de Ramsay, the father.—A William de Ramsay, probably *the younger*, was among the prisoners.

"Michael Scot, F.—of Murthockstone, now Murdiestone, ancestor of the duke of Buccleugh.

"John St. Clair.—There was a John St. Clair among the prisoners.

"Alexander Strachan,—called *Straggy* by Knyghton.

the bishops of Aberdeen and St. Andrew's, and many other barons and knights. There were about fifteen thousand slain, and the remainder saved themselves as well as they could. This battle was fought near Newcastle, in the year 1346, on a Saturday preceding Michaelmas day*.

"—— Strachan, the brother of Alexander Strachan.

"John Stewart.

"John Stewart.—I conjecture that sir John Stewart of Dreghorn is meant, whose father Alan was killed at Halidon.

"Alan Stewart, the brother of John Stewart.

"Adam de Whitsom.—Knyghton has *Adam de Nystun*, which is plainly an error in transcribing. Perhaps *de Dennistoun* is the right name. Knyghton reckons *Patonus Heryng*, r. *Patricius Heron*, among the slain. It appears from Fœdera, that he was a prisoner. Knyghton also reckons *the earl of Sutherland* among the slain, Fordun among the prisoners. It is certain that he was not killed; and, if he were made prisoner, he must have been among those who were suffered to escape immediately after the battle.

"PRISONERS.

"David II. king of Scots.—He received two wounds before he yielded himself a prisoner.

"Duncan earl of Fife.—He had sworn fealty to Baliol. He was condemned to suffer death as a traitor, but obtained mercy.

"John Graham, earl of Menteth,—in right of his wife Mary, according to the mode of those times: he was executed as a traitor. He had formerly sworn fealty to Edward III.

"Malcolm Fleming, earl of Wigton.—He is called *Malcolm Fleming*, without any addition; Fœdera, t. v. p. 537. He had a grant of the earldom of Wigton in 1342. See Crawfurd, Peerage, p. 493. But the English government did not acknowledge the right of David II. to confer titles of honour. It is probable that he made his escape; for, in Calendars of Ancient Charters, p. 203, there is this title, 'de capiendo Robertum Bertram, qui Malcolmum Fleming, Scotum, inimicum, regis evadere permisit.'

"George Abernethy,—of Salton, ancestor of lord Salton.

"David de Annand.

"William Baillie,—supposed to be Baillie of Lambiston or Lambintoun, vulgarly Lamington; Nisbet, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 137. But see sir James Dalrymple, p. 410.

"Thomas Boyd,—probably of Kilmarnock. The son of that Boyd who was the faithful and fortunate companion of Robert Bruce.

"Andrew Campbell,—of Loudoun. In right of his mother, Susanna Crawfurd, heritable sheriff of Airshire, ancestor of the earl of Loudoun.

"Gilbert de Carrick,—ancestor of the earl of Dasailis. His son assumed the name of Kennedy.

"Robert Chisholm.

"Nicholas Knockdolian, — called *Clopdolian* by Knyghton, and by Abercrombie *Clopodolian*, in Galloway, although the name has a German air.

"Fergus de Crawfurd.—Roger de Crawfurd.

"Bartholomew de Dermond,—a German, as the record in Fœdera bears. This is mentioned, because Abercrombie, vol. ii. p. 99, says, 'perhaps *Drummond*,' although he had perused Fœdera.

"John Douglas,—probably the younger brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale, ancestor of the earl of Morton.

"William Douglas, the elder.—This person, I am confident, is William Douglas, the bastard brother of William Douglas of Liddesdale. There is no evidence that William lord Douglas, son of Archibald, surnamed *Tineman*, and first earl of that family, was made prisoner at Durham, or, indeed, that he was present at the battle. Fordun, l. xiv. c. 6, expressly says, that he did not come from France till after the battle. We learn from Fœdera, that he was at liberty while others were prisoners; and we do not learn from Fœdera, that he was ever a prisoner. To support an erroneous hypothesis of Boece, concerning William lord Douglas, records have been misconstructed and misapplied.

"Patrick de Dunbar.—Adam de Fullarton.—John Giffard.—Laurence Gilibrand.

"David Graham,—of Montrose; ancestor of the duke of Montrose.

"Alexander Haliburton,—John de Haliburton.—Douglas, Peerage, p. 321, conjectures, not improbably, that they were the brothers of Walter de Haliburton. But he ought not to have referred to Fordun, v. ii. [l. xiv. c. 3] in proof of this, for Fordun mentions them not.

"Walter de Haliburton,—predecessor of the lords Haliburton of Dirleton.

"Patrick Heron.—William de Jardin.

"Roger de Kirkpatrick.—Made prisoner by Ralph de Hastings. Hastings died of his wounds. He bequeathed the body of Roger de Kirkpatrick to his joint legatees, Edmund Hastings of Kynthorp and John de Kirkeby; Fœdera, t. v. p. 535.

"Thomas de Lippes,—called, in Calendars of Ancient Charters, *chevalier*. If he was not a foreigner, I know not who he was.

"William de Livingston.

"—— Lorein,—said, in the record, to have been the son of Eustace Lorein. This Eustace, called *Tassy* by Fordun, l. xiv. c. 5, was captain of Rokesburgh under Douglas of Liddesdale, the governor.

"Duncan M'Donnel.—Not in the list in Fœdera, t. v. p. 535, but mentioned as a prisoner, Fœdera, t. v. p. 554.

"Duncan M'Donnel.—See Fœdera, ib. the son of the former.

"—— de Makepath —Were it not for the particle *de*, I should suppose that some person of the name of *M'Beth* was here understood.

"John de Maxwell,—of Carlaverock, ancestor of the earl of Nithsdale.

"Walter Moine.—David Moray.—William de Moray.—William More.—William Moubray.

"Patrick de Polwarth, ancestor of the earl of Marchmont.

"John de Preston,—supposed to have been the ancestor of Preston lord Dingwall.

"Alexander de Ramsay.—Henry de Ramsay.—Ness de Ramsay.

"William de Ramsay.—Probably Sir William Ramsay of Colluthy. He was at the battle of Poictiers in 1356, and was made prisoner there.

"William de Salton.—Not in Fœdera; but mention is made of him, Calendar of Ancient Charters, p. 199.

"John St. Clair. — Alexander Steel. — Alexander Stewart.

"John Stewart,—of Dalswinston, as the record bears. Ancestor of the earl of Galloway.

"John Stewart,—a bastard, as the record bears.

"John de Valence. — William de Vaux. — Robert Wallace.

Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. App. No. 6, p. 321, *et seq.*

* It was on the 17th October.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—JOHN COPELAND TAKES THE KING OF SCOTLAND PRISONER, AND RECEIVES GREAT ADVANTAGES FROM IT.

When the queen of England, who had remained in Newcastle, heard that her army had gained the day, she mounted her palfrey, and went to the field of battle. She was informed that the king of Scotland had been made prisoner, by a squire of the name of John Copeland, but who had rode off with him they could not tell whither. The queen ordered him to be written to, to bring the king of Scots to her, and to tell him that he had not done what was agreeable to her, in carrying off his prisoner without leave. All that day the queen and army remained on the field of battle, which they had won, and on the morrow returned to Newcastle *.

When the letter from the queen was presented by a knight to John Copeland, he answered, that he would not give up his prisoner, the king of Scots, to man or woman, except to his own lord, the king of England: that they might depend on his taking proper care of him; and he would be answerable for guarding him well. The queen, upon this, wrote letters to the king, which she sent off to Calais. She therein informed him of the state of his kingdom. The king then ordered John Copeland to come to him at Calais, who, having placed his prisoner under good guards, in a strong castle on the borders of Northumberland, set out, and, passing through England, came to Dover, where he embarked, and landed near Calais. When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand, and said, "Ha! welcome, my squire, who by his valour has captured my adversary the king of Scotland." John Copeland, falling on one knee, replied, "If God, out of his great kindness, has given me the king of Scotland, and permitted me to conquer him in arms, no one ought to be jealous of it; for God can, when he pleases, send his grace to a poor squire, as well as to a great lord. Sir, do not take it amiss, if I did not surrender him to the orders of my lady the queen; for I hold my lands of you, and my oath is to you, not to her, except it be through choice." The king answered, "John, the loyal service you have done us, and our esteem for your valour is so great, that it may well serve you as an excuse; and shame fall upon all those that bear you any ill will. You will now return home, and take your prisoner, the king of Scotland, and convey him to my wife: and, by way of remuneration, I assign lands, as near your house as you can choose them, to the amount of five hundred pounds sterling a-year, for you and your heirs; and I retain you as a squire of my body and of my household †." John Copeland left Calais the third day after his arrival, and returned to England: when he was come home, he assembled his friends and neighbours, and, in company with them, took the king of Scots and conveyed him to York, where he presented him, in the name of the king, to the queen, and made such handsome excuses that she was satisfied.

When the queen had sufficiently provided for the defence of the city of York, the castle of Roxburgh, the city of Durham, and the town of Newcastle-upon Tyne, as well as for all the borders, and had appointed the lords Percy and Neville governors of Northumberland, to

* "Froissart supposes that Philippa, the consort of Edward III., was their leader; and in this he has been implicitly followed by the later historians of both nations. A young and comely princess, the mother of heroes, at the head of an army in the absence of her lord, is an ornament to history: yet no English writer of considerable antiquity mentions this circumstance, which, if true, they would not have omitted. Baliol also is said to have been next in command to queen Philippa: yet the ancient English writers say nothing of it; and the whole strain of the Fœdera is inconsistent with the hypothesis of his having any such command. Barnes, page 398, says, that the English 'were in number twelve hundred men at arms, three thousand archers, and seven thousand footmen, besides a choice band of expert soldiers, newly come from before Calais; the whole amounting to sixteen thousand complete.' For this he quotes Giovanni Villani, the Florentine historian, lib. xii. c. 75. Villani's account of the battle of Durham is exceedingly superficial; and, which is remarkable, he says nothing of what Barnes quotes as from him. See Muratori Scrip. Ital. t. xiii. p. 959."—*Annals of Scotland.*

† "Copeland was made a banneret, with a salary of 500*l.* yearly, to him and to his heirs, until lands of the like yearly amount should be bestowed on him. He obtained a pension for life of 100*l.*, under condition of furnishing twenty men at arms. He was also made warden of Berwick. Besides all this, it appears that he obtained the office of sheriff of Northumberland, and keeper of Roxburgh castle. Robert de Bertram had a pension of 200 marks given to him and to his heirs, until the king should provide him in lands of equal value, for his capture of the knight of Liddesdale."

Annals—and *Fœdera.*

take proper care of it, she set out from York and returned to London. She ordered the king of Scots, the earl of Murray, and the other prisoners, to be confined in the tower of London, and, having placed a sufficient guard over them, set out for Dover, where she embarked, and, with a favourable wind, arrived before Calais three days preceding the feast of All-Saints *. The king, upon her arrival, held a grand court, and ordered magnificent entertainments for all the lords who were there, but more especially for the ladies; as the queen had brought a great many with her, who were glad to accompany her, in order to see fathers, brothers, and friends, that were engaged at this siege of Calais.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.—THE YOUNG EARL OF FLANDERS IS BETROTHED, THROUGH THE CONSTRAINT OF THE FLEMINGS, TO THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF ENGLAND. HE ESCAPES TO FRANCE IN A SUBTLE MANNER.

The siege of Calais lasted a long time; during which many gallant feats of arms and adventures happened: but it is not possible for me to relate the fourth part of them: for the king of France had posted so many men at arms in the fortresses, and on the borders of the counties of Guines, Artois, Boulogne, round to Calais, and had such numbers of Genoese, Normans, and others in vessels on the sea, that none of the English could venture abroad on horseback or on foot, to forage, without meeting some of these parties: there were frequent skirmishes near the gates and ditches of the town, which never ended without several being killed and wounded: sometimes one side gained the advantage, and sometimes the other. The king of England and his council studied night and day to invent engines more effectually to annoy the town: but the inhabitants were equally alert to destroy their effect, and exerted themselves so much, that they suffered nothing from them. However, no provisions could be brought into the place but by stealth, and by the means of two mariners, who were guides to such as adventured: one was named Marant, and the other Mestriel; both of them resided in Abbeville. By their means, the town of Calais was frequently victualled; and by their boldness they were often in great danger, many times pursued and almost taken; but they escaped, and slew and wounded many of the English. The siege lasted all the winter. The king had a great desire to keep on good terms with the municipalities of Flanders, because he thought that through them he should the more easily obtain his end. He made, therefore, frequent protestations of friendship to them, and gave them to understand, that, after he should have succeeded at Calais, he would re-conquer for them Lisle, Douay, and all their dependencies: so that the Flemings, believing in such promises, put themselves in motion, about the time that the king was in Normandy, whence he came to Crecy and Calais; and they laid siege to Bethune. They had chosen for their commander the lord Oudart de Renty, who had been banished from France, and had closely besieged the town, and much damaged it by their attacks: but there were within four knights for the king of France, who well defended it; their names were, sir Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord Baudoin d'Anequin, and lord John de Landas. The town of Bethune was so well defended, that the Flemings conquered nothing: they returned therefore to Flanders, not having been more successful than before.

When the king of England was come to Calais, he did not cease sending flattering messengers and promises to the municipalities of Flanders, to preserve their friendship, and lessen their opinion of the king of France, who was taking great pains to acquire their affections. The king of England would have gladly seen the earl Lewis of Flanders, who at that time was but fifteen years old, married to his daughter Isabella, and set so many engines to work among the Flemings that they acceded to it, which mightily rejoiced the king; for he imagined that by this marriage he would easily govern that country. The Flemings also thought that this alliance would enable them more effectually to resist the French; and that it would be more profitable to be connected with the king of England

* Knyghton, p. 2592, relates, that by command of Edward III. David Bruce was conducted to the tower, under an escort of 20,000 men, well armed: that the different companies of London, in their proper dresses, were present at the procession; and that David Bruce rode on a tall *black* horse, so as to be seen by all men.

than with the king of France. Their young earl, however, who had been educated with the royal family of France, and who at the time was in that kingdom, would not agree to it, and declared frankly, that he would never take to wife the daughter of him who had slain his father. On the other hand, duke John of Brabant was very eagerly trying to make a match between the earl and his daughter, and promised to obtain for him the full enjoyment of Flanders, by fair or foul means. The duke also gave the king of France to understand, that, if the marriage took place, he would manage the Flemings, that they should attach themselves to him in preference to the king of England. Upon the strength of these promises, the king of France consented to the marriage of the earl of Flanders with the duke of Brabant's daughter. After the duke had obtained this consent, he sent messengers to all the principal citizens of the great towns in Flanders, who coloured the union with so many specious reasons, that the councils of the principal towns sent to the earl, and informed him that if he would come to Flanders, and follow their advice, they would be his true friends, and would give up to him all royalties, rights, and jurisdictions, in a greater degree than any earl had hitherto been possessed of. The earl was advised to go to Flanders, where he was joyfully received; and the chief towns made him rich and handsome presents.

As soon as the king of England was informed of this he sent the earls of Northampton and Arundel, and lord Reginald Cobham, into Flanders; who managed matters so well with the leading men in place, and with the corporations, that they were more desirous their lord should marry a daughter of the king of England, than the daughter of the duke of Brabant: they very affectionately entreated their lord so to do, and supported it by many strong and good arguments, which would be too tedious to detail here; insomuch that those of the duke of Brabant's party could say nothing to the contrary. The earl, however, would not consent to it, notwithstanding their fair speeches and arguments, but repeated his former declaration, that he would never marry the daughter of him who had killed his father, were he to have a moiety of the kingdom of England for her dower. When the Flemings heard this, they said, their lord was too much of a Frenchman, and very ill advised, and that he must not expect any good from them, since he would not listen to their counsels. They arrested him, and confined him, though not a close prisoner, and told him, he should never have his liberty until he would pay attention to their advice: they added, that if the late earl, his father, had not loved the French so much, but had listened to them, he would have been the greatest prince in Christendom, and would have recovered Lisle, Bethune, and Douay, and been alive at this day. Whilst all this was passing, the king of England still held on the siege of Calais. He kept his court there at Christmas in a royal and noble manner; and in the ensuing Lent, the earl of Derby, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Oxford, and many knights and squires who had crossed the sea with them, returned from Gascony.

The Earl of Flanders was for a long time in danger from the Flemings, and, being a prisoner, was perfectly weary of it. He therefore made them understand, that he was willing to follow their advice, for he could receive more advantages from them than from those in any other country. These words pleased the Flemings much: they gave him his liberty, and allowed him to partake of one of his favourite amusements, hawking, of which he was very fond. However, when he went to follow this sport, they set a good watch over him, that he did not escape, nor was stolen from those who had undertaken to guard him, on pain of death. These guards were of the king of England's party; and watched him so closely that they would scarcely allow him to make water. This conduct lasted so long, and was so offensive to the earl, that he agreed to marry the king of England's daughter. The Flemings immediately informed the king of it, and desired that the king and queen would come to the monastery at Bergues, accompanied by their daughter, and they would bring their earl there, and conclude the marriage. You may easily imagine how pleased the king and queen were with this news: they said the Flemings were very good sort of people. A day was fixed on for all parties to be at Bergues St. Vinox, between Newport and Gravelines. The most powerful and leading men of the principal towns of Flanders came hither in great pomp, bringing their lord with them. He respectfully saluted the king and queen, who were there in great state. The king took the earl gently by the

hand, led him forth, and said, to excuse himself as being the cause of the death of his father, that, as God should help him, he had never heard, on the day of the battle of Crecy, nor on the morrow, that the earl had been there. The young earl appeared to be satisfied with this excuse. The subject of the marriage was next discussed, and certain articles and treaties were agreed upon between the king, the earl, and the states of Flanders, which were promised and sworn to be adhered to *. The earl was then betrothed to the lady Isabella, daughter of the king and queen of England, whom he engaged to espouse; but the day of marriage was put off, until the king should have more leisure. The Flemings returned home, taking with them their lord; and they quitted the king, queen, and the council, in very good humour: the king went back to the siege of Calais. Things remained in this state: whilst the king was making preparations for rich presents of cloths and jewels to distribute on the wedding-day, the queen was employed in the same manner, as she was anxious to acquit herself on the occasion with honour and generosity.

The earl of Flanders, who was returned to his own country, and among his own people, was continually hawking, and pretended that this English alliance was perfectly agreeable to him. The Flemings believed all he said, and did not keep so strict a guard upon him as before: but they were not then acquainted with the disposition of their lord; for, however much he might dissemble in his outward behaviour, he was in his heart devoted to the French. It happened one day, in the same week that he was to espouse the English princess, he went out a hawking: the falconer fled his hawk at a heron, and the earl did the same with his: the two hawks pursued their game, and the earl galloped off, as if following them, crying, "Hoye, hoye." When he was at some distance from his keepers, and in the open fields, he stuck spurs into his horse, and made such speed that he was soon out of sight: he did not stop until he was got into Artois, where he was safe. He then went to king Philip in France, and related to him and his nobles his adventures, who told him he had acted wisely; but the English, on the contrary, accused him of betraying and deceiving them. The king of England, nevertheless, did not fail for this, to cultivate the friendship of the Flemings; for he knew that what had happened was not through their consent, but, on the contrary, that they were very much enraged at it; so he was immediately satisfied with the excuses they made on the occasion.

CHAPTER CXL.—THE LORD ROBERT DE NAMUR † DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, BEFORE CALAIS.

Many barons and knights, from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and Germany, came to pay their respects to the king and queen, whilst they were besieging Calais; and none returned without considerable presents. About this time, the lord Robert de Namur was newly returned into the county of Namur, from an expedition to the Holy Land ‡, where he had been knighted by the lord Despentin. He was very young, and had not been solicited for his assistance by either of the two kings. He set out with a rich and numerous attendance, and came to Calais, accompanied by many knights and squires, where he was kindly received by the king, queen, and all the barons. He gained their favour and esteem, from bearing the same name as his uncle, the lord Robert d'Artois, who had been formerly so well beloved by them, and from whose counsels they had reaped so much benefit. Lord Robert de Namur from this time became a loyal servant to the king of England, who granted him a pension of three hundred pounds sterling a-year, and assigned the payment of it on his chest at Bruges. He remained with the king at the siege of Calais, until the town was won, as you will hear related.

* There is in the Fœdera the treaty of Marriage, dated Dunkirk, 3rd March 1346; but the seal has been torn off, probably as not having been carried into effect.

† Lord Robert de Namur was Froissart's great patron; and to him we are indebted for this history, as he himself mentions in his preface. He was created a knight of the garter, in Richard II.'s reign, and is the 85th knight of that order.—See Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter.

‡ Lord Berners says "*at the holy sepulcre.*"—Ed.

CHAPTER CXLI.—THE ENGLISH CONQUER LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN *,—TO WHICH PLACE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS LAYS SIEGE.

I HAVE abstained a long time from speaking of the lord Charles of Blois, at that time duke of Brittany, and of the countess of Montfort; but it has been occasioned by the truce agreed to before Vannes, which was strictly observed: each party, during that time, kept peaceably all that they had gained. As soon as the truce was expired, the war was renewed with vigour. The king of England had sent into Brittany sir Thomas Daggeworth † and sir John Hartwell; and they had quitted the siege of Calais with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers. The countess of Montfort remained in the town of Hennebon; and she had with her sir Taneguy du Châtel, a knight from lower Brittany. The English and Bretons made frequent attacks upon the lord Charles's party, and with various success; but the country was completely ruined and destroyed by these men at arms, and the poor people paid dearly for it.

Three knights one day set out to besiege a town called la Roche-d'errien: they had collected a number of men at arms on horseback, and foot soldiers, and made some violent attacks upon the town; but it was so well defended, that the English could not gain any advantage. The captain of the garrison for lord Charles was Tassart de Guines ‡, but three parts of the inhabitants were more attached to the English than to the French; so they arrested sir Tassart, and declared they would murder him, if he would not join them in surrendering the place to the English. Upon this, he said he would comply with whatever they wished: they then let him go, and advanced towards the English army, whom they admitted into their town. Sir Tassart was continued as before, governor of it. When the English returned to Hennebon, they left with him a sufficiency of men at arms and archers, to defend the town and castle. Lord Charles when he heard this, swore things should not go on thus. He summoned all his partisans in Brittany and Normandy, and assembled in the city of Nantes sixteen hundred men in armour, and twelve thousand foot soldiers. There might be four hundred knights and twenty-three bannerets, who all came to lay siege to la Roche-d'errien. They brought with them large engines, which threw stones into the town day and night, and much annoyed the inhabitants. The townsmen sent off messengers, to inform the countess what was going forwards; as she had promised them assistance, if they should be besieged. Upon this, the countess sent everywhere that she could think likely to procure men, and in a short time collected a thousand men in armour, and eight thousand foot soldiers, which she put under the command of the three § knights before mentioned. These knights declared that they would either raise the siege of la Roche-d'errien, or perish in the attempt; and, taking the field, they advanced very near to the army of lord Charles: they took up their quarters on the banks of a river, with the intention of fighting the next day. About midnight sir Thomas Dagworth and sir John Hartwell armed one half of their people, and, setting off in silence, fell upon one of the wings of lord Charles's army, and slew a great number of his men. They remained in this action so long that the whole army was roused and armed; they could not therefore retreat, without encountering the whole of the lord Charles's force. They were surrounded, and so sharply dealt with that they could not withstand the powers of the French. Sir Thomas Dagworth was taken prisoner, after having been severely wounded. Sir John Hartwell escaped as well as he was able, with all that he could bring off with him, by making for the river. He related to sir Taneguy du Châtel the ill success of their attack; and they held a council, whether they ought not to return to Hennebon ‖.

* A town in Brittany, about two leagues from Treguier, near Guingamp.

† Sir Thomas Daggeworth was appointed commander in Brittany, by writ of privy seal, dated Reading, January 10, 1347.—FŒDERA.

‡ The historian of Brittany seems to think this person should be Richard Toussaint.

§ From what follows, one may suppose these three knights were,—sir Thomas Dagworth,—sir John Hartwell, sir Taneguy du Châtel.

‖ Our historians relate this affair differently. See Dugdale's Baronage. Sir Thomas Dagworth was not made prisoner, nor wounded; he was the person who advised the second attack, not the lord of Cadoudal, as Froissart relates. The king, for his good conduct, made him his lieutenant-general of the duchy of Brittany; and the ensuing year he was called up to the house of peers.

In the Histoire de Bretagne, so often quoted, the account of these engagements is very different, and in part not very much to the honour of sir Thomas Dagworth, if the facts be true. Vol. i. pp. 276, 277.

CHAPTER CXLII.—THE COMBAT OF LA ROCHE-D'ERRIEN, WHERE THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS IS MADE PRISONER.

At the time they were holding this council, whether to decamp or not, there came to them a knight from the countess, called Garnier, lord of Cadoudal, with a hundred men at arms, who had been prevented from coming sooner. When he was informed of the resolution they were about to take of returning, "Oh come," said he, "arm yourselves quickly, and mount your horses; and he that has no horse, let him follow on foot; for we will go and look once more at our enemies, who are now so elated that we shall be sure to conquer them." Those that had horses soon got themselves in readiness, and set out; and the foot followed them; so that, about sun-rise, they came upon the army of the lord Charles, which they found wrapped up in sleep, for they did not imagine they should have any more disturbance. The English and Bretons began immediately to cut down and destroy tents and pavilions, and to slay all those whom they had thus surprised; for they had thought themselves so secure, they had not set any watch. Thus were those of the party of lord Charles defeated, and all the barons of Normandy and Brittany that were with him taken prisoners that night. The siege of la Roche-d'errien was raised, and lord Charles conducted to Hennebon. Nevertheless the towns and fortresses that he had before gained, still held out for him; for his wife, who called herself duchess of Brittany, undertook most cheerfully to continue the war.

Combat of la Roche-d'errien. Lord Charles of Blois taken prisoner. Engraved from a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

CHAPTER CXLIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE COLLECTS A GREAT ARMY TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF CALAIS.

King Philip of France, who felt that his subjects in Calais must be severely oppressed, commanded all the knights and squires of his realm to rendezvous at Amiens, or near that town, on the feast of Whitsuntide. No one dared to disobey this order, but all were punctual in being there at the appointed time. King Philip kept a solemn court at Amiens, at which were present the duke of Normandy his eldest son, the duke of Orleans his youngest son, Eudes duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Foix, the lord Lewis of Savoy, the lord John of Hainault, the earls of Armagnac, Valentinois, Forêts, and a great many other earls, barons and knights. When all these noblemen were assembled in Amiens, they held many councils. The king of France was very anxious to have a free passage through Flanders, that he might send through it a part of his army by way of Gravelines, to reinforce the garrison of Calais, and to attack and fight with the English on that side of the town. He sent, therefore, a very magnificent embassy into Flanders, to treat with the Flemings on this subject: but the king of England had so many friends there, that they would not grant him his request. The king upon this said, he would then advance as far as Boulogne.

The king of England, who found he could not conquer Calais but by famine, ordered a large castle to be constructed of strong timbers, in order to shut up the communication with the sea; and he directed it to be built and embattled in such a manner that it could not be destroyed. He placed it between the town and the sea, and fortified it with all sorts of warlike instruments *, and garrisoned it with forty men at arms and two hundred archers, who guarded the harbour and port of Calais so closely, that nothing could come out or go into the town, without being sunk or taken. By this means he more sorely aggrieved the Calesians, than by anything he had hitherto done, and sooner brought famine among them. About this time, the king of England was so active among the Flemings (with whom as you have just heard the king of France wanted to make a treaty) that they, to the amount of a hundred thousand men, marched out of Flanders, and laid siege to the town of Aire †: they burnt all the country round it, as far as St. Venant, Mourville la Gorge, Estelly le Ventre, and a tract of country round Loo, and even as far as the gates of St. Omer ‡ and Terouenne §.

The king of France took up his quarters at Arras ‖. He sent a large body of men to strengthen his garrisons in Artois, and in particular sir Charles d'Espagne, his constable, to St. Omer; for the earl of Eu and of Guines, who had been constable, was a prisoner, as I have before related, in England. The Flemings kept advancing into the country, and gave the French employment enough before they retreated. When the Flemings were returned, after having made themselves well acquainted with the parts about Loo ¶, the king of France and his army left Arras, and came to Hesdin **: the army and baggage occupied three leagues of country. When the king had rested one day at Hesdin, he advanced the next day to Blangy ††, where he halted, in order to consider whither he should march next. He was advised to make for that part of the country called la Belune, and accordingly began his march thither, his army following, which amounted, including men of all descriptions, to two hundred thousand. The king and his army passed through the country of Faukenberg ‡‡, and came straight to the hill of Sangate §§, between Calais and Wissant: they marched armed, with banners flying, by moon-light; so that it was a beautiful sight to see their gallant army. When those in Calais perceived them, from the walls, pitching their tents, they thought it had been a new siege.

* "Springalles, bombardes, bowes and other artillary." —*Lord Berners.*

† A strong town in Artois, generality of Amiens, fourteen leagues from Calais.

‡ A strong town in Artois, ten leagues from Calais.

§ An ancient town in Artois, destroyed by Charles V. 1553.

‖ A strong city in Artois, twenty-seven leagues from Calais.

¶ Loo,—a town to the south of Furnes.

** A strong town in Artois, diocese of Arras, thirteen leagues distant from it.

†† Village in Artois, bailiwick of St. Pol.

‡‡ A village in Artois, bailiwick of Aire.

§§ A village in Picardy, government of Calais.

CHAPTER CXLIV.—THE KING OF ENGLAND GUARDS ALL THE PASSES ROUND CALAIS, SO THAT THE KING OF FRANCE CANNOT APPROACH TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

I WILL now relate what the king of England had done, and was doing, when he saw with what a prodigious force the king of France was come to raise the siege of Calais, which had cost him so much money and labour. He knew that the town was so nearly famished, that it could hold out but a very short time: therefore it would have sorely hurt him to have been forced at that time to raise it. He considered, that the French could neither approach his army nor the town of Calais but by two roads; the one by the downs along the sea-shore; the other higher up the country, which however was full of ditches and bogs; and there was but one bridge, called the bridge of Nieullet, by which they could be crossed. He posted, therefore, his fleet along the shore, as near as he could to the downs, and provided it with plenty of every warlike engine *; so that the French could not pass that way. He sent the earl of Derby, with a sufficient force of men at arms and archers, to guard the bridge of Nieullet. The French, therefore, were prevented from advancing thither, unless they attempted crossing the marshes between Sangate and the sea, which were impassable. There was also, nearer to Calais, a high tower, which was guarded by thirty archers from England; and they had fortified it with double ditches, as a stronger defence of the passage over the downs. When the French had taken up their quarters on the hill of Sangate, those from Tournay, who might amount to about fifteen hundred men, advanced towards this tower: the garrison shot at them, and wounded some; but the men of Tournay crossed the ditches, and reached the foot of the tower with pick-axes and bars. The engagement was then very sharp, and many of the Tournaymen were killed and wounded; but, in the end, the tower was taken and thrown down, and all that were within it put to the sword.

The king of France sent his two marshals, the lord of Beaujeu and the lord of St. Venant, to examine the country, and see where the army could pass, in order to fight with the English; but, after they had well examined all the passes, they returned and told the king there was not any possibility of doing it, but with infinite loss of men. Things remained in this state that day and the following night; but on the morrow, after the king of France had heard mass, he sent to the king of England the lord Geoffry de Chargny, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, sir Guy de Nesle, and the lord of Beaujeu, who, as they rode along, observed how strongly all the passes were guarded: they were allowed to proceed freely, for so the king of England had ordered, and praised very much the dispositions of the earl of Derby, who was posted at the bridge of Nieullet, over which they passed. They rode on until they came where the king was, whom they found surrounded by his barons and knights: they all four dismounted, and advanced towards the king, with many reverences; then the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont said, "Sir, the king of France informs you through us, that he is come to the hill of Sangate, in order to give you battle; but he cannot find any means of approaching you: he therefore wishes you would assemble your council, and he will send some of his, that they may confer together, and fix upon a spot where a general combat may take place." The king of England was advised to make his answer as follows: "Gentlemen, I perfectly understand the request you have made me from my adversary, who wrongfully keeps possession of my inheritance, which weighs much upon me. You will therefore tell him from me, if you please, that I have been on this spot near a twelvemonth: this he was well informed of, and, had he chosen it, might have come here sooner; but he has allowed me to remain so long, that I have expended very large sums of money, and have done so much that I must be master of Calais in a very short time: I am not therefore inclined, in the smallest degree, to comply with his request, or to gratify his convenience, or to abandon what I have gained, or what I have been so anxious to conquer. If, therefore, neither he nor his army can pass this way, he must seek out some other road †." The four noblemen then returned, and were escorted as far as the bridge of Nieullet, and related to the king of France the king of England's answer.

* "Bombardes, crossbowes, archers, springalles, and other artillary."—*Lord Berners.*

† By a letter from Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, which is at length in Avesbury, pp. 162, &c. he

Whilst the king of France was devising means to fight with the English, two cardinals, from Pope Clement, arrived as ambassadors in the camp. Immediately on their arrival, they visited each army, and exerted themselves so much that they procured a sort of truce; during which time, four lords of each party were to meet, and endeavour to form a peace. On the part of the king of France were, nominated the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord Lewis of Savoy, and sir John of Hainault. The English commissioners were, the earl of Derby, the earl of Northampton, lord Reginald Cobham, and Sir Walter Manny *. The two cardinals were the most active persons in this business, going backwards and forwards from one army to the other. These commissioners were three days together; and various propositions for peace were brought forward, though none took effect. During which time the king of England was strengthening his army, and making wide and deep ditches on the downs, to prevent the French from surprising him. When these three days were passed without any treaty being effected, the two cardinals went to St. Omer. The king of France, perceiving he could not in any way succeed, decamped on the morrow, and took the road to Amiens, where he disbanded all his troops, the men at arms, as well as those sent from the different towns. When the Calesians saw them depart, it gave them great grief. Some of the English fell on their rear, and captured horses, and waggons laden with wine and other things, as well as some prisoners; all which they brought to their camp before Calais.

CHAPTER CXLV.—THE TOWN OF CALAIS SURRENDERS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

After the departure of the king of France, with his army, from the hill of Sangate, the Calesians saw clearly that all hopes of succour were at an end; which occasioned them so much sorrow and distress, that the hardiest could scarcely support it. They entreated, therefore, most earnestly, the lord John de Vienne, their governor, to mount upon the battlements, and make a sign that he wished to hold a parley. The king of England, upon hearing this, sent to him sir Walter Manny and lord Basset. When they were come near, the lord de Vienne said to them, "Dear gentlemen, you who are very valiant knights, know that the king of France, whose subjects we are, has sent us hither to defend this town and castle from all harm and damage: this we have done to the best of our abilities. All hopes of help have now left us, so that we are most exceedingly straitened; and if the gallant king, your lord, have not pity upon us, we must perish with hunger †. I therefore entreat, that you would beg of him to have compassion on us, and to have the goodness to allow us to depart in the state we are in, and that he will be satisfied with having possession of the town and castle, with all that is within them, as he will find therein riches enough to content him." To this sir Walter Manny replied: "John, we are not ignorant of what the king our lord's intentions are; for he has told them to us: know then, that it is not his pleasure you should get off so; for he is resolved that you surrender yourselves solely to his will, to allow those whom he pleases their ransom, or to put them to death; for the Calesians have done him so much mischief, and have, by their obstinate defence, cost him so many lives and so much money, that he is mightily enraged." The lord de Vienne answered: "These conditions are too hard for us. We are but a small number of knights and squires, who have loyally served our lord and master, as you would have done, and have suffered much ill and disquiet; but we will endure more than any men ever did in a similar situation, before we consent that the smallest boy in the town should fare worse than the best. I therefore once more entreat you, out of compassion, to return to the king of England, and beg of him to have pity on us: he will, I trust, grant you this favour: for I have such an opinion of his gallantry as to hope, that, through God's mercy, he will alter his mind." The two lords returned to the king,

says *he* accepted this challenge, but that the enemy varied in his terms of acceptance, so that they could not agree; and that the French, setting fire to their tents, ran off with precipitation, as if they had been defeated.

* The edition of D. Sauvage and lord Berners, here both term Sir Walter Manny "the Lorde (Monseigneur) Gualtier of Manny," and it appears from Dugdale that he had a summons to parliament among the barons of the realm, from the 21st to the 44th of this king's reign, inclusive.—Ed.

† "We must all dye or els curage for famyn".—*Lord Berners.*

and related what had passed. The king said he had no intentions of complying with the request, but should insist that they surrendered themselves unconditionally to his will. Sir Walter replied: "My lord you may be to blame in this, as you will set us a very bad example; for if you order us to go to any of your castles, we shall not obey you so cheerfully, if you put these people to death; for they will retaliate upon us, in a similar case." Many barons who were then present supported this opinion. Upon which the king replied: "Gentlemen, I am not so obstinate as to hold my opinion alone against you all: sir Walter, you will inform the governor of Calais, that the only grace he must expect from me is, that six of the principal citizens of Calais march out of the town, with bare heads and feet, with ropes round their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. These six persons shall be at my absolute disposal, and the remainder of the inhabitants pardoned."

Sir Walter returned to the lord de Vienne, who was waiting for him on the battlements, and told him all that he had been able to gain from the king. "I beg of you," replied the governor, "that you would be so good as to remain here a little, while I go and relate all that has passed to the townsmen; for, as they have desired me to undertake this, it is but proper they should know the result of it." He went to the market-place, and caused the bell to be rung; upon which all the inhabitants, men and women, assembled in the town-hall. He then related to them what he had said, and the answers he had received; and that he could not obtain any conditions more favourable, to which they must give a short and immediate answer. This information caused the greatest lamentations and despair; so that the hardest heart would have had compassion on them; even the lord de Vienne wept bitterly.

After a short time, the most wealthy citizen of the town, by name Eustace de St. Pierre, rose up and said: "Gentlemen, both high and low, it would be a very great pity to suffer so many people to die through famine, if any means could be found to prevent it; and it would be highly meritorious in the eyes of our Saviour, if such misery could be averted. I have such faith and trust in finding grace before God, if I die to save my townsmen, that I name myself as first of the six." When Eustace had done speaking, they all rose up and almost worshipped him: many cast themselves at his feet with tears and groans. Another citizen, very rich and respected, rose up and said, he would be the second to his companion, Eustace; his name was John Daire. After him, James Wisant, who was very rich in merchandise and lands, offered himself, as companion to his two cousins; as did Peter Wisant, his brother. Two others then named themselves, which completed the number demanded by the king of England. The lord John de Vienne then mounted a small hackney, for it was with difficulty that he could walk, and conducted them to the gate. There was the greatest sorrow and lamentation all over the town; and in such manner were they attended to the gate, which the governor ordered to be opened, and then shut upon him and the six citizens, whom he led to the barriers, and said to sir Walter Manny, who was there waiting for him, "I deliver up to you, as governor of Calais, with the consent of the inhabitants, these six citizens; and I swear to you that they were, and are at this day, the most wealthy and respectable inhabitants of Calais. I beg of you, gentle sir, that you would have the goodness to beseech the king, that they may not be put to death." "I cannot answer for what the king will do with them," replied sir Walter, "but you may depend that I will do all in my power to save them." The barriers were opened, when these six citizens advanced towards the pavilion of the king, and the lord de Vienne re-entered the town.

When sir Walter Manny had presented these six citizens to the king, they fell upon their knees, and, with uplifted hands, said, "Most gallant king, see before you six citizens of Calais, who have been capital merchants, and who bring you the keys of the castle and of the town. We surrender ourselves to your absolute will and pleasure, in order to save the remainder of the inhabitants of Calais, who have suffered much distress and misery. Condescend, therefore, out of your nobleness of mind, to have mercy and compassion upon us." All the barons, knights, and squires, that were assembled there in great numbers, wept at this sight. The king eyed them with angry looks, (for he hated much the people of Calais, for the great losses he had formerly suffered from them at sea,) and ordered their heads to be stricken off. All present entreated the king, that he would be more merciful to them,

but he would not listen to them. Then sir Walter Manny said, "Ah, gentle king, let me beseech you to restrain your anger: you have the reputation of great nobleness of soul, do not therefore tarnish it by such an act as this, nor allow any one to speak in a disgraceful manner of you. In this instance, all the world will say you have acted cruelly, if you put to death six such respectable persons, who, of their own free will, have surrendered themselves to your mercy, in order to save their fellow-citizens." Upon this, the king gave a wink, saying, "Be it so," and ordered the headsman to be sent for; for that the Calesians had done him so much damage, it was proper they should suffer for it. The queen of England, who at time was very big with child, fell on her knees, and with tears said, "Ah, gentle sir, since I have crossed the sea with great danger to see you, I have never asked you one favour: now, I most humbly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Son of the blessed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men." The king looked at her for some time in silence, and then said; "Ah, lady, I wish you had been anywhere else than here: you have entreated in such a manner that I cannot refuse you; I therefore give them to you, to do as you please with them." The queen conducted the six citizens to her apartments, and had the halters taken from round their necks, after which she new clothed them, and served them with a plentiful dinner: she then presented each with six nobles, and had them escorted out of the camp in safety*.

* "Froissart alone among his contemporaries relates this remarkable fact: and the simplicity of his style may give even to fable the appearance of truth. Edward was generous: he is here represented as a ferocious conqueror, whom love alone could soften, and who obstinately persists to punish a courage which he ought to have esteemed. The action of these six men, thus devoting themselves for their fellow-citizens, was sufficiently great to have been trumpeted through all France by the thousand and thousand voices of Fame. This action, however, brilliant as it was, and which the wretches driven out of Calais would have spoken of everywhere, was unknown in the capital. If it had been otherwise, the Chronicle of St. Denis, and other histories of the time, would not have been silent on the subject; and yet not one mentions it. Avesbury, an Englishman and contemporary, who is very particular as to all the circumstances of the siege of Calais, is equally silent. Villani alone goes even beyond Froissart; for he says, that Edward intended to hang all the citizens of Calais; and he adds, they were all forced to abandon the town naked, all but their shirts. This falsehood should render the other parts of his recital doubtful. Froissart, an historian and poet, and who has too often expanded over history the privileges of poetry, has only embroidered a little what truth offered him. When the Calesians saw the retreat of Philip, they struck the flag which was flying on the great tower: John de Vienne ordered the gates to be opened, and left the town mounted on a small hackney, for he had been wounded. The warriors who accompanied him held their swords pointed to the ground; and many of the citizens followed with halters round their necks, and with their heads and feet bare. Edward kept, as prisoners, the governor, fifteen knights, and some citizens; but he did not send them to England, until he had loaded them with presents: he hastened to distribute food among the inhabitants who had remained in the town. We only see, in all these circumstances, the humiliation of the inhabitants, wishing by it to affect the conqueror, and the generosity of the prince.

"Froissart supposes that the queen of England was melted into tears at the fate of these citizens, condemned by her husband, and that she humbled herself so as to cast herself at the feet of the inflexible conqueror to obtain their pardon; and we see, some days afterward, this queen, so generous, obtain, for her own profit, the confiscation of the houses of this John Daire, whose life, it is said, she saved. On the other hand, Edward is described as obstinately bent on having the venerable Eustace de St. Pierre beheaded; and we see, shortly after, this same Eustace de St. Pierre overwhelmed, as it were, with gifts. The conqueror gives him houses, considerable pensions, and even deigns to express himself, that he only grants these first favours until he shall have more amply provided for him: they are recompenses by which he acknowledges beforehand the services this citizen may render him, either by keeping good order in the town of Calais, or in watching over its security. Here then is this famous St. Pierre, one day the hero, and the next the complaisant betrayer of his country; one moment the object of the revenge and cruelty of Edward, the next of his confidence and favour. The interests of this prince forced him to a necessary rigour. He wished to preserve Calais, as it opened to him an entrance into France; and he could not leave their inhabitants too much attached to their own country not to hate its destroyer. Those who refused to swear fidelity to him were obliged to quit the town, and make room for a new population imported from England; and this St. Pierre, this St. Pierre whose noble courage should have rendered him the most to be dreaded, is one of those whom the conqueror retains, and who is by him charged to overlook the conduct of others.

"The English monarch certainly showed signs of severity. We see, by the letter he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, that when Philip, encamped near to Calais, had demanded, as a preliminary of peace, that the inhabitants should have liberty to quit the town with their fortunes, it was refused; and when Edward granted to the humiliation of the townsmen what he had refused to Philip, he only detained as prisoners some of the principal citizens: but detaining them as prisoners is very different from having them put to death before his eyes. The king of France did not forsake the miserable Calesians when they were driven out of their town, but gave them all the offices which were then vacant in his realm, with powers to sell them, or exercise them by deputies. He also granted them landed or other estates that might escheat to the crown. But whether these resources came too late, or were insufficient; whether the monarch met with contradictions in these acts of beneficence, it is asserted that a great number of the Calesians were reduced to beggary.

La France sous les cinq Premiers Valois, par M. Levesque, pp. 518, &c.

CHAPTER CXLVI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND RE-PEOPLES CALAIS.

Thus had the strong town of Calais been besieged by king Edward of England, as you have heard, about St. John's day, in August in the year 1346, and surrendered about the end of August 1347. The king, after he had presented these six citizens to the queen, called to him sir Walter Manny, and his two marshals, the earls of Warwick and Stafford, and said to them, "My lords, here are the keys of the town and castle of Calais: go and take possession of them. You will put into prison the knights you may find there: but you will send out of the town all the other inhabitants, and all soldiers that may have come there to serve for pay; as I am resolved to re-people the town with English alone." These three noblemen, with only one hundred men, went and took possession of Calais, and from the gates sent to prison the lord John de Surie, the lord John de Vienne, the lord John de Bellebourne, and other knights. They then ordered every sort of arms to be brought and piled in a heap in the market-place. They sent out of the town all ranks of people, retaining only one priest, and two other old men, that were well acquainted with the customs and usages of Calais, in order to point out the different properties, and gave directions for the castle to be prepared for lodging the king and queen, and different hôtels for their attendants. When this had been done, the king and queen mounted their steeds, and rode towards the town, which they entered at the sound of trumpets, drums, and all sorts of warlike instruments *. The king remained in it until the queen was brought to bed of a daughter, called Margaret †.

The king gave to sir Walter Manny, lord Stafford, lord Warwick, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and other knights, very handsome houses in Calais, that they might re-people it: and his intentions were, to send thither, on his return to England, thirty-six substantial citizens, with all their wealth, and to exert himself in such a manner that the inhabitants of the town should be wholly English: which he afterwards accomplished. The new town and fortifications, which had been built before Calais, were destroyed, as well as the castle upon the harbour, and the great boom which was thrown across was brought into the town. The king posted different persons to guard the gates, walls and towers of the town; and what had been damaged he got repaired, which however was not soon done. The lord John de Vienne and his companions were sent to England; they remained in London about half a year, and then were ransomed. In my opinion, it was a melancholy thing for the inhabitants of both sexes of the town of Calais, thus to be sent abroad, with their children, from their inheritances, leaving every thing behind; for they were not allowed to carry off any of their furniture or wealth; and they received no assistance from the king of France, for whom they had lost their all. They did, however, as well as they were able; and the greater part went to St. Omer ‡.

The cardinal Guy de Boulogne, who was come into France as ambassador, and was with his cousin king Philip in the city of Amiens, laboured so earnestly, that he obtained a truce between the two kings and their adherents, which was to last for two years. This truce was agreed to by all parties except the rivals for the duchy of Brittany; but there the two ladies carried on the war against each other. The king and queen returned to England; and sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed governor of the castle of Calais: he was a native of Lombardy, and had been much promoted by the king ||. The king sent the thirty-six substantial citizens with their wives and families to Calais: their number increased daily;

* "Trumpets, tabours, nakqusyres and hornes."—*Lord Berners.*

† Margaret of Calais was married to the lord John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, but died before her husband, without issue.—*Barnes.*

‡ We subjoin Lord Berners' version of this passage; it is much more striking and affecting. "We thynke it was great pyte of the burgesses and other men of the towne of Calys and women and chyldren, whan they were fayne to forsake their houses, herytages and goodes, and to bere away nothing; and they had no restorement of the frenche kyng for whose sake they lost all. The most part of them went to Saynt Omers."—Ed.

‖ Sir John Montgomery was appointed governor of the town of Calais, the 8th October 1347, by the king at Calais; sir John Gatteseden was at the same time nominated marshal of the town.—*Rymer.*

for he multiplied and enlarged their privileges so much, that many were eager to go there, in order to gain fortunes*.

About this time the lord Charles of Blois, who called himself duke of Brittany, was brought prisoner to London. He was sent to the Tower, but not as a close prisoner, where the king of Scotland and the earl of Moray were also confined. He did not, however, long remain there, but at the entreaties of the queen of England, to whom he was cousin german, was set at liberty on his parole, and rode all over London wherever he pleased; but he was not permitted to lie a night out of the tower, except it was in such places where the royal family were†. The earl of Eu and of Guines was also in London a prisoner: he was a very gallant knight, and so amiable that he was always well received by the king, queen, barons, and ladies of the court.

CHAPTER CXLVII.—A ROBBER, OF THE NAME OF BACON, DOES MUCH MISCHIEF IN LANGUEDOC.

All this year of the truce, the two kings remained at peace. But lord William Douglas, and the Scots, who had taken refuge in the forest of Jedworth, carried on the war against the English, wherever they could meet with them. Those in Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge, as well French as English, did not observe the truce any better, but conquered towns and castles from each other, by force or intrigue, and ruined and destroyed the country day and night. There were frequently gallant deeds of arms performed, with alternate success.

Poor rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands of thieves: there were among them those worth forty thousand crowns. Their method was, to mark out particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from each other: they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through by-roads in the night-time, entered the town or castle they had fixed on about day-break, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could‡. The town of Donzere§ was treated in this manner; and many other towns and castles were taken, and afterwards ransomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the strong castle of Cobourne in Limosin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and destroyed it. He seized also the lord of Cobourne, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he

* An ancient manuscript gives the annexed establishment of the army of king Edward III. in Normandy and before Calais, in the 20th year of his reign, with their several stipends:

	At per diem. £.	*s.*	*d.*
My lord the prince	1	0	0
Bishop of Durham	0	6	8
13 earls, each	0	6	8
44 barons and bannerets	0	4	0
1046 knights	0	2	0
4022 esquires, constables, centenary, and leaders	0	1	0
5104 vintenars and archers on horseback	0	0	6
335 panncenars			
500 hobblers			
15,480 foot archers	0	0	3
314 masons, carpenters, smiths, engineers, tent-makers, miners, armourers, gunners, and artillery men,—some at 12d., 10d., 6d., and 3d. per diem.			
4474 Welsh foot, of whom 200 vintenars at	0	0	4
The rest at	0	0	2
700 masters, constables, mariners, and pages			
900 ships, barges, balingers, and victuallers			

Sum total for the aforesaid men, besides lords, 31,294*l.*; and for some men from Germany and France, who each receive for their wages 15 florins per month.

The sum total of the wages of war, with the wages of the mariners, from the 4th day of June, in the 20th of the said king Edward, to the 12th day of October in the 21st of the same king, for one year, 131 days, as appears from the book of particular accounts of Walter Wentwaght, then treasurer of the household, entitled, "Wages of War in Normandy, France, and before Calais," was 127,201*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.*—*Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 330.

† George de Lesnen, physician to Charles de Blois, and Oliver de Bignon, his valet de chambre, affirm their master was closely confined for two years; that he was shut up every night in the tower, from whence he only came out to walk in the court of the castle, where the English soldiers insulted him; and that he never mounted a horse during these two years.—*Hist. de Bretagne*, p. 278.

‡ Lord Berners here adds, "and thanne these brigant wolde breke up cofers and houses and robbe and take what they lyste, and flye away whan they had done."—Ed.

§ A town of Dauphiné, on the Rhône, election of Montelimart.

ransomed himself for twenty-four thousand crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and its dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, shortly afterwards, was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle of him for twenty thousand crowns, appointed him his usher at arms, and heaped on him many other honours. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handsome horses of a deep roan colour, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.—A PAGE, OF THE NAME OF CROQUART, TURNS ROBBER.

THERE were similar disorders in Brittany; and robbers carried on the like methods of seizing and pillaging different towns and castles, and then selling them back again to the country at a dear rate: by which means many of their leaders became very rich. Among others, there was one of the name of Croquart, who was originally but a poor boy, and had been page to the lord d'Ercle in Holland. When this Croquart arrived at manhood, he had his discharge, and went to the wars in Brittany, where he attached himself to a man at arms, and behaved very well. It happened, that in some skirmish his master was taken and slain; when, in recompense for his prowess, his companions elected him their leader in the place of his late master: he then made such profit by ransoms, and the taking of towns and castles, that he was said to be worth full forty thousand crowns, not including his horses, of which he had twenty or thirty, very handsome and strong, and of a deep roan colour. He had the reputation of being the most expert man at arms of the country, was chosen to be one of the thirty that engaged against a similar number, and was the most active combatant on the side of the English *. King John of France made him the offer of knighting him, and

* I have been much surprised that Froissart, who in general is so very minute in relating every transaction, should have omitted an account of this extraordinary engagement. The relation of it which follows is taken from the Histoire de Bretagne, vol. i. p. 280.

After the death of sir Thomas Daggeworth, the king appointed sir Walter Bently commander in Brittany. The English being much irritated at the death of Daggeworth, and not being able to revenge themselves on those who slew him, did so on the whole country by burning and destroying it. The marshal de Beaumanoir, desirous of putting a stop to this, sent to Bembro, who commanded in Ploërmel, for a passport, to hold a conference with him. The marshal reprobated the conduct of the English, and high words passed between them; for Bembro had been the companion in arms to Daggeworth. At last one of them proposed a combat of thirty on each side: the place appointed for it was at the halfway oak-tree between Josselin and Ploërmel; and the day was fixed for the 27th March, the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1351. Beaumanoir chose nine knights and twenty-one squires: the first were, the lord de Tinteniac, Guy de Rochefort, Yves Charruel, Robin Raguenel, Huon de St. Yvon, Caro de Bodegat, Olivier Arrel, Geoffry du Bois, John Rousselet, &c. Bembro could not find a sufficient number of English in his garrison; there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were, sir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Hervé de Lexualen, John Plesanton, Richard and Hugh le Gaillart, Jannequin Taillart, Resse-fort, Richard de la Lande, Thomelin Billefort, Hugh Calverly, Robinet Melipara, Yfrai or Isannai, John Russel, Dagorne, and a soldier, named Hulbitée, of a very large size, and of great strength, &c. Bembro first entered the field of battle, and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honour and that of their nation. Bembro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Bembro made a sign to Beaumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently; for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beaumanoir replied he had been somewhat late in discovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return without having proved by battle who had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar; for each was to choose such as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25lbs. weight, and others with what arms they chose. The advantage, at first, was for the English; as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath; when, each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Bembro was killed. On seeing this, Croquart cried out; "Companions, don't let us think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms; keep yourselves close together, be firm, and fight as I do." Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst, when Geoffry du Bois cried out, "Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off." This made him ashamed, and return to the battle. The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English; the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverly, and Croquart, were made prisoners, and carried to the castle of Josselin. Tinteniac, on the side of the Bretons, and Croquart, on the English, obtained the prize of valour. Such was the issue of this famous combat of Thirty, so glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the possession of the duchy of Brittany.

marrying him very richly, if he would quit the English party, and promised to give him two thousand livres a year; but Croquart would never listen to it. It chanced one day, as he was riding a young horse, which he had just purchased for three hundred crowns, and was putting him to his full speed, that the horse ran away with him, and in leaping a ditch, stumbled into it, and broke his master's neck. Such was the end of Croquart.

CHAPTER CXLIX.—SIR AYMERY DE PAVIE PLOTS WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY, TO SELL THE TOWN OF CALAIS.

At this time sir Geoffry de Chargny was stationed at St. Omer, to defend the frontier; and, in every thing touching war, he acted as if he had been king. He bethought himself, that as Lombards are very poor *, and by nature avaricious, he would attempt to recover the town of Calais, by means of Aymery de Pavie the governor: and as, from the terms of the truce, the inhabitants of the towns of St. Omer and Calais might go to each place to sell their different merchandises, sir Geoffry entered into a secret treaty with sir Aymery, and succeeded so far that he promised to deliver up the town, on receiving twenty thousand crowns. The king of England, however, got intelligence of it, and sent to Aymery the Lombard, orders to cross the sea immediately, and come to him at Westminster. He obeyed; for he could not imagine that the king knew of his treason, it had been so secretly carried on. When the king saw the Lombard, he took him aside, and said; "Thou knowest that I have intrusted to thee what I hold dearest in this world, except my wife and children, I mean the town and castle of Calais, which thou hast sold to the French; and for which thou deservest death." The Lombard flung himself on his knees, and said; "Ah, gentle king, have mercy on me, for God's sake. All that you have said is very true; but there is yet time to break the bargain, for hitherto I have not received one penny." The king had brought up this Lombard from a child, and much loved him: he replied, "Aymery, it is my wish that you continue on this treaty: you will inform me of the day that you are to deliver up Calais; and on these conditions I promise you my pardon." The Lombard then returned to Calais, and kept every thing secret. In the mean time, sir Geoffry de Chargny thought himself sure of having Calais, and issued out privately his summons for five hundred lances: the greater part were ignorant where he intended to lead them; for it was only known to a few barons. I do not believe he had even informed the king of France of his plan, as he would have dissuaded him from it, on account of the truce. The Lombard had consented to deliver up the town to him, the last night of the year, with which he made the king of England acquainted by means of his brother †.

CHAPTER CL.—THE BATTLE OF CALAIS, BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND, UNDER THE BANNER OF SIR WALTER MANNY, WITH SIR GEOFFRY DE CHARGNY AND THE FRENCH.

When the king of England was informed of this, and knew that the day was for a certainty fixed, he set out from England with three hundred men at arms and six hundred archers. He embarked at Dover, and came so privately to Calais, that no one knew of his being there. He placed his men in ambuscade in the rooms and towers of the castle, and said to sir Walter Manny, "Sir Walter, I will that you be chief of this enterprise; and I and my son will fight under your banner." Sir Geoffry de Chargny had left St. Omer the latter end of

* Poverty was not the general characteristic of the Lombards, however justly they may be charged with avarice; Lord Berners and D. Sauvage's ed. allude only to the latter.—Ed.

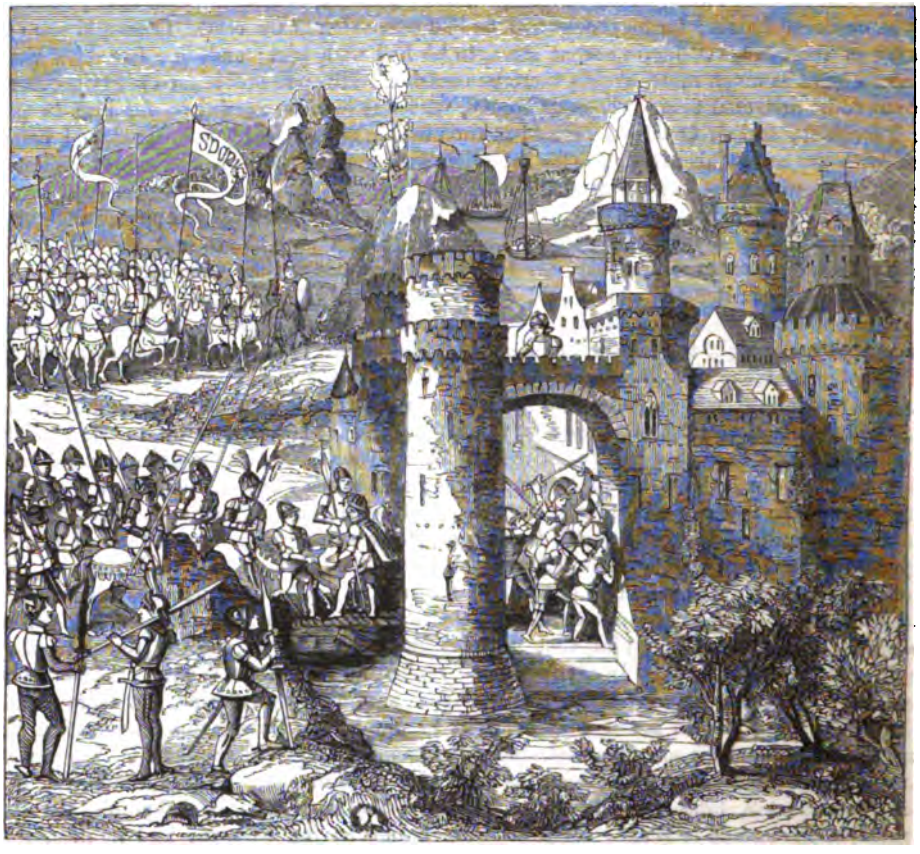
† Sir Aymery de Pavie was appointed commander of the galleys by the king, dated Westminster, 24th April 1348.—Sir Aymery does not seem to have forfeited Edward's confidence: I therefore think, with M. Levesque, that Avesbury's account is more probable. "Dictus vero genuensis nolens prodere regem Anglorum dominum suum..... Aurum tamen sibi promissum cupiens imbursare, cum eodem domino Galfrido pacifice loquens, in dolo suis suasionibus callidis adquievit."—*Avesbury*, p. 180.

December, with all the forces he had collected, and arrived near to Calais about midnight, the last day of the month. He halted there for his rear to come up, and sent forward two of his squires, who found sir Aymery waiting for them; they asked, if it were time for sir Geoffry to advance? the Lombard answered, that it was. The two squires upon this returned to sir Geoffry, who marched his men in battle array over the bridge of Nieullet: he then sent forward twelve of his knights, with one hundred men at arms, to take possession of the castle of Calais; for he thought, if he had possession of the castle, he should soon be master of the town, considering what strength he had with him; and, in a few days' time, he could have as much more, should there be occasion. He gave orders for twenty thousand crowns to be delivered to sir Odoart de Renty, who was in this expedition, for him to pay the Lombard; and sir Geoffry remained in the plain in silence, his banner displayed before him, with the rest of his army; for his intention was to enter the town by one of its gates, otherwise he would not enter it at all.

The Lombard had let down the draw-bridge of the castle, and opened one of the gates, through which his detachment entered unmolested; and sir Odoart had given him the twenty thousand crowns in a bag, who said, "he supposed they were all there; for he had not time to count them, as it would be day immediately." He flung the bag of crowns into a room, which he locked, and told the French he would conduct them to the great tower, that they might the sooner be masters of the castle: in saying this, he advanced on, and pushing back the bolt, the door flew open. In this tower was the king of England with two hundred lances, who sallied forth, with swords and battle-axes in their hands, crying out, "Manny! Manny! to the rescue: what, do these Frenchmen think to conquer the castle of Calais with such a handful of men!" The French saw that no defence could save them, so they surrendered themselves prisoners; and scarcely any of them were wounded. They were made to enter this tower, whence the English had sallied, and there shut in. The English quitted the castle, and, forming themselves in array, mounted their horses, for they knew the French were mounted, and made for the gate leading to Boulogne. Sir Geoffry was there with his banner displayed; his arms were three escutcheons argent on a field gules, and he was very impatient to be the first that should enter Calais. He said to those knights who were near him, that "if this Lombard delayed opening the gate, they should all die with cold." "In God's name," replied sir Pepin de Werre, "these Lombards are a malicious sort of people; perhaps he is examining your florins, lest there should be any false ones, and to see if they be right in number." During this conversation, the king of England and his son advanced, under the banner of sir Walter Manny. There were many other banners also there, such as the earl of Suffolk's, the lord Stafford's, lord John Mountacute's, brother to the earl of Salisbury, the lord John Beauchamp's, the lord Berkeley's, the lord de la Waae: all these were barons having banners: and no more than these were in this expedition.

The great gates were soon opened, and they all sallied out: when the French saw this, and heard the cries of "Manny to the rescue!" they found they had been betrayed; and sir Geoffry said to those around them, "Gentlemen, if we fly, we shall lose all: it will be more advantageous for us to fight valiantly, in the hopes that the day may be ours." "By St. George," said some of the English, who were near enough to hear it, "you speak truth: evil befal him who thinks of flying." They then retreated a little, and dismounted, driving their horses away, to avoid being trampled on. When the king of England saw this, he halted the banner under which he was, and said, "I would have the men drawn up here in order of battle; and let a good detachment be sent towards the bridge of Nieullet; for I have heard that there is posted a large body of French, on horseback and on foot." Six banners and three hundred archers left his army, and made for the bridge of Nieullet, where they found the lord Moreau de Fiennes, and the lord of Crequi, who guarded it. There was also posted, between the bridge and Calais, the cross-bowmen from St. Omer and Aire, who had that day sharp work: more than six hundred were slain or drowned; for they were immediately discomfited, and pursued to the river: it was then scarcely day-break. The knights of Picardy maintained this post some time; and many gallant actions were performed; but the English kept increasing from the town, when, on the contrary, the

French fell off, so that when they found they could not longer keep the bridge, those that had horses mounted them, and betook themselves to flight. The English immediately pursued them, and many were overthrown: but those that were well-mounted escaped; among them were the lords de Fiennes, de Crequi, de Sempy, de Lonchinleich, and the lord of Namur. Many were taken through their own hardiness, who might otherwise have



Battle of Calais, between the King of England (under Sir Walter de Manny) and the French.—From a MS. Froissart, of the 15th century.

saved themselves. When it was broad day-light, that each could see the other, some knights and squires collected themselves together, and vigorously attacked the English, insomuch that several of the French made good prisoners, that brought them much profit.*

We will now speak of the king of England, who was there incognito, under sir Walter Manny's banner. He advanced with his men on foot, to meet the enemy, who were formed in close order with their pikes, shortened to five feet, planted out before them. The first attack was very sharp and severe. The king singled out sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, who was a strong and hardy knight: he fought a long time marvellously well with the king, so that it was a pleasure to see them; but, by the confusion of the engagement, they were separated; for two large bodies met, where they were fighting, and forced them to break off their combat. On the side of the French, there was excellent fighting by sir Geoffry de Charguy, sir John de Landas, sir Hector and sir Gavin Ballieul, and others; but they were all surpassed by sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, who that day struck the king twice down on his knees: at last, however. he was obliged to surrender his sword to the king, saying, "Sir

* Both honour and profit.—*Lord Berners.*

knight, I surrender myself your prisoner, for the honour of the day must fall to the English." All that belonged to sir Geoffry de Chargny were either slain or captured: among the first were sir Henry du Bois, and sir Pepin de Werre: sir Geoffry and the rest were taken prisoners. The last that was taken, and who in that day had excelled all, was sir Eustace de Ribeaumont. This business was finished under the walls of Calais, the last day of December, towards morning, in the year of grace 1348.

CHAPTER CLI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND PRESENTS A CHAPLET OF PEARLS TO SIR EUSTACE DE RIBEAUMONT.

When the engagement was over, the king returned to the castle in Calais, and ordered all the prisoners to be brought before him. The French then knew for the first time that the king of England had been there in person, under the banner of sir Walter Manny. The king said he would, this evening of the new year, entertain them all at supper, in the castle. When the hour for supper was come, the tables spread, and the king and his knights dressed in new robes, as well as the French, who, notwithstanding they were prisoners, made good cheer (for the king wished it should be so): the king seated himself at table, and made those knights do the same around him, in a most honourable manner. The gallant prince of Wales, and the knights of England, served up the first course, and waited on their guests. At the second course, they went and seated themselves at another table, where they were served and attended on very quietly.

When supper was over, and the tables removed, the king remained in the hall, among the English and French knights, bareheaded, except a chaplet of fine pearls, which was round his head. He conversed with all of them: but, when he came to sir Geoffry de Chargny, his countenance altered, and looking at him askance, he said, "Sir Geoffry, I have but little reason to love you, when you wished to seize from me by stealth, last night, what had given me so much trouble to acquire, and has cost me such sums of money. I am, however, rejoiced, to have caught you thus in attempting it. You were desirous of gaining it cheaper than I did, and thought you could purchase it for twenty thousand crowns; but, through God's assistance, you have been disappointed." He then passed on, and left sir Geoffry standing, without having a word to say for himself. When he came to sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, he assumed a cheerful look, and said, with a smile; "Sir Eustace, you are the most valiant knight in Christendom, that I ever saw attack his enemy, or defend himself. I never yet found any one in battle, who, body to body, had given me so much to do as you have done this day. I adjudge to you the prize of valour above all the knights of my court, as what is justly due to you." The king then took off the chaplet, which was very rich and handsome, and placing it on the head of sir Eustace, said; "Sir Eustace, I present you with this chaplet, as being the best combatant this day, either within or without doors; and I beg of you to wear it this year for love of me. I know that you are lively and amorous, and love the company of ladies and damsels; therefore, say wherever you go, that I gave it to you. I also give you your liberty, free of ransom; and you may set out to-morrow, if you please, and go whither you will *.

In this same year, 1349, king Philip of France married his second wife, at Brie-comte-Robert †, on Tuesday the 29th day of January. She was the lady Blanche, daughter of

* Mr. Johnes seems to have missed the exact sense of this passage; the proclaiming the giver of the chaplet, was the condition on which the knight's liberty was granted. The passage in Lord Berners is as follows "Than the kynge came to Syr Eustace of Rybamont and iowly to hym he sayd, Sir Eustace ye are the knyght in the worlde that I have sene most valyant assayle his enemyes and defende himself, nor I never founde knyght that euer gaue me so moche ado, body to body, as ye haue done this day; wherefore I gyue you the price aboue all the knightes of my court by right sentence. Than the kyng toke the chapelet that was upon his heed beyng bothe fayre goodly and ryche, and sayd, Sir Eustace, I gyue you this chapelet for the best doar in armes in this journey past of eyther party, and I desyre you to bere it this yese for the loue of me. I knowe well ye be freashe and amourouse, and often tymes be among ladyes and damoselles; *Say wherseoever ye come that I dyd gyue it you and I quyte you your prison* and ransome, and ye shall depart tomorrowe if it please you."—Ed.

† A market-town of Brie-Française, diocese and election of Paris, seven leagues from Paris.

Philip king of Navarre, who had died in Spain, was very well beloved, and about eighteen years old. On the 19th of the following February, which was Shrovetide, the duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, was married at St. Genevieve, near St. Germain-en-Laye, to his second wife, Jane countess of Boulogne: she was the widow of the lord Philip, son of the duke of Burgundy, who died before Aiguillon, 1346. The countess was the daughter of earl William of Boulogne, by the daughter of Louis earl of Evreux, and held in her own right the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Artois, Boulogne and Auvergne, with many others.

ADDITIONS,

From two MSS. in the Hafod Library, not in any of the Printed Copies.

You have heard related how the young earl Lewis of Flanders had been betrothed to the lady Isabella, daughter of king Edward of England, and that afterwards he had escaped from Flanders into France, where he was joyfully received by the king and his barons, who told him he had acted wisely, for that such forced marriages were of no avail: and the king added, that he would otherwise ally him more to his honour and profit. Things remained in this state for about a year. Duke John of Brabant was not much displeased at this; for he was desirous of marrying the young count of Flanders to his second daughter, the eldest being countess of Hainault. He sent ambassadors to king Philip, to intreat he would consent to the match between the count of Flanders and his daughter; that, if he consented, he would in future be his good neighbour, and that neither he nor any of his children would ever bear arms again for the king of England.

The king of France, who knew the duke of Brabant to be a powerful lord, that could hurt or assist him according to his pleasure, listened to his proposal in preference to any other, and let the duke know, that if he could prevail on the states of Flanders to consent to this marriage, he would be agreeable to it, and would press it on the earl. The duke, in his answer, engaged for the consent of the states. He instantly sent able commissioners to the principal towns, to negotiate with them this marriage: he treated, as I may say, sword in hand; for he gave them to understand, that if they married the young earl otherwise, he would instantly declare war against them; and, on the contrary, if they complied with his desire, he would unite himself strongly with them, and defend them against any other lords. The councils of the principal towns heard with attention the proposals and promises the duke of Brabant, their neighbour, made them. They knew their young lord was not within their power, but under the direction of the king of France and the lady his mother, and that his heart was entirely French. Upon mature consideration, therefore, they thought, that as the duke of Brabant was a very powerful prince, and of great enterprise, it would be much more advantageous to conclude a match with him than with any one else; for by it they would enjoy peace, and have their lord again among them, which they very much desired. The business was so well arranged that the young earl of Flanders was brought to the city of Arras, whither the duke of Brabant sent his eldest son, the lord Godfrey earl of Mons, the earl of Los, and all his council. The principal towns of Flanders sent thither also their magistrates. Many conferences were held; and the young earl and his countrymen engaged for his marriage with the daughter of the duke of Brabant, provided it were agreeable to the church. This had been already secured, and the dispensation from the pope was arrived. Not long after this, the young earl came to Flanders, where all due homage was paid him; and greater powers were granted to him than even his father, or any of his predecessors, had enjoyed. The earl married the duke's daughter; and, by the marriage-articles, the towns of Mechlin and Antwerp were to revert to the earl of Flanders, after the death of the duke; but this treaty was so secretly managed, that few heard of it. The duke gave so much to his daughter, that great wars were the consequence between Flanders and Brabant in after times, as you will hear: but, as this is not as yet the subject-matter of my history, I shall briefly state, that the king of England was sorely vexed with all parties for this marriage:

with the duke of Brabant, because he was his cousin-german, and had carried off from his daughter the heir of Flanders, to whom she had been betrothed; with the earl, because he had broken his engagement with him, respecting his daughter. The duke sent, however, very prudent and handsome apologies; as did afterwards the earl of Flanders.

About this period, there was much ill will between the king of England and the Spaniards, on account of some infractions and pillages committed at sea by the latter. It happened at this season, that the Spaniards who had been in Flanders with their merchandize, were informed they would not be able to return home, without meeting the English fleet. The Spaniards did not pay much attention to this intelligence: however, after they had disposed of their goods, they amply provided their ships from Sluys with arms and artillery, and all such archers, cross-bowmen and soldiers as were willing to receive pay. The king of England hated these Spaniards greatly, and said publicly: "We have for a long time spared these people; for which they have done us much harm; without amending their conduct: on the contrary, they grow more arrogant; for which reason they must be chastised as they repass our coasts." His lords readily assented to this proposal, and were eager to engage the Spaniards. The king therefore issued a special summons to all gentlemen who at that time might be in England, and left London. He went to the coast of Sussex, between Southampton and Dover, which lies opposite to Ponthieu and Dieppe, and kept his court in a monastery, whither the queen also came. At this time and place, that gallant knight, lord Robert de Namur, who was lately returned from beyond sea, joined the king: he came just in time to be one of this armament; and the king was exceedingly pleased at his arrival. On finding that he was not too late to meet the Spaniards on their return, the king, with his nobles and knights, embarked on board his fleet; and he was never attended by so numerous a company in any of his former expeditions at sea.

This same year the king created his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, duke of Lancaster, and the baron of Stafford an earl, who were now both with him. The prince of Wales and John earl of Richmond were likewise on board the fleet: the last was too young to bear arms, but he had him on board because he much loved him. There were also in this fleet, the earls of Arundel, Northampton, Hereford, Suffolk, and Warwick, the lord Reginald Cobham, sir Walter Manny, sir Thomas Holland, sir Lewis Beauchamp, sir James Audley, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, the lords Percy, Mowbray, Neville, Roos, de *Difort*, de *Gastrode*, de *Berder*, and many others. There were four hundred knights; nor was he ever attended by a larger company of great lords. The king kept the sea with his vessels ready prepared for action, and to wait for the enemy, who was not long before he appeared. He kept cruising for three days between Dover and Calais.

When the Spaniards had completed their cargoes, and laden their vessels with linen cloths, and whatever they imagined would be profitable in their own country, they embarked on board their fleet at Sluys. They knew they should meet the English, but were indifferent about it; for they had marvellously provided themselves with all sorts of warlike ammunition; such as bolts for cross-bows, cannon, and bars of forged iron to throw on the enemy, in hopes, with the assistance of great stones, to sink him. When they weighed anchor, the wind was favourable for them: there were forty large vessels of such a size, and so beautiful, it was a fine sight to see them under sail. Near the top of their masts were small castles, full of flints and stones, and a soldier to guard them; and there also was the flag-staff, from whence fluttered their streamers in the wind, that it was pleasant to look at them. If the English had a great desire to meet them, it seemed as if the Spaniards were still more eager for it, as will hereafter appear. The Spaniards were full ten thousand men, including all sorts of soldiers they had enlisted when in Flanders: this made them feel sufficient courage not to fear the combat with the king of England, and whatever force he might have at sea. Intending to engage the English fleet, they advanced with a favourable wind until they came opposite to Calais. The king of England being at sea, had very distinctly explained to all his knights the order of battle he would have them follow: he had appointed the lord Robert

de Namur to the command of a ship called Le Salle du Roi, on board of which was all his household. The king posted himself in the fore part of his own ship: he was dressed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small hat of beaver, which became him much. He was that day, as I was told by those who were present, as joyous as he ever was in his life, and ordered his minstrels to play before him a German dance which sir John Chandos had lately introduced. For his amusement, he made the same knight sing with his minstrels, which delighted him greatly. From time to time he looked up to the castle on his mast, where he had placed a watch to inform him when the Spaniards were in sight. Whilst the king was thus amusing himself with his knights, who were happy in seeing him so gay, the watch, who had observed a fleet, cried out, "Ho, I spy a ship, and it appears to me to be a Spaniard." The minstrels were silenced; and he was asked if there were more than one: soon after he replied, "Yes; I see two, three, four, and so many that, God help me, I cannot count them." The king and his knights then knew they must be the Spaniards. The trumpets were ordered to sound, and the ships to form a line of battle for the combat; as they were aware that, since the enemy came in such force, it could not be avoided. It was, however, rather late, about the hour of vespers. The king ordered wine to be brought, which he and his knights drank; when each fixed their helmets on their heads. The Spaniards now drew near; they might easily have refused the battle, if they had chosen it, for they were well freighted, in large ships, and had the wind in their favour. They could have avoided speaking with the English, if they had willed, but their pride and presumption made them act otherwise. They disdained to sail by, but bore instantly down on them, and commenced the battle.

When the king of England saw from his ship their order of battle, he ordered the person who managed his vessel, saying, "Lay me alongside the Spaniard who is bearing down on us; for I will have a tilt with him." The master dared not disobey the king's order, but laid his ship ready for the Spaniard, who was coming full sail. The king's ship was large and stiff; otherwise she would have been sunk, for that of the enemy was a great one, and the shock of their meeting was more like the crash of a torrent or tempest; the rebound caused the castle in the king's ship to encounter that of the Spaniard: so that the mast of the latter was broken, and all in the castle fell with it into the sea, when they were drowned. The English vessel, however, suffered, and let in water, which the knights cleared, and stopped the leak, without telling the king any thing of the matter. Upon examining the vessel he had engaged lying before him, he said; "Grapple my ship with that; for I will have possession of her." His knights replied; "Let her go her way: you shall have better than her." That vessel sailed on, and another large ship bore down, and grappled with chains and hooks to that of the king. The fight now began in earnest, and the archers and cross-bows on each side were eager to shoot and defend themselves. The battle was not in one place, but in ten or twelve at a time. Whenever either party found themselves equal to the enemy, or superior, they instantly grappled, when grand deeds of arms were performed. The English had not any advantage; and the Spanish ships were much larger and higher than their opponents, which gave them a great superiority in shooting and casting stones and iron bars on board their enemy, which annoyed them exceedingly. The knights on board the king's ship were in danger of sinking, for the leak still admitted water: this made them more eager to conquer the vessel they were grappled to: many gallant deeds were done; and at last they gained the ship, and flung all they found in it overboard, having quitted their own ship. They continued the combat against the Spaniards, who fought valiantly, and whose cross-bowmen shot such bolts of iron as greatly distressed the English.

This sea-fight, between the English and Spaniards, was well and hardly fought: but, as night was coming on, the English exerted themselves to do their duty well, and discomfit their enemies. The Spaniards, who are used to the sea, and were in large ships, acquitted themselves to the utmost of their power. The young prince of Wales and his division were engaged apart: his ship was grappled by a great Spaniard, when he and his knights suffered much; for she had so many holes, that the water came in very abundantly, and they could

not by any means stop the leaks, which gave the crew fears of her sinking, they therefore did all they could to conquer the enemy's ship, but in vain; for she was very large, and excellently well defended. During this danger of the prince, the duke of Lancaster came near, and, as he approached, saw he had the worst of the engagement, and that his crew had too much on their hands, for they were baling out water: he therefore fell on the other side of the Spanish vessel, with which he grappled, shouting, "Derby to the rescue!" The engagement was now very warm, but did not last long, for the ship was taken, and all the crew thrown overboard, not one being saved. The prince, with his men, instantly embarked on board the Spaniard; and scarcely had they done so when his own vessel sunk, which convinced them of the imminent danger they had been in.

The engagement was in other parts well contested by the English knights, who exerted themselves, and need there was of it, for they found those who feared them not. Late in the evening, the Salle du Roi, commanded by lord Robert de Namur, was grappled by a large Spaniard, and the fight was very severe. The Spaniards were determined to gain this ship; and, the more effectually to succeed in carrying her off, they set all their sails, took advantage of the wind, and in spite of what lord Robert and his crew could do, towed her out of the battle: for the Spaniard was of a more considerable size than the lord Robert's ship, and therefore she more easily conquered. As they were thus towed, they passed near the king's ship, to whom they cried out, "Rescue the Salle du Roi," but were not heard; for it was dark; and, if they were heard, they were not rescued. The Spaniards would have carried away with ease this prize, if it had not been for a gallant act of one Hanequin, a servant to the lord Robert, who, with his drawn sword on his wrist, leaped on board the enemy, ran to the mast, and cut the large cable which held the main sail, by which it became unmanageable; and with great agility, he cut other four principal ropes, so that the sails fell on the deck, and the course of the ship was stopped. Lord Robert seeing this, advanced with his men, and, boarding the Spaniard sword in hand, attacked the crew so vigorously, that all were slain or thrown overboard, and the vessel won.

I cannot speak of every particular circumstance of this engagement. It lasted a considerable time; and the Spaniards gave the king of England and his fleet enough to do. However, at last, victory declared for the English: the Spaniards lost fourteen ships; the others saved themselves by flight*. When it was completely over, and the king saw he had none to fight with, he ordered his trumpets to sound a retreat, and made for England. They anchored at Rye and Winchelsea a little after nightfall, when the king, the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Richmond and other barons, disembarked, took horses in the town, and rode to the mansion where the queen was, scarcely two English leagues distant. The queen was mightily rejoiced on seeing her lord and children: she had suffered that day great affliction from her doubts of success; for her attendants had seen from the hills of the coast the whole of the battle, as the weather was fine and clear, and had told the queen, who was very anxious to learn the number of the enemy, that the Spaniards had forty large ships: she was therefore much comforted by their safe return. The king, with those knights who had attended him, passed the night in revelry with the ladies, conversing of arms and amours. On the morrow, the greater part of his barons who had been in this engagement, came to him: he greatly thanked them all for the services they had done him, before he dismissed them, when they took their leave, and returned every man to his home.

* "Anno Gratiæ millesimo trecentissimo quinquagesimo, qui est annus regni regis Edwardi à conquestu tertii vicesimus quartus, commissum est bellum navale inter Anglicos et Hispanos quarto calendas Septembris. Edwardus nempe rex Angliæ cum paucis navibus obviavit navigio Hispaniæ, viris bellicosis refertissimo juxta Winchelsee. Et facto atrocissimo conflictu, multi læsi sunt ex utraque parte. Nam tam fervens erat bellum, tam crebra vulnera inflicta ex omni parte, quod ab illo prælio vix aliquis evasit illæsus. Demum (Deo volente) victoria cessit Anglis. Captæ sunt ibi igitur 26 naves magnæ, reliquis submersis, vel in fugam versis. In hoc conflictu dum Hispani timidi et superbi, atque fidentes in robore suo et strenuitate, dedignantur se reddere jussu regis Edwardi, omnes miserabiliter perierunt, alii ferro cæsi, alii aquis submersi."—Thomas Walsingham, *Hist. Angliæ*, p. 169.

Stowe says, that Edward returned triumphant, but bewailing the loss of sir Richard Goldes borough.—Page 259.

You have before heard how Aymery de Pavie had plotted to surrender the town and castle of Calais, for a sum of florins to the French, and how it befel them: that sir Geoffry de Chargny and the knights with him were made prisoners, and carried to England, whence they ransomed themselves as soon as they could pay the money, and returned to France. It happened, that, during the time he was at St. Omer by order of the king of France, he heard that Aymery de Pavie was at a castle in the country near Calais; called Fretun, which the king of England had given him. The Italian lived there at his ease with a beautiful English woman whom he had brought thither as his mistress; and he fancied the French had forgotten his courtesy to them: but that was not the case, as you shall hear. As soon as sir Geoffry received this information, he secretly inquired from those of the country who knew this castle, if it could easily be taken: they assured him it might; for that sir Aymery lived there without any suspicion, and without guards or watch, thinking himself as safe as if he were in London or Calais. Sir Geoffry did not let the matter sleep, but, collecting privately a band of men at arms, left St. Omer in an evening, taking with him the cross-bows that were quartered there, and marched all night, when, at day-break, he arrived at the castle of Fretun. They instantly surrounded the castle, as it was not of any size, and having entered the ditch, passed through. The servants, awakened by the noise, ran to their master, who was asleep, and said, "My lord, rise instantly; for the castle is surrounded by a large body of men at arms, who are forcing their way into it." Aymery was much alarmed, and rose as speedily as he could; but notwithstanding his haste, he could not arm himself before his court-yard was filled with soldiers. He was thus made prisoner with his mistress; but nothing was pillaged in the castle, on account of the existing truce between France and England; and besides sir Geoffry only wanted to take Aymery. He was greatly pleased with his success, and carried sir Aymery to St. Omer, where he did not suffer him to languish in prison, but had him put to death, with much cruelty, in the market-place of St. Omer, in the presence of the knights and common people of the country, who had been sent for thither. Thus died sir Aymery de Pavie; but his mistress escaped, for his death freed her, and she afterwards attached herself to a squire of France.

This year of our Lord 1349, there came from Germany, persons who performed public penitencies by whipping themselves with scourges having iron hooks, so that their backs and shoulders were torn: they chaunted also, in a piteous manner, canticles of the nativity and sufferings of our Saviour, and could not, by their rules, remain in any town more than one night: they travelled in companies of more or less in number, and thus journeyed through the country performing their penitence for thirty-three days, being the number of years Jesus Christ remained on earth, and then returned to their own homes. These penitencies were thus performed, to intreat the Lord to restrain his anger, and withhold his vengeance; for, at this period, an epidemic malady ravaged the earth, and destroyed a third part of its inhabitants. They were chiefly done in those countries the most afflicted, whither scarcely any could travel, but were not long continued, as the church set itself against them. None of these companies entered France: for the king had strictly forbidden them, by desire of the pope, who disapproved of such measures, by sound and sensible reasons, but which I shall pass over. All clerks or persons holding livings, that countenanced them, were excommunicated, and several were forced to go to Rome to purge themselves.

About this time, the Jews throughout the world were arrested and burnt, and their fortunes seized by those lords under whose jurisdictions they had lived, except at Avignon, and the territories of the church dependent on the pope. Each poor Jew, when he was able to hide himself, and arrive in that country, esteemed himself safe. It was prophesied, that for one hundred years people were to come, with iron scourges, to destroy them: and this would now have been the case, had not these penitents been checked in their mad career, as has been related *.

* Here end the additions. I cannot help supposing there must have been more; for Froissart would certainly have particularly mentioned this sad calamity of the plague, that afflicted all Europe, and he scarcely notices it.

It began in the spring of the year 1348, and came from Asia. It destroyed in some parts the fourth, in others the third of their population: sometimes it left not the tenth part. It carried off in Paris from 40 to 50.000, and in

CHAPTER CLII.—THE DEATH OF KING PHILIP, AND CORONATION OF HIS SON KING JOHN.

In the beginning of August, in the year 1350, Raoul de Cahours *, and many other knights and squires, to the number of one hundred and twenty men at arms, or thereabouts, combated with the commander for the king of England in Brittany, called sir Thomas

JOHN, KING OF FRANCE.—Drawn on his return from England, in 1309; by BEAUCLAIRE, Croix of St. Eloy, Paris.

Daggeworth, before the castle of Aurai. Sir Thomas † and all his men were slain, to the amount of about one hundred men at arms. On the 22nd of August, in the same year,

the little town of St. Denis, 1600. There were sometimes, at Paris, 800 burials in a day: and in the single church-yard of the Charter-house, London, were buried 200 daily. It broke every bond of attachment asunder: servants fled from their masters, wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. There were no laws in force: the greatest excesses were committed; and, when the contagion was at an end, morals were found more corrupted.

I refer my readers to the different chronicles of the times, for more particular information. Lord Hailes dates its ravages in 1349, and says; "The *great pestilence*, which had long desolated the continent, reached Scotland. The historians of all countries speak with horror of this pestilence. It took a wider range, and proved more destructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind. Barnes, pp. 428—441, has collected the accounts given of this pestilence by many historians; and hence he has, unknowingly, furnished materials for a curious inquiry into the populousness of Europe in the fourteenth century."

"The same cause which brought on this corruption of manners produced a new species of fanaticism. There appeared in Germany, England and Flanders, numerous confraternities of penitents, who, naked to the girdle, dirty and filthy to look at, flogged themselves in the public squares, chaunting a ridiculous canticle. Underneath are two stanzas of their canticle, consisting of nineteen in the whole. It is entire in a chronicle belonging to M. Brequigny, which is the only one supposed to extent it:

"Or avant, entre nous tuit frere,
Battons nos charoignes bien fort,
En remembrant la grand misere
De Dieu, et sa piteuse mort,
Qui fut pris de la gent amere,
Et venduz, et traiz à tort,
Et battu sa char vierge et claire;
On nom de ce, battons plus fort.

O Roiz des roiz, char precieuse,
Dieuz Pere, Filz, Sains Esperis,
Vos saintisme char glorieuse,
Fut pendue en crois par Juis
Et la fut grief et doloreuse:
Quar vo douz saint sanc beneic
Fit la croix vermeille et hideuse,
Loons Dieu et battons nos pis."

M. LEVESQUE, tom. i. pp. 530, 531.

* Raoul de Cahours was of the English party, but gained over by the magnificent promises of king John. He first changed his side at this battle, when he fought with the commander in Brittany, who had only one hundred men, and might have gained the day, if he had not been too rash. King John, as a recompense, gave him 24,000 livres, and allowed him the possession of the lands of Beauvoir, the island of Chauvet, and other estates which he had seized from Jane de Belleville. Cahours engaged, in return, to deliver into the king's hands Vannes, Guerrande, Brest, Hennebon, &c.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

Raoul de Cahours was made commander in Poitou, by writ of privy seal, dated Eltham, 17th January, 1347. —*Rymer.*

The 4th July, 1348, the king grants him £1000 a-year, in Poitou, besides other advantages.—*Idem.*

† Dugdale, in his Baronage, says he was slain through the treachery of the French.

king Philip of France departed this life at Nogent-le-Roi *, and was carried to Notre-Dame in Paris. On the Thursday following, his body was buried at St. Denis, on the left hand of the great altar: his bowels were interred at the Jacobins at Paris, and his heart at the convent of the Carthusians at Bourgfontaines in Valois. The 26th day of September ensuing, John, eldest son of king Philip, was crowned king, on a Sunday, at Rheims. His wife, Queen Jane, was also crowned at the same time. The king, on this occasion, made many knights: his eldest son, the dauphin of Vienne; his second son, Louis earl of Alençon; the earl of Estampes; the lord John d'Artois; Philip duke of Orleans, brother to the king; the duke of Burgundy, son of the Queen by her first marriage with the lord Philip of Burgundy; the earl of Dammartin, and many others. The king set out from Rheims on the Monday, and returned to Paris, by way of Laon, Soissons and Senlis. The king and queen made their public entry into Paris on a Sunday, the 17th of October. There were great feasts, which lasted the whole week. The king remained at Paris at the hôtel de Nesle, or at the palace, until near Martinmas, when he assembled his parliament.

On Tuesday, the 16th day of November following, Raoul, earl of Eu and Guignes, constable of France, who was but lately returned from his prison in England, was arrested, by orders from the king, in the hôtel de Nesle†, where king John resided, by the provost of Paris, and was detained in confinement in his hôtel, until the next Thursday; when, about the hour of matins, he was there beheaded, in the presence of the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Montfort, the lord John of Boulogne, the earl of Rueil, and many other knights, who attended the execution by command of the king, at that time in his palace. He was thus executed, for great treasons, of which he had confessed himself guilty to the duke of Athens, and some others. His body was buried in the Augustins at Paris, within the walls of the monastery, by permission of the king, out of respect to the friends of the constable ‡. In the month of the ensuing January, Charles of Spain, to whom the king had given the earldom of Angoulême, was appointed by him constable of France. The lord Guy de Nesle, marshal of France, had an engagement, on the first of April, in Saintonge, with the English and Gascons: the army of the marshal was defeated: he himself was taken prisoner, with his brother the lord William, lord Arnold d'Anreghen, and many others. On Palm Sunday, which was the 10th of April, 1351, Giles Rigault de Rouffy, who was abbot of St. Denis, and lately made a cardinal, was presented with the red hat, in presence of king John in his palace, by the bishops of Laon and of Paris. This had never been done before; but the pope had directed it to be so, by a bull addressed to these bishops.

In the following September, the French recovered the town of St. Jean d'Angely, of which the English had kept possession for five years. It was surrendered by the garrison without striking a blow, and merely through want of provisions. In the month of October, the fraternity of the noble house of St. Ouen§, near Paris, was established by order of the king. All those who were of this order wore a star on their hoods, and another on the front of their mantles||. This year, there was the greatest scarcity of provisions all over the kingdom

* A town in Beauce, on the river Eure, five leagues from Chartres.

† The hôtel de Nesle is now demolished; and its situation would be unknown, were it not for a curious memoir respecting it, in the xxiiid vol. of the Memoires de l'Académie, by M. Bonamy, to which I refer the reader.

‡ *De Dolo Regis Francia Johannis, &c.*

"Comes de Ewe, constabularius Franciæ, qui in conflictu inter Anglicos & Normanos, anno Domini millesimo. ccemo. xlvito. apud Cadamum habito, captus fuit, & tunc missus in Angliam, per ix. annos & amplius ibidem remanserat sub carcerali custodia mancipatus, circiter festum Sancti Michaëlis, anno Domini millesimo. ccemo. limo. licenciatus per regem Anglorum loca sua in partibus Franciæ visitare, Parisios venit ad novum Francia regem Johannem, utique statura magnum & discretum, minus tamen gracioseum, & fama publica referente libidine plenum, ab uxore propria divertentem, fornicarisque tam socularibus quam religiosis etiam incestuose turpiter adhærentem, à paucis suis magnatibus vel plebeis dilectum. Tunc idem rex, se amicum ipsius comitis simulans, & pacifice sibi loquens, convivavit eundem. Sed statim nocte sequenti, misso speculatore cum quibusdam satellitibus ad hospicium dicti comitis, ipsum comitem fecit subito decollari."—*Avesbury*, p. 187.

§ St. Ouen is a small town in the Isle of France, diocese and election of Paris.

|| Barnes says, that on the 8th September, 1351, king John revived the almost obsolete order of the Star, in imitation of the Garter; and the first chapter of it was held at his palace of St. Ouen. At first there were but eighteen knights; the rest were added at different chapters.

They wore a bright star on the crest of their helmets, and one pendent at their necks; and the same was embroidered on their mantles.

The day fixed for the annual celebration of this order was the Epiphany, and the star chosen for the emblem.

The eighteen first knights were:

of France ever known in the memory of man. Wheat was sold at Paris for eight livres parisis* the septier†: a septier of oats for forty sols parisis, and a boisseau‡ of peas eight sols, and other grains according to their value. In this month of October, on the day of the celebration of the fraternity of St. Ouen, the English took the town of Guignes, notwithstanding the truce: and in this year, the constable of France was married to the daughter of the lord Charles of Blois.

CHAPTER CLIII.—THE KING OF NAVARRE CAUSES THE LORD CHARLES OF SPAIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, TO BE MURDERED; WITH OTHER MATTERS.

In the year 1352, on the eve of the feast of our Lady, the middle of August, the lord Guy de Nesle, lord of Ossemont, at that time marshal of France in Brittany, had an engagement, in which the marshal was slain in battle, and also the lord of Briquebec, the baron of Beauvais, and many other nobles, as well of the country of Brittany, as of other parts of France. The 4th of September was the day appointed for the combat§ at Paris, between the duke of Brunswick and the duke of Lancaster, for words which the duke of Lancaster had spoken, and for which the duke of Brunswick had summoned him to answer at the court of the king of France. The two dukes came to the field completely armed, and entered the lists which had been prepared for the German appellant, and the English respondent. As the English were at war with France, the duke of Lancaster had come thither under a safe-conduct from king John, to defend his honour. The king of France, however, would not permit them to fight; but, although they had armed themselves, and had taken the oaths, and were mounting their steeds, he took the business into his own hands, and made up the difference between them.

On the 6th day of December, pope Clement VI. died, at Avignon, in the eleventh year of his pontificate; and, on the 11th of the following month, a cardinal from Limosin, styled cardinal of Ostia, but, because he had been bishop of Clermont, commonly called cardinal of Clermont, was elected pope, about the hour of ten in the morning, in his room. He took the title of Innocent VI., though his own proper name was sir Stephen Aubert.

On the 6th day of January, 1353, soon after day-break, the lord Charles Navarre, earl of Evreux, caused the lord Charles of Spain, constable of France, to be murdered in his bed, at an inn in the town of Aigle‖ in Normandy, by some men at arms whom he sent there; he remained in a barn without the town, until they were returned to him after the performance of this deed. It was said he was accompanied by the lord Philip of Navarre his brother, the lord Lewis de Harcourt, and lord Godfrey de Harcourt his uncle, and many other knights, as well from Navarre as from Normandy. The king of Navarre and his company retreated to the city of Evreux, of which he was lord, provisioned it, and added to the fortifications. With him went the above-mentioned Harcourts, the lord of Malue, John Maller lord of Graville, the lord Almaury de Meulent, and many other noblemen of Normandy. Shortly after, the king of Navarre went to Mantes: he had before sent many letters sealed, to different towns in the kingdom, to inform them that he had put to death the constable, for

John king of France, sovereign.
Philip duke of Orleans, his only brother.
Charles of France, dauphin of Vienne,—Louis duke of Anjou,—John duke of Berry,—Philip duke of Touraine,—king John's sons.
Charles king of Navarre.
Peter duke of Bourbon,—James Bourbon count de la Marche,—brothers.
Charles de la Cerda of Spain, earl of Angoulême.
Arnold d'Andreghen,—John de Clermont,—marshals of France.
Geoffry count de Chargny, great chamberlain of France.
Charles earl of Tancarville.
William de Brenne, duke of Athens, master of the horse.
John of Artois, earl of Eu,—Charles of Artois, count de Longueville,—John viscount de Melun, sons of Robert d'Artois.

For more particulars, see Favine's Théâtre d'Honneur.

* Cotgrave says, that a livre parisis is 2s. 6d, and that ten sols parisis is equal to one shilling.

† A septier of wheat, according to Cotgrave, weighs 240 pounds.

‡ A boisseau of wheat weighs 20 pounds.

§ See Dugdale's Baronage, for a more particular account of this duel, and of an end being put to it by the king of France, at the entreaty of the duke of Brunswick, who, through cowardice, submitted to his award.

‖ Diocese of Evreux.

various evil deeds which the constable had done against him. He sent the earl of Meaux to the king of France at Paris, on the same subject. The king despatched to the king of Navarre at Mantes, the cardinal de Boulogne, the bishop of Laon, the duke de Bourbon, the earl of Vendôme, and others, who entered into a treaty with the king of Navarre: forasmuch as he had married the king's sister, the mere pardon of the king for this crime would not satisfy him; but he required of the king, his lord, many other things. Every one in France imagined that a war was unavoidable, between the two kings; for the king of Navarre had made many alliances, collected troops in different places, and had victualled and fortified his towns and castles. At last, however, after many treaties, there was one agreed to, of which the following are some of the principal points.

The king of France was to give the king of Navarre thirty-eight thousand livres tournois, on account of an annuity which the king of Navarre received from the treasury of Paris, in lieu of lands which, according to an agreement made between their royal predecessors, were to be assigned to him, for the county of Champagne, as well as on account of his marriage with the king of France's daughter, when he was promised as much land as would amount to twelve thousand livres a-year. The king of Navarre wished to have the lordship of Beaumont-le-Roger*, the lands of Breteuil†, in Normandy, Conches‡, and Orbec§, the viscounty of Pont-Audemer‖, and the bailiwick of Coutantin: which were acceded to by the king of France, though the first four lands belonged to Philip duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and he gave him other estates in lieu of them. The king consented also, for the sake of peace, that all the Harcourts and his other allies should hold from him, as their lord, all lands dependent on Navarre, in whatever part of France they might be situated; and it was at their option to do him, if they pleased, homage for them. The king of Navarre obtained also, that these lands, and those he possessed before, should be holden by him as a peerage: and he had the power to hold, twice a-year, a court of exchequer as nobly as the duke of Normandy. The king of France consented to pardon all who had been concerned in the death of the constable, and promised, upon his oath, that neither now nor hereafter would he seek to do them hurt for this act. The king of Navarre, in addition, received from the king of France a large sum in golden crowns; and, before he would come to Paris, he made the king send him, by way of hostage, the earl of Anjou, his second son.

When he came to Paris, he was attended by a numerous body of men at arms. The 4th day of March following, he came to the chamber of parliament, where the king was sitting, attended by many peers of France, the parliament, and some of his council: the cardinal of Boulogne was there also. The king of Navarre besought the king of France to pardon him the death of the constable, alleging that he had good reasons for so doing, which he offered then to lay before the king, or at any other time. He swore he had not done it out of any contempt to the king of France, or to the office of constable; and he added, that he should not feel anything so much, as to be thought he had incurred the anger of the king. Upon this, the lord James de Bourbon, constable of France, by order of the king, gave his hand to the king of Navarre, and drew him aside. Shortly after, the queen Joan, aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his sister; the first of whom had been the wife of Charles le Bel, and the last of king Philip, lately deceased; came into the presence of the king, and made a low reverence: sir Reginald de Trie, falling on his knees, said; "My most redoubted lord, here are my ladies the queens, Joan and Blanche, who have heard that my lord of Navarre is in your ill graces, and are much hurt at it. They beseech you to have the goodness to pardon him; and, if it please God, he will for the future behave himself in such a manner, that you and all the people of France shall be satisfied."

The constable and the marshals then went to seek the king of Navarre, who, coming again into the presence of the king, placed himself between the two queens, when the cardinal spoke as follows: "My lord of Navarre, no one ought to be surprised, if my lord the king of France is offended with you, for the crime you have committed. There is no

* A market town in Normandy, on the Rille, diocese of Evreux.

† Election of Conches.

‡ A market-town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

§ A town of Normandy, diocese of Lisieux.

‖ Pont-Audemer,—a town in Normandy, diocese of Lisieux, seventeen leagues from Caen.

occasion for me to name it, for you have made it so public, by your letters and otherwise, that it is known to all. You are so much beholden to him, that you ought never to have done it: you are of his blood, and nearly related to him; besides, you are his liege man, and one of his peers, and have also espoused his daughter; therefore this deed is so much the more blameable. However, for the love and affection he bears my ladies the queens, here present, who have most earnestly intreated him in your behalf; and, because he believes you have committed this crime through bad advisers, he pardons you heartily and willingly." The two queens, and the king of Navarre, upon this, fell on their knees, and thanked the king. The cardinal added, "that in future if any one of the king's relations, or others, should dare commit such a crime as the king of Navarre had done, and even if it should again happen to the king's son, to insult or injure the lowest officer the king had, he should infallibly be punished." Upon this, the court broke up*.

The 22nd of March, a knight-bannerct of the low marches, called sir Reginald de Pressigny, lord of Marans near la Rochelle, was drawn and hanged on a gibbet, by orders of the parliament and many of the great council of the king. On the 4th of August, 1354, the king of France was reconciled to the earl of Harcourt and the lord Lewis his brother, who were, as it was then said, to reveal to him many things of consequence, especially all that related to the death of the constable. In the following month of September, the cardinal de Boulogne set out from Paris to go to Avignon, and, it was commonly reported, not in the good graces of the king: howbeit, during the space of a year that he had remained in France, he had lived as well with the king as any other courtier. About this time, lord Robert de Lorris, chamberlain to the king of France, suddenly quitted the kingdom. It was said, that, had he been taken, he would have suffered, for having revealed to the king of Navarre the secrets of the king of France, in the like manner as the Harcourts had done to the king of France.

The king of Navarre, in the month of November, set out from Normandy, and passed through divers places, amusing himself until he came to Avignon, and from thence went to Navarre. And in this month the archbishop of Rouen, chancellor of France, and the duke of Bourbon, set off for Avignon; as did the duke of Lancaster, and others of the English, in order to hold a conference touching a peace between the two kings. This same month the king of France left Paris, and went into Normandy as far as Caen. He took possession of all the lands belonging to the king of Navarre, and appointed new officers and garrisons in all the castles belonging to him, except six, viz. Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gavrey †, Avranches ‡, Mortain §, which were garrisoned by men from Navarre, who would not surrender themselves, but answered those sent to them from the king of France, that they would not give them up save to their lord, the king of Navarre, who had put them under their guard.

In the month of January, the lord Robert de Lorris returned to Paris, by a passport from the king, where he remained a fortnight without having permission to see him; and, when he was admitted to his presence, he was not fully reconciled: he therefore, by the advice of the king's council, returned to Avignon, that he might be present during the conferences. Towards the end of February, news was brought, that the truce which would expire in April, between the kings of France and England, had been prolonged by the pope to the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that he might find some means of making a permanent peace; and that the commissioners from each king had consented to it. The pope sent ambassadors to the kings, respecting another mode of carrying on the treaty than what had hitherto been practised. This same month, the king of France coined florins of fine gold, which were called Lamb Florins, because on the reverse was the figure of a lamb. They were valued at fifty-two the marc ‖; and when they were coined, the king gave forty-

* The cause of the murder of Charles d'Espagne, constable of France, by Charles le Mauvais, was the opposition the constable made to the pretensions of the king of Navarre to the counties of Champagne, Brie, and to the duchy of Burgundy.—See Ferrera's Hist. of Spain, vol. v. pp. 276, 277.

† A market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Coutances.

‡ A town in Normandy,—a bishop's see.

§ A town in Normandy,—diocese of Avranches.

‖ Eight ounces of gold, silver, or bullion.

eight for a marc of pure gold, and forbade the currency of any other florins. This month, sir Gaucher de l'Orme came to Paris, to the king of France, as ambassador from the king of Navarre: he returned the following March, carrying with him passports for the king of Navarre.

This year, about Shrovetide, many of the English advanced near to Nantes; and by means of rope-ladders, about fifty-two of them got into and took the castle: but sir Guy de Rochefort, who was the governor, and at that time in the town, attacked them so vigorously that he regained it that same night; and the fifty-two English were either slain or taken prisoners. King John, about Easter 1355, sent his eldest son, Charles dauphin of Vienne, into Normandy, as his lieutenant, where he remained all the summer, and the province granted him three thousand men at arms for three months. In the month of August following, the king of Navarre landed at the castle of Cherbourg, and with him ten thousand men, including every one. There were many treaties begun between those attached to the king of France and those belonging to the king of Navarre: each sent respectively ambassadors to the other. The king of Navarre's garrisons in Evreux and Pont-Audemer plundered all the country thereabout: some of them advanced to the castle of Conches, which at that time was in king John's hands, took it, and filled it well with provisions and men at arms. Several other acts of hostility were done by the men of Navarre against the subjects of the king of France. At last, peace was made; and the king of Navarre then went to the dauphin of Vienne, in the castle of Verneuil*, who conducted him to the good city of Paris. On the 24th day of September, they both came to the king, who then resided at the castle of the Louvre at Paris: and, when admitted to his presence, the king of Navarre made his reverence before the many nobles who were there assembled. He excused himself very honourably for having quitted the realm, and added, that he had heard some had found fault with his conduct towards the king: he therefore requested the king would name those who had done so: for he swore that, since the death of the constable, he had done nothing against the king of France but what a loyal subject should and ought to do. Nevertheless, he besought the king of France, that he would pardon all that was passed, and admit him to his favour. He promised that in future he would be as good and loyal as a son ought to be to a father, or a vassal to his lord. The king informed him, through the duke of Athens, that he forgave every thing heartily.

CHAPTER CLIV.—THE TAX OF THE GABELLE† IMPOSED THROUGHOUT FRANCE, BY THE THREE ESTATES, ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

THE prince of Wales went into Gascony some time in the month of October 1355, and advanced as far as Toulouse, where he crossed the Garonne, and went to Carcassonne ‡. He burnt the suburbs, but could do nothing to the town, as it was well defended. He then marched to Narbonne § burning and destroying the country, and in the month of November, returned to Bordeaux with great plunder and a multitude of prisoners, without having met with any opposition, notwithstanding that the earl of Armagnac, the king of France's lieutenant in Languedoc, was at that time in the country, as well as the lord of Foix, the lord James de Bourbon, lord of Ponthieu and constable of France, and the lord John de Clermont, marshal of France, with a more numerous army than that of the prince of Wales.

The king of England landed at Calais in the month of October of this year, and marched to Hesdin ‖, where he destroyed the outworks, and burnt the houses within them; but he did not enter the town or castle. The king of France, on hearing this news of the English, issued out his summons for an army to assemble at Amiens, and marched towards the king

* Verneuil,—a city of Normandy, twenty-nine leagues and a half from Paris.

† The Gabelle is a tax upon salt, first imposed by Philippe le Long. All persons in France before the Revolution in 1789, when it was abolished, were obliged to pay a certain sum for salt, whether they used any or not. This necessary article was monopolized by contractors, who enriched themselves at the public expense.

‡ A considerable town in Languedoc, twenty-three leagues from Toulouse.

§ A large city in Languedoc, an archbishopric, thirty-seven leagues from Toulouse.

‖ A strong town in Artois, on the Canche, twenty-two leagues from Calais.

of England, who had retreated to Calais. The king of France advanced as far as St. Omer, whence he sent to inform the king of England, by the marshal d'Authain, and many other knights, that he was willing to give him battle, either in single combat, or with his army, any day he would choose to name; but the king of England refused the combat, and crossed the sea for England. The king of France returned to Paris.

In this same year, about St. Andrew's day, the king of France summoned all the prelates, chapters, barons, and citizens of the principal towns, to Paris, when he laid before them, through his chancellor, in the chamber of parliament, the state of the war, and requested of them to consult together on what aids they could grant that should be sufficient to enable him to carry it on. And because the king had heard that his subjects complained of being much aggrieved by the alteration in the coin, he offered to coin money that should be good and weighty, if they would grant him other supplies sufficient to enable him to pursue the war. Upon which they answered, that is to say, the clergy by the mouth of the archbishop of Rheims, the nobles by the duke of Athens, and the citizens by Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for him, and offered him the disposal of their lives and fortunes, requiring only a little time to deliberate together. This request was willingly complied with.

The king of France gave this year, on the vigil of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son the dauphin of Vienne, earl of Poitiers; and, on the morrow, he did homage for it.

After the three estates had deliberated, they replied to the king of France, in the chamber of parliament, by the aforementioned persons, that they would grant him an army of thirty thousand men, to be maintained by them for one year; and in order to have the fund for paying this, which was estimated at fifty thousand livres parisis *, the three estates ordered that there should be levied upon all persons, whatever their state may be, churchmen, nobles or others, a tax of eight deniers parisis per pound, on all sorts of provisions; and that the tax upon salt should be established throughout France. But, as it was not known if this tax, and the extension of the gabelle, would be sufficient, it was ordered that the three estates should remain in Paris, to see and examine the result of this tax, and that on the 1st of March following they should again assemble; which was done, except by some of the nobles and citizens from the chief towns in Picardy, and many other towns in Normandy. Those who had examined the receipt of the taxes were also there; and upon their information that it was not sufficient, a new subsidy was resolved on; and it was ordered, that all manner of persons, of the blood royal or not, priest or layman, monk or nun, privileged or unprivileged, innkeepers, heads of churches, who possessed rents, or revenues from offices or administrations, widows as well as those who held estates in their own right, children, married or not, who had any fortune in the hands of trustees or otherwise; coiners, and all others who had formerly been exempted from taxation, and who were possessed of one hundred livres a-year, or under, whether by inheritance, annuity, wages or pension for life, should pay a subsidy of four livres, to defray the expense of the war: those of forty livres a-year, and under, to pay forty sols: ten livres a-year, and upwards, twenty sols: and under ten livres a-year, children, whether in wardship or upwards of fifteen years old, labourers and workmen gaining their livelihood by work, should pay ten sols: if they had any fortune beside what they acquired by labour, they were to pay as the others. Servants and all who worked for hire, so that they gained a hundred sols, and upwards, a-year, were also to pay ten sols. The sol was to be taken as the sol parisis, in those parts where this mode of reckoning was usual, and as the sol tournois in the other parts. Those servants who did not gain more than the exact sum of one hundred sols a-year, or under, were to pay nothing; but, if they had any equivalent fortune, they were to pay according to the rate of the others. None of the mendicant monks, nor those in cloisters without office or administration, nor children under the age of fifteen, without any property, were to pay to this subsidy. Nuns were also exempted, who had not any income exceeding ten livres. Wives paid nothing, because their husbands were taxed, and their fortunes would be reckoned as part of their husbands'. With regard to the clergy, whether they were prelates, abbots, priors, canons, curates, or others

* My two MSS. say "cinquant *cent* mille livres," which appears most probable from the severity of the tax.

who possessed upwards of one hundred livres a-year, by benefices, or inheritance from the holy church, or by both, and extending to five thousand livres a-year, they were to pay four livres for the first hundred livres, and forty sols for every other hundred of the five thousand. No farther aid was to be required from any sum above five thousand livres. The revenues of the benefices were to be estimated by the tax of the tenth penny, and no one was to be allowed to claim any privileges from their tenths, if they had been once granted.

With regard to the nobility, and citizens of the chief towns, who had upwards of one hundred livres a-year: the nobles were to be taxed as far as five thousand livres of rent, and forty sols for overy hundred livres, besides the four livres for the first hundred. The inhabitants of the towns in the same manner, as far as one thousand livres a-year. As for the furniture of those noblemen who did not possess a hundred livres a-year, it was to be valued as high as one thousand livres, and no higher; and for those who were not noble, and had not four hundred livres a-year, their furniture was to be valued as far as four thousand livres, that is to say, at the rate of one hundred livres for every ten livres of rent; and they were to pay the tax in the manner above specified. If it should happen that any nobleman possessed but just the rental of one hundred livres, and his furniture of no higher value than one thousand livres; or that any one, not noble, had a rental of four hundred livres, and furniture to the amount of four thousand livres, then their rentals and furniture should be entered together, as high to the nobleman as one thousand livres, and to others as far as four thousand livres, and no more.

On Saturday, the 5th of March, 1356, there was a dissension in the town of Arras, between the higher and lower ranks of inhabitants: the lower sort killed, that day, seventeen of the higher rank in the town. On the Monday following, they murdered four others, and banished many more; so that they remained masters of the town of Arras.

CHAPTER CLV.—THE KING OF FRANCE ARRESTS THE KING OF NAVARRE, AND ORDERS THE EARL OF HARCOURT AND OTHERS TO BE BEHEADED AT ROUEN.

The king of France, on Tuesday the 5th of April, which was the Tuesday after midlent Sunday, set out early, completely armed, from Mainville *, attended by about one hundred lances. There were with him his son the earl of Anjou, his brother the duke of Orleans, the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu, the lord Charles his brother, cousins-german to the king, the earl of Tancarville, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, and many other barons and knights. They rode straight for the castle of Rouen, by a back way, without passing through the town, and on entering found, in the hall of the castle, Charles, duke of Normandy, Charles king of Navarre, John earl of Harcourt, the lords de Preaux, de Clerc, de Graville, and some others seated at dinner. The king immediately ordered them all, except the dauphin, to be arrested, as also sir William and sir Louis de Harcourt, brothers to the earl, the lord Fricquet de Friquart, the lord de Tournebeu, the lord Maubué de Mamesnars, two squires called Oliver Doublet and John de Vaubatu, and many others. He had them shut up in different rooms in the castle; and his reason for so doing was, that, since the reconciliation made on occasion of the death of the constable of France, the king of Navarre had conspired and done many things contrary to the honour of the king, and the good of his realm: the earl of Harcourt had also used many injurious expressions in the castle of Vaudreuil †, when an assembly was holden there to grant a subsidy to the king of France against the said king, in order to prevent, as much as lay in his power, the subsidy from being agreed to. The king, after this, sat down to dinner, and afterwards, mounting his horse, rode, attended by all his company, to a field behind the castle, called the Field of Pardon. The king then ordered the earl of Harcourt, the lord of Graville, the lord Maubué and Oliver Doublet to be brought thither in two carts: their heads were cut off, and their bodies dragged to the gibbet at Rouen, where they were hung, and their heads placed upon the gibbet. In the course of that day and the morrow, the king set at liberty all the other

* Mainville,—a market town in Vexin Normandy, in the election of Gisors.

† Vaudreuil.—a small town of Normandy, diocese of Evreux, six leagues from Rouen.

prisoners, except three: Charles king of Navarre, who was conducted to prison in the Louvre at Paris, and afterwards to the Châtelet: some of the king's council were appointed as a guard over him. Friquet and Vaubatu were also confined in the Châtelet. Philip of Navarre, however, kept possession of several castles which the king his brother had in Normandy, and, when the king of France sent him orders to surrender them, refused to obey, but in conjunction with the lord Godfrey de Harcourt and other enemies of France, raised forces in the country of Coutantin, which they defended against the king's troops.

On Wednesday after Easter 1356, sir Arnold d'Andreghen went to Arras, and there very prudently, and without the help of his soldiery, arrested one hundred of those who had put the town in a state of rebellion, and who had murdered the citizens. On the morrow, he had twenty of them beheaded; and the rest he kept in prison until the king should have ordered otherwise. By this means the town was rendered obedient to the king. In the month of June following, the duke of Lancaster landed in the country of Coutantin, and joined the lord Philip of Navarre and sir Godfrey de Harcourt. They were about four thousand combatants. They marched straight for Lisieux, Orbec, and Pont-Audemer, where they reinforced the castle, which had been besieged for upwards of two months. The lord Robert de Hotetot, captain of the cross-bowmen in France, who with other nobles, had laid siege to it, broke it up, as he heard of the coming of the duke of Lancaster, leaving behind him his machines and artillery, which were captured by those of the castle. The duke and lord Philip made an excursion as far as Breteuil *, which they strengthened, robbing and plundering the country through which they passed. When they found that the city and castle of Evreux had lately surrendered to the king of France, who had for a length of time laid siege to it, and that the town and cathedral had been pillaged and burnt by the men of Navarre, who gave up the castle by capitulation, as well as by some of the king's forces, who were besieging the town, the duke and lord Philip went forwards to Verneuil †, which town and castle they took and plundered: they also burnt part of the town.

The king of France, on hearing of the landing of the duke of Lancaster, had issued out his orders for raising troops: he assembled a large body of men at arms and infantry, set out in pursuit of him, and, passing through Condé ‡, made straight for the town of Verneuil. He passed by l'Aigle §, and followed him to Tubœuf, two leagues distant from l'Aigle. The king of France was then informed that he could not pursue him further; for there were immense forests in which his party could secrete themselves: the king therefore returned, and came, with his whole army, before the castle of Thilliers ||, which they said was in possession of Navarre. He took it, and garrisoned it with his own people. He afterwards came to the castle of Breteuil, which was defended for the king of Navarre. The king of France remained before this castle the space of two months, when it was surrendered on capitulation that the garrison might go whither they pleased, and all they could carry with them.

CHAPTER CLVI.—THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES OUT A SUMMONS FOR ASSEMBLING AN ARMY TO COMBAT THE PRINCE OF WALES, WHO WAS OVERRUNNING THE PROVINCE OF BERRY.

When king John of France had finished his expedition, and had re-conquered all the towns and castles in lower Normandy which belonged to the king of Navarre, whom he detained in prison, he returned to the city of Paris. He had not long been there before he heard that the prince of Wales, with his whole army, had invaded his kingdom, and was fast advancing towards the fertile country of Berry. When this was told him, the king said, with an oath, that he would immediately set out after him, and give him battle wherever he should find him. He issued out a special summons, to all nobles and others who held fiefs under him, that they should not, under any pretence whatever, absent themselves without incurring his highest displeasure, but, immediately on the receipt of these letters, set out to meet him on the borders of Touraine and Blois; for he was determined to fight

* A town in Normandy, election of Conches.
† A city in Normandy, twelve leagues from Evreux.
‡ A village in Normandy, in the election of Alençon.
§ A small city in Normandy, diocese of Evreux, election of Verneuil.
|| Thilliers is a village in Picardy, near Montidier.

the English. The king, to hasten the business, marched from Paris; for he had at this time a large body of men at arms in the field; and went to Chartres, to gain more certain intelligence of the enemy. He remained there some time, and great crowds of troops and men at arms came to him from the different countries of Auvergne, Berry, Burgundy, Lorraine, Hainault, Vermandois, Picardy, Brittany and Normandy. They passed through the town on their arrival, to show their musters, and took up their quarters in the fields, according to the orders of the two marshals, the lord John de Clermont and lord Arnold d'Andreghen. The king gave orders for all the towns in Anjou, Poitou, Maine and Touraine, to be well garrisoned and provided with all things, especially those on the borders, by which it was hoped the English would pass, that they might be inclosed, and cut off from any subsistence for themselves and horses. In spite of this, however, the prince, who had with him two thousand men at arms and six thousand archers, rode on at his ease, and collected every where provisions in plenty. They found the country of Auvergne, which they had entered and overrun, very rich, and all things in great abundance; but they would not stop there, as they were desirous of combating their enemies. They burnt and destroyed all the countries they passed through; and when they entered any town which was well provisioned, they rested there some days to refresh themselves, and at their departure destroyed what remained, staving the heads of wine casks that were full, burning the wheat and oats, so that their enemies could not save any thing. They kept advancing, and found plenty every where; for the countries of Berry, Poitou, Touraine and Maine are very rich, and full of forage for men at arms.

The English advanced so far that they came to the good city of Bourges *, where there was a great skirmish at one of the gates. Two knights, the lord de Cousant and the lord Hutin de Memelles, had charge of the city. Many gallant deeds were performed; but the English left it without doing any damage, and went to Issodun †, where there was a strong castle. They attacked it very briskly, with their whole army, but they could not gain it; for the governor and the knights who were with him too valiantly defended themselves. The English therefore passed on, and came to a large town ‡ and castle: the town, being weakly fortified and badly defended, was taken by storm. They found there great plenty of wines and other provisions, and remained three days to repose themselves. News was brought there to the prince of Wales, that the king of France was in the city of Chartres, with a very large army, and that all the passes and towns on that side of the Loire were secured, and so well guarded no one could cross the river. The prince then held a council, when it was resolved he should set out on his return to Bordeaux, whence he had come, through Touraine and Poitou, and destroy all the country as he passed. They began their retreat after they had done their pleasure with the town; and this day they gained the castle, and slew the greater part whom they found in it.

They marched towards Romorantin §. The king of France sent into Berry three gallant barons, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont, to defend the frontiers, and to observe the motions of the English. They had with them three hundred lances; and, skirting the borders of the province, they followed them for six days, without finding any opportunity of intercepting or of attacking the enemy; such good and close order did the English maintain on their march. The French, therefore, had recourse to an ambuscade, near to Romorantin, in a wonderfully narrow spot, which the English were obliged to pass. That same day, there left the prince's army, from the battalion of the marshals, by permission of the prince, the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, the lord of Muyssidan, a Gascon, the lord Petiton Courton, the lord Delawar, the lord Basset, sir Walter Pavely, sir Richard Pontchardan, sir Nesle Loring, the young lord Despencer, sir Eustace and sir Sanchez d'Ambreticourt, with about two hundred combatants, in order to push forward to Romorantin. They passed through the ambuscade of the French without molestation; but, the moment they were clear of it, the French, who were mounted on

* A large city in Berry, and an archbishopric.

† In Berry, diocese of Bourges, and eight leagues distant.

‡ Vierzon, according to a marginal note in D. Sauvage's edition.—Ed.

§ Romorantin,—a considerable town on the Saudre, in Blaisois, and capital of Sologne.

excellent and well-dressed horses, stuck spurs into them, to overtake them. The English, who had got far forward, hearing the sound of horses' feet, turned round and found it was the enemy. They immediately halted, to wait for the French, who advanced on a gallop, fully determined what to do, with their lances in their rests. The English, seeing them thus charge full speed, opened on each side and let them pass through, so that no more than five or six were unhorsed: they then closed their ranks, and fell upon the rear of the French. This engagement was very sharp: many knights and squires were unhorsed, raised up again and rescued on both sides. It lasted a long time, and no one could tell, so valiantly was it disputed, to which side victory would incline, when the battalion of the marshals appeared in sight. The French first noticed it, as it marched, skirting along a wood, and immediately thought of saving themselves as fast as they could, taking the road to Romorantin. The English followed on full gallop, overthrowing all they could, without sparing themselves or their horses. The slaughter was great, and many were killed and unhorsed. One half of them, however, got safe into the castle of Romorantin, whose gates were opened to receive them. There the three barons saved themselves, as well as some knights and squires who were the best mounted. The town of Romorantin was taken on the first arrival of the English, for it was not fortified. The remainder of the French endeavoured to escape by getting into the castle.

CHAPTER CLVII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES TAKES THE CASTLE OF ROMORANTIN.

When the prince of Wales was informed that his people had been engaged, he hastened the march of his army towards Romorantin, and, when he entered the town, found it full of his men, who were studying how they could take the castle. The prince called sir John Chandos, and ordered him to go and hold a parley with those in the castle. Sir John went to the barriers, and made a sign that he wished to speak with some one: those upon guard inquired his name, by whom he was sent, and then went to inform their masters. Upon which, the lord of Boucicault and the hermit of Chaumont came down to the bars. When sir John saw them, he saluted them, and said: "Gentlemen, I am sent to you by my lord the prince, who wishes, as it appears to me, to behave courteously towards his enemies, and thus says, that, if you will surrender the castle and yourselves, he will show you mercy, and give you good company." The lord of Boucicault replied: "We have no sort of inclination to accept of such terms, nor to commit such an act of folly without any necessity; for we are determined to defend ourselves." Upon this they parted; and the prince ordered his men to quarters, for the next day he meant to attack the castle: they were therefore commodiously lodged in the town of Romorantin, and close about it.

On the next morning, the men at arms prepared themselves, and the archers advanced under their respective banners, and made a sharp attack upon the castle. The archers, who had posted themselves on the ditches, shot so justly, that scarcely any one dared to show himself on the battlements. Some got upon hurdles and doors, with pickaxes and mattocks in their hands, and swam over the ditch, when they began to undermine the walls. Those within flung down upon them large stones and pots of hot lime. On this occasion, there was slain, on the part of the English, a squire called Remond de Gederlach, who belonged to the division of the captal de Buch. This attack lasted the whole day, with little intermission. The English retreated, towards night, to their quarters, in order to take care of the wounded; and on the morrow, at sun-rise, the marshal's trumpets sounded. All who were ordered for this assault got themselves in readiness: the prince of Wales himself attended in person, and by his presence mightily encouraged the English. A squire, of the name of Bernard, was killed close at his side, by a stone thrown from the castle: upon which the prince swore, he would never move from that place until he had the castle and all in it in his power, and immediately ordered reinforcements to the assault.

Some of the wisest thought that they might use lances and arrows for ever in vain; and

therefore they ordered cannons to be brought forward, and also aqueraux*, to fire *le feu Gregeois*† into the lower court of the castle, so that it was all in a blaze. The fire increased so much, that it gained a large tower which was covered with thatch. When those within the castle found that they must either surrender themselves or perish by fire, the lord of Craon, the lord of Boucicault, and the hermit of Chaumont, came down from the castle, and surrendered themselves to the prince, who made them ride and attend him, as his prisoners: many other knights and squires who were in the castle were set at liberty, and the castle was destroyed.

CHAPTER CLVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE LEADS A GREAT ARMY TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

After the taking of the castle of Romorantin, and the above-mentioned knights, the prince and his army marched forward as before, burning and destroying the country, in his approach to Anjou and Touraine. The king of France, who had resided at Chartres, set out from that place and came to Blois‡, where he remained two days. He then came to Amboise§, and then to Loches||, where he heard that the English were in Touraine, taking the road for their return through Poitou; for the English army was constantly observed by some able and expert knights of France and Burgundy, who sent the king particular information of its movements. The king of France then advanced to La Haye¶, in Touraine. His army had crossed the Loire, by the bridges of Orleans, Mehun, Saumur, Blois, and Tours, and wherever else they could. There were such numbers of good and able men, that they were at least twenty thousand men at arms, without reckoning the others: there were twenty-five dukes and earls, and upwards of six score banners. The four young sons of the king were also with him; Charles duke of Normandy, the lord Lewis, who was afterwards duke of Anjou, the lord John, since duke of Berry, and the lord Philip, the younger, who was afterwards duke of Burgundy.

About this time, pope Innocent VI. had sent into France two cardinals, sir Bertrand, cardinal of Perigord, and sir Nicholas, cardinal d'Aigel**, to endeavour to make a peace between the king of France and his enemies, and especially between him and the king of Navarre, who was still detained in prison. The two cardinals had held frequent conferences with the king on this subject, during the siege of Breteuil, but were not able to bring it to a conclusion. The cardinal of Perigord had retired to the city of Tours, where he was informed that the king of France was marching in all haste after the English. He therefore left Tours, and hastened to Poitiers, as he had learnt that the two armies were approaching near to each other in that quarter.

When the king of France heard that the prince of Wales was making as much haste as possible to return, he did not think he could any way escape from him. He marched from La Haye, with his whole army, and made for Chauvigny††, where he took up his quarters on Thursday, as well in the town as without the walls, in meads along the banks of the river Vienne. On the morrow, after breakfast, the king crossed the river at the bridge of Chauvigny, and imagined that the English were just before him, but he was mistaken. However, in the pursuit, upwards of forty thousand horse crossed this bridge on the Friday;

* *Aqueraulx.* In Du Cange, this passage is referred to as the authority for the word: he calls it *machina belli.* [It seems that the aqueraulx were weapons projected from the cannons, and not machines used for casting the Greek fire.—Froissart's words are, "et ordonnèrent à porter canons en avant et à traire en aquereaux *et* à feu Gregeois." *They ordered cannons to be brought up and aquereaux and Greek fire to be shot from them.*—Ed.]

† Feu Gregeois, or feu Greequois, was composed of sulphur, naphtha, pitch, gum, and bitumen. It is only extinguishable by vinegar mixed with sand or urine, or by raw hides. It was first used by the Greeks, about the year 660.—For further accounts, see Encyclopædia Britannica, word *Fire.*

‡ A handsome city and bishopric, on the north side of the Loire, forty-four leagues and a half from Paris.

§ A small city in Touraine, on the Loire, ten leagues from Blois.

|| A town in Touraine, on the Indre, diocese of Tours, sixty-nine leagues from Paris.

¶ A town in Touraine, on the Creuse, twelve leagues from Tours.

** In some, it is d'Urgel.

†† A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, diocese of Poitiers, six leagues from Poitiers.

many others did so at Châtelleraut*; and all, as they passed, took the road to Poitiers. On the other hand, the prince of Wales and his army were ignorant of the exact motions of the French; but they supposed they were not far distant, for their foragers found great difficulties in procuring forage, of which the whole army was in extreme want. They repented of the great waste they had made in Berry, Anjou, and Touraine, and that they had not more amply provisioned themselves.

It happened on this Friday, from the king of France in person passing the bridge of Chauvigny, and the great crowds which attended him, that three great barons of France, the lord of Auxerre, the lord Raoul de Joigny, and the earl of Joigny, were obliged to remain all that day in the town of Chauvigny, and a part of their people with them: the others passed over without baggage or armour except what they had on their backs. On the Saturday morning, they dislodged, crossed the bridge, and followed the army of the king, which was about three leagues off. They made for the open fields and the heaths, which were surrounded by woods, in order to arrive at Poitiers. This same Saturday, the prince decamped from a village hard by, and sent forward a detachment to seek adventures, and to bring some intelligence of the French. They consisted of about sixty men, well armed and mounted for the occasion. Among the knights were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and sir John de Guistelles. By accident, they got on the heaths surrounded by the woods above mentioned. The French soon saw they were enemies; they fixed on their helmets, and unfurled their banners as quickly as they were able; when, fixing their lances in their rests, they stuck spurs to their horses.

The English no sooner perceived these Frenchmen, who were about two hundred lances, than they resolved to allow themselves to be pursued, as the prince and his army were not far distant: they therefore wheeled about, and made for the rutty road through the wood. The French chased them with shouts and a great noise, and as they galloped on, fell in with the army of the prince, which had halted among the heaths to wait for their companions. The lord Raoul de Joigny, and those under his banner, were advanced so far that they came right upon the banner of the prince: the engagement was very sharp, and sir Raoul fought well: however, he was made prisoner, as were the earl of Joigny, the Viscount de Breuse, and the lord of Chauvigny: the greater part were either slain or captured. By these the prince learnt, that the king of France had marched forward, and that he could not return without fighting him. Upon which, he collected all the stragglers, and ordered that no one, under pain of death, should advance or skirmish before the battalion of the marshals. They marched on this Saturday, from about nine o'clock until vespers, when they came within small leagues of Poitiers. The captal de Buch †, sir Haymenon de Pomiers, sir Bartholomew Burgherst and sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, were ordered to advance, and observe where the French were encamped. These knights, with two hundred men well armed and mounted on their best steeds, set out, and soon perceived the French king's army. All the plain was covered with men at arms; and these English could not refrain from attacking the rear of the French; they unhorsed many, and took some prisoners, insomuch that the main army began to be in motion. News was brought of this to the king of France, as he was on the point of entering the city of Poitiers: upon which he turned back, and ordered his whole army to do the same, and make for the open fields, so that it was very late before they were quartered. The English detachment returned to the prince, and related to him the appearance of the French, that they were in immense numbers. The prince, on hearing this, said, "God help us; we must now consider which will be the best manner to fight them the most advantageously." This night, the English were quartered in a very strong position, among vineyards and hedges, and both armies were well guarded.

* A town in Poitou, on the Vienne, diocese of Poitiers, ten leagues distant.

† *The Captal de Buch.* The title of captal had anciently been affected by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It seems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a superiority, as the word *capitalis* announces, principal chief. This dignity, at first personal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the estates of which they were possessed. In the time of the first dukes of Aquitaine, there were several captals; but this title, perhaps by neglect, was replaced by others, so that, towards the fourteenth century, there were no more than two captals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of Franc.—*Vide Gloss. Du Cange, ad. verb. Capitalis.*

CHAPTER CLIX.—THE DISPOSITION OF THE FRENCH BEFORE THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

On the Sunday morning, the king of France, who was very impatient to combat the English, ordered a solemn mass to be sung in his pavilion; and he and his four sons received the communion. Mass being over, there came to him the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Ponthieu, the lord James de Bourbon, the duke of Athens, constable of France, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Dammartin, the earl of Vantadour, and many barons of France, as well as other great lords who held fiefs in the neighbourhood, such as my lord of Clermont, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lord de St. Venant, the lord John de Landas, the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord de Fiennes, the lord Geoffrey de Chargny, the lord of Châtillon, the lord of Sully, the lord of Nesle, sir Robert de Duras, and many more, according to a summons they had received for a council. They were a considerable time debating: at last it was ordered, that the whole army should advance into the plain, and that each lord should display his banner, and push forward in the name of God and St. Denis. Upon this, the trumpets of the army sounded, and every one got himself ready, mounted his horse, and made for that part of the plain where the king's banner was planted and fluttering in the wind. There might be seen all the nobility of France, richly dressed out in brilliant armour, with banners and pennons * gallantly displayed; for all the flower of the French nobility were there: no knight nor squire, for fear of dishonour, dared to remain at home. By the advice of the constable and the marshals, the army was divided into three battalions, each consisting of sixteen thousand men at arms, who had before shown themselves men of tried courage. The duke of Orleans commanded the first battalion, where there were thirty-six banners and twice as many pennons. The second was under the command of the duke of Normandy, and his two brothers, the lord Lewis and lord John. The king of France commanded the third.

Whilst these three battalions were forming, the king called to him the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord John de Landas, and the lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and said to them, "Ride forward, as near the English army as you can, and observe their countenance, taking notice of their numbers, and examine which will be the most advantageous manner for us to combat them, whether on horseback or on foot." The three knights left the king to obey his commands. The king was mounted upon a white palfrey, and, riding to the head of his army, said aloud: "You, men of Paris, Chartres, Rouen and Orleans, have been used to threaten what you would do to the English, if you could find them, and wished much to meet them in arms: now, that wish shall be gratified: I will lead you to them; and let us see how you will revenge yourselves for all the mischief and damage they have done you; be assured we will not part without fighting." Those who heard him replied: "Sir, through God's assistance, we will most cheerfully meet them." At this instant the three knights returned, and pushing through the crowd, came to the king, who asked what news they had brought: sir Eustace de Ribeaumont, whom his companions had requested to be their spokesman, answered: "Sir, we have observed accurately the English; they may amount, according to our estimate, to about two thousand men at arms, four thousand archers, and fifteen hundred footmen. They are in a very strong position; but we do not imagine they can make more than one battalion; nevertheless, they have posted themselves with great judgment, have fortified all the road along the hedge-side, and lined the hedges with part of their archers; for, as that is the only road for an attack, one must pass through the midst of them. This lane has no other entry; and it is so narrow, that scarcely can four men ride through it abreast. At the end of this lane, amidst vines and thorns, where it is impossible to ride or march in any regular order, are posted the men at arms on foot; and

* The *pennon* was the proper ensign of a bachelor or simple knight. Du Fresne shows, that even squires might bear pennons, provided they could bring a sufficient suit of vassals in the field.—*Note in Grose's Military Antiquities.* See also p. 206, vol. i. for an account of the anner and banneret, and p. 256, vol. ii.

In computing the numbers of an army, every man at arms should be counted as three; for each had his squire to bear his lance, &c. and also his body squire.

Villaret, in his History of France, says that three thousand men at arms amounted to nearly twelve thousand men. Vol. v. 4th edit. p. 179.

they have drawn up before them their archers, in the manner of a harrow, so that it will be no easy matter to defeat them." The king asked, in what manner they would advise him to attack them: "Sir," replied sir Eustace, "on foot: except three hundred of the most expert and boldest of your army, who must be well armed and excellently mounted, in order to break, if possible, this body of archers; and then your battalions must advance quickly on foot, attack the men at arms hand to hand, and combat them valiantly. This is the best advice that I can give you; and, if any one know a better, let him say it." The king replied; "Thus shall it be then;" and, in company with his two marshals, he rode from battalion to battalion, and selected, in conformity to their opinions, three hundred knights and squires of the greatest repute in his army, each well armed and mounted on the best of horses. Soon after, the battalion of the Germans was formed, who were to remain on horseback to assist the marshals: they were commanded by the earls of Saltzburg, Neydo, and Nassau.

King John was armed in royal armour, and nineteen others like him *. He had given his eldest son in charge to the lord of St. Venant, the lord of Landas, and the lord Theobald de Bodenay. The lord Geoffry de Chargny carried the banner of France, as being the most valiant and prudent knight of the army. The lord Reginald de Quenolle †, surnamed the Archpriest, wore the full armour of the young earl of Alençon.

CHAPTER CLX.—THE CARDINAL DE PERIGORD ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

When the battalions of the king of France were drawn up, and each lord posted under his proper banner, and informed how they were to act, it was ordered, that all those who were armed with lances should shorten them to the length of five feet, that they might be the more manageable, and that every one should take off his spurs. As the French were on the point of marching to their enemies, the cardinal de Perigord, who had left Poitiers that morning early, came full gallop up to the king, making a low reverence, and intreated him, with uplifted hands, for the love of God, to halt a moment, that he might speak to him: he thus began; "Most dear sire, you have here with you all the flower of knighthood of your kingdom against a handful of people, such as the English are, when compared to your army; you may have them upon other terms than by a battle; and it will be more honourable and profitable to you to gain them by this means than to risk such a fine army, and such noble persons as you have now with you. I therefore beseech you, in all humility, and by the love of God, that you will permit me to go to the prince, and remonstrate with him on the dangerous situation he is in." The king answered, "It is very agreeable to us; but make haste back again."

The cardinal upon this, set off, and went in all speed to the prince, whom he found on

* This custom of arming several in like manner to the commander of an army, seems to have been usual, and was carried down to our Richard III.'s time. Shakspeare makes Richard say, in the fourth scene of the last act;

"I think, there be six Richmonds in the field:
Five have I slain to-day, instead of him."

Also in the First Part of Henry IV. Douglas says;

"Another king! they grow like hydras' heads;
I am the Douglas, fatal to all those
That wear these colours on them.—What art thou,
That counterfeit'st the person of a king?"

† His name was Arnaut de Cervole.

"The family of Cervole, Cervolle, or Servola, held a distinguished rank among the nobility of Perigord. Arnaut was of this family. Some authors make him a Gascon, because formerly all borderers on the Garonne were so called.

"The title of *archipresbyter de Verniis*, which Dom. Vaissette translates, 'archpriest of Vezzins,' was given to him, for though a knight and a married man, he possessed an archpriestship of that name. It is known, that Hugh, duke of France and Burgundy, earl of Paris and Orleans, who died in 956, was surnamed the Abbot; because, though a layman, he possessed the abbeys of St. Denis, St. Germain-des-prés, and St. Martin-de-Tours. Vizzins was probably an archpriestship, whose revenues Cervolle received. One cannot determine where it was situated, for villages and hamlets of this name are in Anjou, Touraine, Bouergue, and in Brittany."

For further particulars, I shall refer to M. de Zurlauben's memoir itself, in the xxvth volume of the Mémoires de l'Académie.

"In this same year [1366], about Trinity-day, sir Arnold de Cervole, surnamed the Archpriest, who commanded a large body of men at arms in the kingdom of France, was put to death by his own men, which rejoiced many."—See more in the Grandes Chroniques de France, T. 3.

foot in the midst of his army, in the thickest part of a vineyard. When the cardinal came there, he dismounted, and advanced to the prince, who most affably received him, and, after he had made his reverence, said; "Fair son, if you have well considered the great army of the king of France, you will permit me to make up matters between you both, if I possibly can." The prince, who was but in his youth, replied; "Sir, my own honour, and that of my army saved, I am ready to listen to any reasonable terms." The cardinal answered; "Fair son, you say well: and I will bring about a treaty, if I can; for it would be a great pity, that so many worthy persons, who are here, should meet in battle." The cardinal returned to the king of France, and said: "Sir, you have no occasion to be so impatient to fight with them, for they cannot escape from you: I therefore intreat you would grant them a truce from this time, until to-morrow's sun-rise." The king at first would not agree to it, for a part of his council refused their consent: however, the cardinal spoke so eloquently, that the king at last assented. He ordered a very handsome and rich pavilion of red silk to be pitched on the spot where he stood, and dismissed his army to their quarters, except the battalion of the constable and marshals.

All this Sunday, the cardinal rode from one army to the other, and was very anxious to reconcile the two parties. But the king would not listen to any other terms than that four principal persons of the English should be given up to his will, and that the prince and his army should unconditionally surrender themselves. Many proposals were made: the prince offered to surrender to the king of France all the towns and castles which he had conquered in this expedition; to give up, without ransom, all his prisoners, and to swear he would not for seven years take up arms against the king of France. The king and his council refused to accept of this, and the affair remained some time in suspense: at last, they declared that, if the prince of Wales and one hundred of his knights did not surrender themselves prisoners to the king of France, he would not allow them to pass on without an engagement. The prince and his army disdained accepting of such conditions.

Whilst the cardinal was riding from one army to the other, endeavouring to make peace, some knights of either party rode forth, skirting their enemy's army, to examine its disposition. It chanced, on that day, that sir John Chandos had rode out near one of the wings of the French army, and lord John de Clermont, one of the king's marshals, had done the same, to view the English. As each knight was returning to his quarters, they met; they both had the same device upon the surcoats which they wore over their other clothes; it was a Virgin Mary, embroidered on a field azure, or, encompassed with the rays of the sun argent *. On seeing this, lord Clermont said; "Chandos, how long is it since you have taken upon you to wear my arms?" "It is you who have mine," replied Chandos; "for it is as much mine as yours." "I deny that," said the lord of Clermont; "and were it not for the truce between us, I would soon shew you that you have no right to wear it." "Ha," answered sir John Chandos, "you will find me to-morrow in the field, ready prepared to defend, and to prove by force of arms, that it is as much mine as yours." The lord of Clermont replied; "These are the boastings of you English, who can invent nothing new, but take for your own whatever you see handsome belonging to others." With that they parted, without more words, and each returned to his own army. The cardinal de Perigord, not being able by any means to reconcile the king and prince, returned to Poitiers late in the evening. That same day the French kept in their quarters, where they lived at their ease, having plenty of provisions; whilst the English, on the other hand, were but badly off, nor did they know whither to go for forage, as they were so straitly kept by the French, they could not move without danger. This Sunday they made many mounds and ditches round where the archers were posted, the better to secure them.

On Monday morning, the prince and his army were soon in readiness, and as well arrayed as on the former day. The French were also drawn out by sun-rise. The cardinal, returning again that morning, imagined that, by his exhortations, he could pacify both parties; but the French told him to return where he pleased, and not attempt bringing them any more

* This blazonry seems erroneous; at all events it is incorrectly expressed. The words in Sauvage's ed. are "une bleue Dame ouvrée d'une brodure, au ray du soleil:" *a blue Madonna worked in embroidery, surrounded by sun-beams*, and it is the same in Lord Berners.—Ed.

treaties or pacifications, else worse might betide him. When the cardinal saw that he laboured in vain, he took leave of the king of France, and set out toward the prince of Wales, to whom he said; "Fair son, exert yourself as much as possible, for there must be a battle; I cannot by any means pacify the king of France." The prince replied, "that such were the intentions of him and his army; and God defend the right." The cardinal then took leave of him, and returned to Poitiers. In his company, there were some knights and men at arms more inclined to the French than to the English, who, when they saw that a battle was unavoidable, stole away from their master, and, joining the French forces, chose for their leader the castellan of Amposta *, who at that time was attached to the cardinal. The cardinal knew nothing of this, until he was arrived at Poitiers.

The arrangement of the prince's army, in respect to the battalions, was exactly the same as what the three knights before named had related to the king of France, except that at this time he had ordered some valiant and intelligent knights to remain on horseback, similar to the battalion of the French marshals, and had also commanded three hundred men at arms, and as many archers on horseback, to post themselves on the right on a small hill, that was not too steep nor too high, and, by passing over its summit, to get round the wing of the duke of Normandy's battalion, who was in person at the foot of it. These were all the alterations the prince had made in his order of battle: he himself was with the main body, in the midst of the vineyards: the whole completely armed, with their horses near, if there should be occasion for them. They had fortified and inclosed the weaker parts, with their waggons and baggage.

I wish to name some of the most renowned knights, who were with the prince of Wales. There were Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, John Vere earl of Oxford, William Montacute earl of Salisbury, Robert Hufford earl of Suffolk, Ralph lord Stafford, the earl of Stafford, the lord Richard Stafford, brother to the earl, sir John Chandos, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Edward Spencer, the lord James Audley and his brother the lord Peter, the lord Thomas Berkley (son of the lord Maurice Berkley, who died at Calais nine years before), Ralph lord Basset of Drayton, John lord Warren (eldest son to John Plantagenet late earl of Warren, Strathern and Surrey, by his first lady Maude de Hereford), Peter lord Mauley, the sixth of the name, the lord John Willoughby de Eresby, the lord Barthelomew de Burghersh, the lord William Felton and the lord Thomas Felton his brother, the lord Thomas Bradestan; sir Walter Pavely, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Matthew Gournay, sir William de la More, and other English. From Gascony, there were the lord of Pumiers, the lord d'Albret, the captal de Buch, the lord John de Chaumont, the lord de l'Esparre, the lord of Rosen, the lord of Cousen, the lord de Montferrand, the lord de Landulas, the lord Souldich de la Traine †, and many more whom I cannot remember. Of Hainaulters, there were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, the lord John de Guystelle, and two other strangers, the lord Daniel Phaselle and lord Denis de Morbeque. The whole army of the prince, including every one, did not amount to eight thousand: when the French, counting all sorts of persons, were upwards of sixty thousand combatants; among whom were more than three thousand knights.

CHAPTER CLXI.—THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, BETWEEN THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

When the prince of Wales saw, from the departure of the cardinal without being able to obtain any honourable terms, that a battle was inevitable, and that the king of France held both him and his army in great contempt, he thus addressed himself to them: "Now, my gallant fellows, what though we be a small body when compared to the army of our enemies; do not let us be cast down on that account, for victory does not always follow numbers, but

* Among the cortes of Spain was the castellan of Amposta.

† He is called *sir Sandich de la Trane* in the account of the knights of the garter. See Anstis' Order of the Garter, where there is a short history of him. He supposes the word Souldich (but says he can nowhere find the meaning of it) to be that of some office, like to captal, which, in the customs of Bordeaux, article 75, is ranked with the viscounts and barons.

where the Almighty God pleases to bestow it. If, through good fortune, the day shall be ours, we will gain the greatest honour and glory in this world: if the contrary should happen, and we be slain, I have a father and beloved brethren alive, and you all have some relations, or good friends, who will be sure to revenge our deaths. I therefore entreat of you to exert yourselves, and combat manfully; for, if it please God and St. George, you shall see me this day act like a true knight *." By such words and arguments as these, the prince harangued his men; as did the marshals, by his orders; so that they were all in high spirits. Sir John Chandos placed himself near the prince, to guard and advise him; and never, during that day, would he, on any account, quit his post.

The lord James Audley remained also a considerable time near him; but, when he saw that they must certainly engage, he said to the prince: "Sir, I have ever served most loyally my lord your father, and yourself, and shall continue so to do, as long as I have life. Dear sir, I must now acquaint you, that formerly I made a vow, if ever I should be engaged in any battle where the king your father or any of his sons were, that I would be the foremost in the attack, and the best combatant on his side, or die in the attempt. I beg therefore most earnestly, as a reward for any services I may have done, that you would grant me permission honourably to quit you, that I may post myself in such wise to accomplish my vow." The prince granted this request, and, holding out his hand to him, said; "Sir James, God grant that this day you may shine in valour above all other knights." The knight then set off, and posted himself at the front of the battalion, with only four squires whom he had detained with him to guard his person. This lord James was a prudent and valiant knight; and by his advice the army had thus been drawn up in order of battle. Lord James began to advance, in order to fight with the battalion of the marshals. In like manner, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt took great pains to be the first to engage, and was so, or near it: and, at the time that lord James Audley was pushing forward to seek his enemies, it thus befel sir Eustace. I mentioned before, that the Germans attached to the French interest were drawn up in one battalion on horseback, and remained so, to assist the marshals. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, being mounted, placed his lance in its rest, and, fixing his shield, stuck spurs into his horse, and galloped up to this battalion. A German knight, called lord Lewis von Coucibras (who bore for arms five roses, gules, on a shield argent, while those of sir Eustace were ermine, three humets, in pale gules), perceiving sir Eustace quit his army, left his battalion that was under the command of earl John of Nassau, and made up to him: the shock of their meeting was so violent, that they both fell to the ground. The German was wounded in the shoulder, so that he could not rise again so nimbly as sir Eustace, who, when upon his legs, after he had taken breath, was hastening to the knight that lay on the ground; but five German men at arms came upon him, struck him down, and made him prisoner. They led him to those that were attached to the earl of Nassau, who did not pay much attention to him, nor do I know if they made him swear himself their prisoner: but they tied him to a car with some of their harness.

The engagement now began on both sides: and the battalion of the marshals was advancing before those who were intended to break the battalion of the archers, and had entered the lane where the hedges on both sides were lined by the archers; who, as soon as they saw them fairly entered, began shooting with their bows in such an excellent manner, from each side of the hedge, that the horses, smarting under the pain of the wounds made by their bearded arrows, would not advance, but turned about, and, by their unruliness, threw their masters, who could not manage them, nor could those that had fallen get up again for the confusion: so that this battalion of the marshals could never approach that of the prince: however, there were some knights and squires so well mounted, that, by the strength of their horses, they passed through, and broke the hedge, but, in spite of their efforts, could not

* Now sirs, though we be but a small company, as in regarde to the puyssance of our ennemyes, let us nat be abasshed therefore, for the vyctorie lyeth nat in the multitude of people but wher as God wyll sende it; if it fortune that the iourney be ours, we shal be the most honoured people of all the worlde; and if we dye in our right quarell, I have the kyng my father and bretherne, and also ye have good frendes and kynsmen; these shall reuenge us. Therfore sirs, for Goddes sake, I requyre you do your deuoyer this day, for if God be pleased and Saynt George, this day ye shall se me a good knyght.—*Lord Berners.*

get up to the battalion of the prince. The lord James Audley, attended by his four squires *, had placed himself, sword in hand, in front of this battalion, much before the rest, and was performing wonders. He had advanced, through his eagerness, so far, that he engaged the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, under his banner, when they fought a considerable time, and the lord Arnold was roughly enough treated. The battalion of the marshals was soon after put to the rout by the arrows of the archers, and the assistance of the men at arms, who rushed among them as they were struck down, and seized and slew them at their pleasure. The lord Arnold d'Andreghen was there made prisoner, but by others than the lord James Audley or his four squires; for that knight never stopped to make any one his prisoner that day, but was the whole time employed in fighting and following his enemies. In another part, the lord John Clermont fought under his banner as long as he was able; but, being struck down, he could neither get up again nor procure his ransom: he was killed on the spot. Some say, this treatment was owing to his altercation on the preceding day with sir John Chandos.

In a short time, this battalion of the marshals was totally discomfited; for they fell back so much on each other, that the army could not advance, and those who were in the rear, not being able to get forward, fell back upon the battalion commanded by the duke of Normandy, which was broad and thick in the front, but it was soon thin enough in the rear; for, when they learnt that the marshals had been defeated, they mounted their horses and set off. At this time, a body of English came down from the hill, and, passing along the battalions on horseback, accompanied by a large body of archers, fell upon one of the wings of the duke of Normandy's division. To say the truth, the English archers were of infinite service to their army; for they shot so thickly and so well, that the French did not know which way to turn themselves, to avoid their arrows: by this means they kept advancing by little and little, and gained ground. When the men at arms perceived that the first battalion was beaten, and that the one under the duke of Normandy was in disorder, and beginning to open, they hastened to mount their horses, which they had, ready prepared, close at hand. As soon as they were all mounted, they gave a shout of "St. George, for Guienne!" and sir John Chandos said to the prince; "Sir, sir, now push forward, for the day is ours: God will this day put it in your hand. Let us make for our adversary the king of France; for where he is will lie the main stress of the business: I well know that his valour will not let him fly; and he will remain with us, if it please God and St. George: but he must be well fought with; and you have before said, that you would show yourself this day a good knight." The prince replied; "John, get forward; you shall not see me turn my back this day, but I will always be among the foremost." He then said to sir Walter Woodland, his banner-bearer, "Banner, advance, in the name of God and St. George." The knight obeyed the commands of the prince. In that part, the battle was very hot, and greatly crowded: many a one was unhorsed: and you must know, that whenever any one fell, he could not get up again, unless he were quickly and well assisted. As the prince was thus advancing upon his enemies, followed by his division, and upon the point of charging them, he perceived the lord Robert de Duras lying dead near a small bush on his right hand, with his banner beside him, and ten or twelve of his people: upon which he ordered two of his squires and three archers to place the body upon a shield, carry it to Poitiers, and present it from him to the cardinal of Perigord, and say, that "I salute him by that token." This was done; for he had been informed how the suite of the cardinal had remained in the field of battle in arms against him, which was not very becoming, nor a fit deed for churchmen to do, as they, under pretext of doing good and establishing peace, pass from one army to the other, they ought not therefore to take up arms on either side. These, however, had done so, at which the prince was much enraged, and for this had sent the cardinal his nephew sir Robert de Duras, and was desirous of striking off the head of the castellan of Amposta, who had been made prisoner, notwithstanding he belonged to the cardinal†; but sir John Chandos said, "My lord, do not think of such things at this

* Their names were: Dutton of Dutton,—Delves of Doddington,—Fowlehurst of Crew,—Hawkestone of Wainehill.—*Ashmole's Garter.*

† This is incorrectly translated; the castellan's connection with the cardinal was the very reason why the prince desired his death. Lord Berners properly translates the words of the original, "pourtant qu'il estoit," "*by-cause* he was pertaynynge."—Ed.

moment, when you must look to others of the greatest importance: perhaps the cardinal may excuse himself so well, that you will be convinced he was not to blame."

The prince, upon this, charged the division of the duke of Athens, and very sharp the encounter was, so that many were beaten down. The French, who fought in large bodies, cried out, "Montjoye St. Denis!" and the English answered them with, "St. George for Guienne!" The prince next met the battalion of Germans, under the command of the earl of Saltzburg, the earl of Nassau, and the earl of Neydo; but they were soon overthrown, and put to flight. The English archers shot so well, that none dared to come within reach of their arrows, and they put to death many who could not ransom themselves. The three above-named earls were slain there, as well as many other knights and squires attached to them. In the confusion, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was rescued by his own men, who remounted him: he afterwards performed many gallant deeds of arms, and made good captures that day.

When the battalion of the duke of Normandy saw the prince advancing so quick upon them, they bethought themselves how to escape. The sons of the king, the duke of Normandy, the earl of Poitiers, and the earl of Touraine, who were very young, too easily believed what those under whose management they were placed said to them: however, the lord Guiscard d'Angle and sir John de Saintré, who were near the earl of Poitiers, would not fly, but rushed into the thickest of the combat. The three sons of the king, according to the advice given them, gallopped away, with upwards of eight hundred lances who had never been near the enemy, and took the road to Chauvigny. When the lord John de Landas, who, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of St. Venant, were the guardians of the duke of Normandy, had fled with him a good league, they took leave of him, and besought the lord of St. Venant not to quit him until they were all arrived at a place of safety; for, by doing thus, he would acquire more honour than if he were to remain on the field of battle. On their return, they met the division of the duke of Orleans, quite whole and unhurt, who had fled from behind the rear of the king's battalion. True it is, there were many good knights and squires among them, who, notwithstanding the flight of their leaders, had much rather have suffered death than the smallest reproach*. The king's battalion advanced in good order, to meet the English: many hard blows were given with swords, battle-axes, and other warlike weapons. The king of France, with the lord Philip his youngest son, attacked the division of the marshals, the earls of Warwick and Suffolk: there were also with the marshals some Gascons, such as the captal de Buch, the lord of Pumiers, the lord Amery de Charree, the lord of Languran, the lord de l'Estrade. The lord John de Landas, with the lord Theobald de Bodenay, returning in good time, dismounted, and joined the battalion of the king. On one side, the duke of Athens, constable of France, was engaged with his division; and, a little higher up, the duke of Bourbon, surrounded with good knights, from the Bourbonois and Picardy. Near to these were the men of Poitou, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Dampmaire, the lord de Montabouton, the lord de Surgeres, the lord John de Saintré, the lord Guiscard d'Angle, the lord d'Argenton, the lord de Linieres, the lord de Montrande, the viscount de Rochechouart, the earl of Aulnoy. Many others were also engaged, such as the lord James de Beaujeu, the lord of Chateau-Villain, and other knights and squires from Burgundy. In another part were the earls of Vantadour and Montpensier, the lord James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, and the lord James his brother, the lord Arnold de Cervolle, surnamed the Archpriest, armed as tho young earl of Alençon. There were also from Auvergne, the lord de

* My manuscripts make here a new chapter, and it begins as follows:

"You have heard before related in this history the battle of Crecy, and how fortune was marvellously unfavourable to the French. They had equal ill-luck at the battle of Poitiers; for the French men at arms were at least seven to one. It must therefore be looked upon as very unfortunate that, with this advantage, they could not gain the field from their enemies. But, to say the truth, this battle of Poitiers was much better fought than that of Crecy; and the men at arms had more leisure, and better opportunities to observe their enemies, than they had at Crecy; for that battle did not begin before vespers, and with an army in disorder, whilst the battle of Poitiers commenced early in the morning, and the French army well arranged. There were many more gallant deeds performed, without comparison, in this than in the former battle; and there were not so many great lords slain. Those that were there behaved themselves so loyally, that their heirs, to this day, are honoured for their sake."

Marcueil, the lord de la Tour, the lord de Chalenton, the lord de Montague, the lord de Rochefort, the lord de la Chaire, the lord d'Achon; and from Limousin, the lord de Linal, the lord de Naruel, and the lord Pierre de Buffiere. From Picardy, there were the lord William de Merle, the lord Arnold de Renneval, the lord Geoffry de St. Dizier, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Hely, the lord de Monsant, the lord de Hagnes, and many others. The lord Douglas*, from Scotland, was also in the king's battalion, and for some time fought very valiantly; but, when he perceived that the discomfiture was complete on the side of the French, he saved himself as fast as he could; for he dreaded so much being taken by the English, that he had rather have been slain.

The lord James Audley, with the assistance of his four squires, was always engaged in the heat of the battle. He was severely wounded in the body, head and face; and as long as his strength and breath permitted him, he maintained the fight, and advanced forward: he continued to do so until he was covered with blood: then, towards the close of the engagement, his four squires, who were as his body-guard, took him, and led him out of the engagement, very weak and wounded, towards a hedge, that he might cool and take breath. They disarmed him as gently as they could, in order to examine his wounds, dress them, and sew up the most dangerous.

King John, on his part, proved himself a good knight; and, if the fourth of his people had behaved as well, the day would have been his own. Those, however, who had remained with him acquitted themselves to the best of their power, and were either slain or taken prisoners. Scarcely any who were with the king attempted to escape. Among the slain, were the duke Peter de Bourbon, the duke of Athens, constable of France, the bishop of Chalons† in Champagne, the lord Guiscard de Beaujeu, and the lord of Landas. The archpriest, sir Theobald de Bodenay and the lord of Pompadour, were made prisoners, badly wounded. In another part of the field of battle, the earls of Vaudemont and Genville, and the earl of Vendôme, were prisoners. Not far from that spot were slain, the lord William de Neale and the lord Eustace de Ribeaumont, the lord de la Tour and the lord William de

* "Lord Douglas, forgetful of his religious pilgrimage, offered his sword to the French king. He was received with distinguished honours, 'was made a knight of his hande,' Scala Chron. ap. Leland, and his service was accepted. To say that a person received the honour of knighthood, is, in modern language, uninteresting, and sometimes it is ludicrous. This must always be the case, when names and ceremonies are retained, while from a total change of manners, that which gave dignity to such names and ceremonies is forgotten by the vulgar.

"Great carnage was made of the Scots at the battle of Poitiers. Lord Douglas, after having been wounded, was forced off the field by his surviving companions. Archibald Douglas, a warrior eminent in our history, fell into the power of the enemy; but, by the extraordinary presence of mind of sir William Ramsay of Colluthy, he was concealed, and escaped unknown. The story of Archibald Douglas's escape, as related by Fordun, is curious. It shall be translated as nearly as possible in his own manner. 'Archibald Douglas, having been made prisoner along with the rest, appeared in more sumptuous armour than the other Scottish prisoners; and, therefore, he was supposed by the English to be some great lord. Late in the evening after the battle, when the English were about to strip off his armour, sir William Ramsay of Colluthy, happening to be present, fixed his eyes on Archibald Douglas, and, affecting to be in a violent passion, cried out, "You cursed, damnable murderer, how comes it, in the name of mischief (*ex parte diaboli*), that you are thus proudly decked out in your master's armour? Come hither, and pull off my boots." Douglas approached trembling, kneeled down, and pulled off one of the boots. Ramsay, taking up the boot, beat Douglas with it. The English bystanders, imagining him out of his senses, interposed, and rescued Douglas. They said, that the person whom he had beaten was certainly of great rank, and a lord. "What, he a lord?" cried Ramsay; "he is a scullion, and a base knave, and, as I suppose, has killed his master. Go, you villain, to the field, search for the body of my cousin, your master; and when you have found it, come back, that at least I may give him a decent burial." Then he ransomed the feigned serving-man for forty shillings; and, having buffeted him smartly, he cried, "Get you gone; fly." Douglas bore all this patiently, carried on the deceit, and was soon beyond the reach of his enemies.'

"This story, as to some of its circumstances, may not seem altogether probable; yet, in the main, it has the appearance of truth. Had I been at liberty to vary the narrative, I would have made Ramsay suspect, that the feigned serving man had stripped his master, after he had been slain or mortally wounded. This Archibald was the natural son of the renowned sir James Douglas, slain by the Saracens in Granada."—*Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

† *The bishop of Chalons.* We see, by the example of this prelate and of the archbishop of Sens, who assisted at the battle of Poitiers, that the custom, arising out of the feudal law, which obliged ecclesiastics to personal service in the armies, subsisted in many parts of France. The laws of the church condemned this practice, to which their temporal possessions subjected the clergy. This contradiction in the form of our government with the spirit of our religion existed until the practice was insensibly abolished by different dispensations, and exchanged for contributions of money and men. Francis I. by his edict of the 4th July 1341, regulated the clauses for their exemption. Since that period, the clergy have been exempted from service of ban and arriere ban, by different letters patent, and particularly by an edict of the 29th April 1636, under Lewis XIII.—*Villaret, Hist. de France*, vol. v. p. 104.

Montagu. The lord Lewis de Melval, the lord Pierre de Buffiere and the lord de Senerach, were taken. In this engagement, upwards of two hundred knights and squires were killed or captured. A band of Norman knights still kept up the battle, in another part of the field; and of these, sir Guinenton de Chambly and sir Baudrin de la House were slain: many others were discomfited, who were fighting in small bodies.

CHAPTER CLXII*.—TWO FRENCHMEN, RUNNING AWAY FROM THE BATTLE OF POITIERS, ARE PURSUED BY TWO ENGLISHMEN, WHO ARE THEMSELVES MADE PRISONERS.

AMONG the battles, skirmishes, flights and pursuits, which happened in the course of this day, an adventure befel sir Edward de Roucy, which I cannot omit relating in this place. He had left the field of battle, as he perceived the day was irrecoverably lost; and, not wishing to fall into the hands of the English, was got about a league off; when he was pursued by an English knight, his lance in the rest, who cried to him, "Sir knight, turn about: you ought to be ashamed thus to fly." Upon this, sir Edward halted, and the Englishman attacked him, thinking to fix his lance in his target; but he failed, for sir Edward turned the stroke aside, nevertheless he did not miss his own: with his spear he hit his enemy so violent a blow on the helmet, that he was stunned and fell to the ground, where he remained senseless. Sir Edward dismounted, and, placing his lance on his breast, told him that he would certainly kill him, if he did not surrender himself his prisoner, rescued or not. The Englishman surrendered, and went with sir Edward, who afterward ransomed him.

It happened that, in the midst of the general pursuit, a squire from Picardy, named John de Helennes, had quitted the king's division, and, meeting his page with a fresh horse, had mounted him, and made off as fast as he could. At that time, there was near to him the lord of Berkeley, a young knight, who, for the first time, had that day displayed his banner: he immediately set out in pursuit of him. When the lord of Berkeley had followed him for some little time, John de Helennes turned about, put his sword under his arm in the manner of a lance, and thus advanced upon the lord Berkeley, who taking his sword by the handle, flourished it, and lifted up his arm in order to strike the squire as he passed. John de Helennes, seeing the intended stroke, avoided it, but did not miss his own; for as they passed each other, by a blow on the arm he made lord Berkeley's sword fall to the ground. When the knight found that he had lost his sword, and that the squire had his, he dismounted, and made for the place where his sword lay: but he could not get there before the squire gave him a violent thrust which passed through both his thighs, so that, not being able to help himself, he fell to the ground. John upon this dismounted, and, seizing the sword of the knight, advanced up to him and asked him if he were willing to surrender. The knight required his name: "I am called John de Helennes," said he, "what is your name?" "In truth, companion," replied the knight, my name is Thomas, and I am lord of Berkeley, a very handsome castle situated on the river Severn, on the borders of Wales." Lord of Berkeley," said the squire, "you shall be my prisoner: I will place you in safety, and take care you are healed, for you appear to me to be badly wounded." The knight answered, "I surrender myself willingly, for you have loyally conquered me." He gave him his word that he would be his prisoner, rescued or not. John then drew his sword out of the knight's thighs and the wounds remained open; but he bound them up tightly, and, placing him on his horse, led him a foot-pace to Châtelherault. He continued there, out of friendship to him, for fifteen days, and had medicines administered to him. When the knight was a little recovered, he had him placed in a litter, and conducted him safe to his house in Picardy; where he remained more than a year before he was quite cured, though he continued lame; and when he departed, he paid for his ransom six thousand nobles, so that this squire became a knight by the great profit he got from the lord of Berkeley.

* This chap. in the original ed. is numbered CLX., and chap. XIX. is there numbered XVIII.; consequently from the latter point to this chapter, the present numbering is one higher, and henceforward will be two higher, than the original ed. of Mr. Johnes. This is here noticed to avoid confusion in quotations.—ED.

CHAPTER CLXIII.—THE MANNER IN WHICH KING JOHN WAS TAKEN PRISONER AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

It often happens, that fortune in war and love turns out more favourable and wonderful than could have been hoped for or expected. To say the truth, this battle which was fought near Poitiers, in the plains of Beauvoir and Maupertuis, was very bloody and perilous: many gallant deeds of arms were performed that were never known, and the combatants on each side suffered much. King John himself did wonders: he was armed with a battle-axe, with which he fought and defended himself. The earl of Tancarville, in endeavouring to break through the crowd, was made prisoner close to him: as were also sir James de Bourbon, earl of Ponthieu, and the lord John d'Artois, earl of Eu. In another part, a little farther off, the lord Charles d'Artois and many other knights and squires were captured by the division under the banner of the captal de Buch. The pursuit continued even to the gates of Poitiers, where there was much slaughter and overthrow of men and horses; for the inhabitants of Poitiers had shut their gates, and would suffer none to enter: upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway, before the gate, where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they spied an Englishman: and there were many English archers who had four, five, or six prisoners.

The lord of Pons, a powerful baron in Poitou, was slain there, as were several other knights and squires. The viscount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Saintonge, and the lord of Montendre, were taken prisoners: as was the lord John de Saintré, but so beaten that he never afterward recovered his health: he was looked upon as the most accomplished knight in France. The lord Guiscard d'Angle was left for slain among the dead: he had fought well that day. The lord de Chargny, who was near the king, combated bravely during the whole engagement: he was always in the crowd, because he carried the king's sovereign banner: his own also was displayed in the field, with his arms, which were three escutcheons argent on a field gules. The English and Gascons poured so fast upon the king's division that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men attacking one gentleman. The lord of Pompadour and the lord Bartholomew de Brunes were there captured. The lord de Chargny* was slain, with the banner of France in his hands, by the lord Reginald Cobham; and afterwards the earl of Dammartin shared the same fate.

There was much pressing at this time, through eagerness to take the king; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, "Surrender yourself, surrender yourself, or you are a dead man." In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the king of England; his name was Denys de Morbeque; who for five years had attached himself to the English, on account of having been banished in his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French, "Sire, sire, surrender yourself." The king who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, "To whom shall I surrender myself: to whom? Where is my cousin the prince of Wales? if I could see him, I would speak to him." "Sire," replied sir Denys, "he is not here; but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him." "Who are you?" said the king. "Sire, I am Denys de Morbeque, a knight from Artois; but I serve the king of England, because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there." The king then gave him his right hand glove, and said, "I surrender myself to you." There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, "I have taken him." Neither the king nor his youngest son Philip were able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng.

The prince of Wales, who was as courageous as a lion †, took great delight that day to

* Monseigneur Geoffroy de Chargny.—*D. Sauvage.*

† Courageous and *cruel* as a lion, says Lord Berners; the edition of D. Sauvage has the same words.

combat his enemies. Sir John Chandos, who was near his person, and had never quitted it during the whole of the day, nor stopped to make prisoners, said to him towards the end of the battle; "Sir, it will be proper for you to halt here, and plant your banner on the top of this bush, which will serve to rally your forces, that seem very much scattered; for I do not see any banners or pennons of the French, nor any considerable bodies able to rally against us; and you must refresh yourself a little, as I perceive you are very much heated." Upon this the banner of the prince was placed on a high bush: the minstrels began to play, and trumpets and clarions to do their duty. The prince took off his helmet, and the knights attendant on his person, and belonging to his chamber, were soon ready, and pitched a small pavilion of crimson colour, which the prince entered. Liquor was then brought to him and the other knights who were with him: they increased every moment; for they were returning from the pursuit, and stopped there surrounded by their prisoners.

As soon as the two marshals were come back, the prince asked them if they knew any thing of the king of France: they replied, "No, sir; not for a certainty; but we believe he must be either killed or made prisoner, since he has never quitted his battalion." The prince then, addressing the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham, said; "I beg of you to mount your horses, and ride over the field, so that on your return you may bring me some certain intelligence of him." The two barons, immediately mounting their horses, left the prince, and made for a small hillock, that they might look about them: from their stand they perceived a crowd of men at arms on foot, who were advancing very slowly. The king of France was in the midst of them, and in great danger; for the English and Gascons had taken him from sir Denys de Morbeque, and were disputing who should have him, the stoutest bawling out, "It is I that have got him:" "No, no," replied the others, "we have him." The king, to escape from this peril, said, "Gentlemen, gentlemen, I pray you conduct me and my son in a courteous manner to my cousin the prince; and do not make such a riot about my capture, for I am so great a lord that I can make all sufficiently rich." These words, and others which fell from the king, appeased them a little; but the disputes were always beginning again, and they did not move a step without rioting. When the two barons saw this troop of people, they descended from the hillock, and sticking spurs into their horses, made up to them. On their arrival, they asked what was the matter: they were answered, that it was the king of France, who had been made prisoner, and that upwards of ten knights and squires challenged him at the same time, as belonging to each of them. The two barons then pushed through the crowd by main force, and ordered all to draw aside. They commanded, in the name of the prince, and under pain of instant death, that every one should keep his distance, and not approach unless ordered or desired so to do. They all retreated behind the king; and the two barons, dismounting, advanced to the king with profound reverences, and conducted him in a peaceable manner to the prince of Wales.

CHAPTER CLXIV.—THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES A HANDSOME PRESENT TO THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

Soon after the earl of Warwick and the lord Reginald Cobham had left the prince, as has been above related, he inquired from those knights who were about him of lord James Audley, and asked if any one knew what was become of him: "Yes, sir," replied some of the company, "he is very badly wounded, and is lying in a litter hard by." "By my troth," replied the prince, "I am sore vexed that he is so wounded. See, I beg of you, if he be able to bear being carried hither: otherwise I will come and visit him." Two knights directly left the prince, and, coming to lord James, told him how desirous the prince was of seeing him. "A thousand thanks to the prince," answered lord James, "for condescending to remember so poor a knight as myself." He then called eight of his servants, and had himself borne in his litter to where the prince was. When he was come into his presence, the prince bent down over him, and embraced him, saying; "My lord James, I am bound to honour you very much; for, by your valour this day, you have acquired glory and

renown above us all, and your prowess has proved you the bravest knight." Lord James replied; "My lord, you have a right to say whatever you please, but I wish it were as you have said. If I have this day been forward to serve you, it has been to accomplish a vow that I had made, and it ought not to be thought so much of." "Sir James," answered the prince, "I and all the rest of us deem you the bravest knight on our side in this battle; and to increase your renown, and furnish you withal to pursue your career of glory in war, I retain you henceforward, for ever, as my knight, with five hundred marcs * of yearly revenue, which I will secure to you from my estates in England." "Sir," said lord James, "God make me deserving of the good fortune you bestow upon me." At these words he took leave of the prince, as he was very weak, and his servants carried him back to his tent: he could not have been at a great distance, when the earl of Warwick and lord Reginald Cobham entered the pavilion of the prince, and presented the king of France to him. The prince made a very low obeisance to the king, and gave him as much comfort as he was able, which he knew well how to administer. He ordered wine and spices to be brought, which he presented to the king himself, as a mark of his great affection.

CHAPTER CLXV.—THE ENGLISH GAIN VERY CONSIDERABLY AT THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

Thus was this battle won, as you have heard related, in the plains of Maupertuis, two leagues from the city of Poitiers, on the 19th day of September, 1356†. It commenced about nine o'clock, and was ended by noon; but the English were not all returned from the pursuit, and it was to recall his people that the prince had placed his banner upon a high bush. They did not return till late after vespers from pursuing the enemy. It was reported that all the

Edward the Black Prince.—From the Tomb at Canterbury.

flower of French knighthood were slain; and that, with the king and his son the lord Philip, seventeen earls, without counting barons, knights or squires, were made prisoners, and from five to six thousand of all sorts left dead in the field. When they were all collected, they found they had twice as many prisoners as themselves: they therefore consulted, if, considering the risk they might run, it would not be more advisable to ransom them on the spot.

* The marc is 13s. 4d.—*Phillips.*

† Froissart calls it on the 22d day of September, 1357; but Bouchet proves it to be a mistake, in his Annales d'Aquitaine, from the registers of the convent where the noblemen that were slain were buried: and in my two MSS. it is 1356. Also in the Annales Rerum Anglicarum, Wilhelmi Wincester, 1356. "Hoc anno, xix die Septembris, captio regis Johannis Franciæ, per Edwardum principem."

This was done: and the prisoners found the English and Gascons very civil, for there were many set at liberty that day on their promise of coming to Bordeaux before Christmas to pay their ransom.

When all were returned to their banners, they retired to their camp, which was adjoining to the field of battle. Some disarmed themselves, and did the same to their prisoners, to whom they showed every kindness; for whoever made any prisoners, they were solely at his disposal, to ransom or not, as he pleased. It may be easily supposed that all those who accompanied the prince were very rich in glory and wealth, as well by the ransoms of his prisoners, as by the quantities of gold and silver plate, rich jewels, and trunks stuffed full of belts, that were weighty from their gold and silver ornaments, and furred mantles. They set no value on armour, tents, or other things; for the French had come there as magnificently and richly dressed as if they had been sure of gaining the victory.

CHAPTER CLXVI.—THE LORD JAMES AUDLEY GIVES TO HIS SQUIRES THE PENSION OF FIVE HUNDRED MARCS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE PRINCE.

When the lord James Audley was brought back to his tent, after having most respectfully thanked the prince for his gift, he did not remain long before he sent for his brother sir Peter Audley, the lord Bartholomew Burghersh, sir Stephen Coffington, lord Willoughby of Eresby, and lord William Ferrers of Groby: they were all his relations. He then sent for his four squires that had attended upon him that day, and, addressing himself to the knights, said: "Gentlemen, it has pleased my lord the prince to give me five hundred marcs as a yearly inheritance; for which gift I have done him very trifling bodily service. You see here these four squires, who have always served me most loyally, and especially in this day's engagement. What glory I may have gained has been through their means, and by their valour; on which account I wish to reward them. I therefore give and resign into their hands the gift of five hundred marcs, which my lord the prince has been pleased to bestow on me, in the same form and manner that it has been presented to me. I disinherit myself of it, and give it to them simply, and without a possibility of revoking it." The knights present looked on each other, and said, "It is becoming the noble mind of lord James to make such a gift;" and then unanimously added: "May the Lord God remember you for it! We will bear witness of this gift to them wheresoever and whensoever they may call on us." They then took leave of him; when some went to the prince of Wales, who that night was to give a supper to the king of France from his own provisions: for the French had brought vast quantities with them, which were now fallen into the hands of the English, many of whom had not tasted bread for the last three days.

CHAPTER CLXVII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERTAINS THE KING OF FRANCE AT SUPPER, THE EVENING AFTER THE BATTLE.

When evening was come, the prince of Wales gave a supper in his pavilion to the king of France, and to the greater part of the princes and barons who were prisoners. The prince seated the king of France and his son the lord Philip at an elevated and well-covered table: with them were, sir James de Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earls of Tancarville, of Estampes, of Dammartin, of Graville, and the lord of Partenay. The other knights and squires were placed at different tables. The prince himself served the king's table, as well as the others, with every mark of humility, and would not sit down at it, in spite of all his entreaties for him so to do, saying, that "he was not worthy of such an honour, nor did it appertain to him to seat himself at the table of so great a king, or of so valiant a man as he had shown himself by his actions that day." He added also with a noble air: "Dear sir, do not make a poor meal because the Almighty God has not gratified your wishes in the event of this day; for be assured that my lord and father will show you every

honour and friendship in his power, and will arrange your ransom so reasonably, that you will henceforward always remain friends. In my opinion, you have cause to be glad that the success of this battle did not turn out as you desired; for you have this day acquired such high renown for prowess, that you have surpassed all the best knights on your side. I do not, dear sir, say this to flatter you, for all those of our side who have seen and observed the actions of each party, have unanimously allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it." At the end of this speech there were murmurs of praise heard from every one; and the French said, the prince had spoken nobly and truly, and that he would be one of the most gallant princes in Christendom, if God should grant him life to pursue his career of glory *.

* Extract taken from the convent of the Frères Mineurs, in the city of Poitiers, of the names of those knights who were slain in the battle of Poitiers, and other gentlemen that were buried in that convent.

"First, the underneath knights:

The duke of Athens, constable of France
The bishop of Chalon, (Reginauld Chaveau — Chronique de Wassebourg)
M. André, viscount de Chauvigny
Sir Lewis de Brosse
Sir John, lord of Mailly in Berry
Sir Geoffry de Chargny in Champagne
M. de Montjouan
Sir John de Lisle
Sir Gris Mouton de Chambely
Sir Peter de Chambely, his brother
M. de Chateau Vilain, in Champagne
Sir John de Montigny
Sir John de Maulmont
Sir John de Bourbon
Sir Philip de Bouteannillier
Sir Hugh de Maillo
Sir Geoffry de St. Dizier
Sir Aymery de la Barre
Sir William de Blese
Sir John de Grillon
M. de Chitre, lord of Rademonde
M. Clerin de Cherues
M. Baudin de Gargalingaeu
Sir Anxiaulme de Hois
Sir Michael de Pommoy
Sir Richard de Beaulieu
Sir William de Fuylle
Sir Hugh Bonnyn
M. Dannée de Melon
Sir William de Creneur
Sir William de Linnieres
Sir Olivier de St. Giles
Sir William de Romeneuil
Sir John de Cranches
M. Yvon du Pont, lord of Rochecheruiere
Sir William da Mongy
Sir John de Tigny
Sir John Brigdene
Sir John de Noirterre
Sir William de Paty
Sir Robert de Chalus
Sir Adam de Beauvilliers
Sir Bonabes de Roges
Sir Vynies de St. Denis
Sir Macé de Grosbois
Sir Louis de Nully
Sir Simon Oynepuille
Sir Henry, his brother
M. de Champrecour
Sir William Sauvage
Sir William du Retail
Sir Sequin de Cloux
M. le Vidame de la Roche Dagon
Sir Raol de Resay
Sir John de la Mirabeau
Sir Guiscard de Chantylon
M. Ancelin de Carou, lord of Hes
M. Guy des Barres, lord of Chaumont
Sir John de Cloys
M. le Borgne de Prie.

Squires.

Bernard de Douzenac
Robert Gilles de Miraumont
Guicheaux de Maronnay
Girard de Pierre
William de la Fosse
Robert de la Roche Pierre de Bras
John Ribriche, lord of Corbon
Celart Herausant
Hopart de Hanpedourt
Guymon Pery
William de la Jarracere
William Griau
Olivier de la Rosay
Girard Delee
Berart de Lemont
Heymonnet Embert
Jobert d'Artoy
Richard de Vendel
William Seurin
John du Flume
John Defleat
Guy de Bournay
Le Moine de Montigny
Guinet de Buysson
John de Brinac
Ymbert de Chamberant
Brunet d'Augun
John Sarrayn
Peter de St. Denis
Perrine de Pache
Ferry Pate
John Dynie
Le Petit d'Inchequin
Jehannot de Moutabis
Jolivet Buffart
John de Bourmeuille
John Martin
Ardouyn de la Touche
William de Lusange
Le Petit Bidaut de la Rochedegon.

"Many other bodies slain at the aforesaid battle, by license from the official, and permission of the mayor of Poitiers, were brought in carts from the Frères Mineurs of that town, and buried in large graves in their church-yard, without the church, the feast-day of St. Valentine, 1356; and honourable obsequies were performed in all the churches and convents in the town of Poitiers, at the cost of the good citizens of that town.

"Underneath are the names of those who were buried in the church of les Frères Prescheurs, of the town of Poitiers, which I have taken and extracted from the book called the Kalendar of the Convent, and translated from the Latin into French, chapter fifth.

The duke of Bourbon on the right of the great altar.
The marechal de Clermont on the opposite side.
Lower down, but near him, sir Aubert d'Anget.
After him the viscount de Rechechouart.
In the middle of the choir, Aymer de la Rochefoucault.
At the entrance of the choir, on the right, sir John de Sancerre.
In the chapel of the Magdalen, Sir John de St. Didier.
In the same chapel, near the wall, Thibaut de Laval.
In the chapel of the Apostles, near the wall, sir Thomas de Motuz.
In the chapel of our Lady, sir Walter de Montagu.
Adjoining to him, sir Raoul Rabinard.
In the nave, near the door, sir John Ferchaut.
Near to him, sir Peter Marchadier, and Heliot his brother.
Opposite the statue of St. Michael, sir Oliver de Mouville.
On the other side, sir Philip de Forges.
Before the great door, sir William de Bar and sir John de Nully.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES RETURNS TO BORDEAUX, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

When they had supped and sufficiently regaled themselves, each departed to his lodging with the knights and squires they had captured. Those that had taken them asked, what they could pay for their ransoms, without much hurting their fortunes; and willingly believed whatever they told them; for they had declared publicly, that they did not wish to deal harshly with any knight or squire that his ransom should be so burdensome as to prevent his following the profession of arms, or advancing his fortune. Towards morning, when these lords had heard mass, and had eaten and drunk a little, whilst the servants were packing up or loading the baggage, they decamped and advanced towards Poitiers.

That same night, the lord of Roy had entered the city of Poitiers with a hundred lances, that had not been engaged in the battle, for, having met the duke of Normandy near Chauvigny, he had commanded him to march for Poitiers, and to guard it until he should receive other orders. When the lord of Roye had entered Poitiers, he ordered the gates, towers, and walls, to be well watched that night, on account of the English being so near; and on the morning he armed all sorts of people, and posted them wherever he judged most convenient for the defence of the town. The English, however, passed by, without making any attempt upon it; for they were so laden with gold, silver, jewels, and great prisoners, that they did not attack any fortress in their march, but thought they should do great things if they were able to convey the king of France and his son, with all their booty, in safety to the city of Bordeaux. They returned, therefore, by easy marches, on account of their prisoners and heavy baggage, never advancing more than four or five leagues a-day: they encamped early, and marched in one compact body, without quitting the road, except the division of the marshals, who advanced in front, with about five hundred men at arms, to clear the country. They met with no resistance any where; for the whole country was in a state of consternation, and all the men at arms had retreated into the strong fortresses.

During this march, the prince of Wales was informed how lord James Audley had made a present of his pension of five hundred marcs to his four squires. He sent for him: lord James was carried in his litter to the presence of the prince, who received him very graciously, and said to him: "Sir James, I have been informed, that after you had taken leave of me, and were returned to your tent, you made a present to your four squires of the gift I presented to you. I should like to know if this be true, why you did so, and if the gift were not agreeable to you." "Yes, my lord," answered lord James, "it was most agreeable to me, and I will tell you the reasons which induced me to bestow it on my squires. These

"The names of those who were interred in the cloisters of the said convent

Le chevalier Miloton	Sir William de Miners	Sir John de Almaigne
Sir John de Chambes	Sir Raoul de Bouteillier	The lord d'Espraigny
Sir John Macillon	Sir Peter de la Rocdete	Sir Hugh de Tinctes
Sir Oliver de St. George	The lord de la Fayete	The lord of St. Gildart
Sir Ymbert de St. Saturnin	A German called Erroys Pincerne	Sir Henry de l'Aunoy
Sir John de Ridde	Sir Boulenuille, viscount d'Aumalle	Sir Girard de Helchemanc
Sir Hugh Odard	Sir John Fretart	Sir Gourard Guenif
Sir Giles Cherchemont	Sir Robert Daucre	Sir Vipert Beau
Sir John de Senycé	Sir John la Garpe, ung appel le filz de roy	Sir Henry Michiner
Sir Wm. de Digoyne and his son		Sir John de Brie
Sir John Drouyn de Metz in Loraine	Sir Lewis Defcrinel	Sir Raoul Seil
Sir Robert d'Aulnay	Sir John de Vernicourt	Sir Symon de Blesy
Master John Dannermarie	Sir Peter Audouyn	Sir Hugh Orry de Melle
Sir John de la Lang	Sir John de Vernoil	Sir Segnyn de Cluys
Sir Simon de Renouylle	Sir John de Montmorillon and his son	Sir Thomas de Baignel
Sir Philip de Pierrefiete	Sir Hugelin de Vaux	Sir Peter Baillon.
Sir William de Mausenac		

"Eight were buried in three graves, whose names and surnames were unknown; and among them was the body of a knight, whose surcoat of arms was three chevrons or, in a shield gules.

"The arms of all the princes, knights, and lords abovementioned were blazoned on the stalls of the convent, in order to keep them in perpetual remembrance."

Bouchet's Annales d'Aquitaine, 4me parte, folio 14.

four squires, who are here, have long and loyally served me, on many great and dangerous occasions; and until the day that I made them this present, I had not any way rewarded them for all their services; and never in this life were they of such help to me as on that day. I hold myself much bound to them for what they did at the battle of Poitiers; for, dear sir, I am but a single man, and can do no more than my powers admit, but, through their aid and assistance, I have accomplished my vow, which for a long time I had made, and by their means was the first combatant, and should have paid for it with my life, if they had not been near to me. When, therefore, I consider their courage, and the love they bear to me, I should not have been courteous nor grateful, if I had not rewarded them. Thank God, my lord, I have a sufficiency for my life, to maintain my state; and wealth has never yet failed me, nor do I believe it ever will. If, therefore, I have in this acted contrary to your wishes, I beseech you, dear sir, to pardon me; for you will be ever as loyally served by me and my squires, to whom I gave your present, as heretofore." The prince answered: "Sir James, I do not in the least blame you for what you have done, but, on the contrary, acknowledge your bounty to your squires whom you praise so much. I readily confirm your gift to them; but I shall insist upon your accepting of six hundred marcs, upon the same terms and conditions as the former gift."

The prince of Wales and his army kept advancing, without meeting any obstacle, and, having passed through Poitou and Saintonge, came to Blaye, where he crossed the Garonne, and arrived in the good city of Bordeaux *. It is not possible to relate all the feasts and entertainments which the citizens and clergy of Bordeaux made for the prince, and with what joy they received him and the king of France. The prince conducted the king to the monastery of St. Andrew, where they were both lodged; the king on one side, and the prince on the other. The prince purchased from the barons, knights and squires of Gascony,

* "A letter from the Black Prince to the bishop of Worcester, dated 20th October 1356, relating to the battle of Poitiers, wherein the French king was made prisoner, &c. Ex registro Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. episcopi, fol. 113.

'L'ra D'ni Principis Wall' de Capcione R. Francise par le prince de Gales.

'Reve'nt piere en Dieu, et tresch' ami.—Nous vous mercions entierement de ce que nous avons entendu q'vous estes si bien et si naturelment porte dev's nous, en p'nt Dieux p'r nous et p'r n're exploit; et sumes tout certeins q' p'r cause de vous devoutes p'eres et dautres, Dieu nous a en toutes nos besoignes be' vucliz aide; de quoi nous sumes a tous jo's tenuz de lui grazier, en p'ant que v're part ancy vieullietz faire en continuant dev's nous come devant ces heures avetz fait de quoi nous nous tenons g'a'ment tenuz a vous. Et, rev'ent piere, endroit de n're estat, dont nous penceons bien q'vous desirez la v're merci doier bones nouvelles, vuellietz entendre q' a la faisance de cestes estions sains et heures et tout en bon point, loiez en soit Dieux q' nous donit y ces meames de vous toutes soitz oir et saver, et de ce nous vuellietz certifier p'r vos l'res et p' les entrevenantz a plus souvent q' vous p'res bonement en droit de nouvelles ceandroitz. Vueillietz savoir q'la veille de la translation Saint Thomas de Canterbire, nouz commencesmes a chivauch' ove n're povar v's les parties de France et souvraignement p' cause q' nous entesdismes la venue de n're treshoun'e seign'r et piere le roy la endroitz, et si neismes dev's les parties de Bergies en Berye, Orlions et Tours, et avions nouvelles q' le roy de France ove g' nt povar bien pres de celles marches venoit p' combattre ove no's, et approcheasmes tantq' la battaille se prist entre nous en tiele maniere q' les ennemis estoient disconsitez, grace en soit Dieux, et le dit roi et son fils et plusieurs autres g'ntz pris et mortz, les noms de queauz nous vous envions p' n're tresch' bachiler mons' Roger de Cottesford portoir de cestes. Rev'ent piere en Dieux, et n're tresch'ami, le Saint Esprit vous ait toute jours en sa guarde.

'Donné souz n're seal a Birdeaux, le xxe jour d'Octob'r.'"—*Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 213.

We subjoin a translation of this curious letter.—Ed.

Reverend father in God, and very dear friend.—We thank you heartily for, as we have heard, you have been well and affectionately (naturelment) inclined towards us in praying to God for us and our enterprize; which we are very certain succeeded on account of your prayers and those of others. God has been pleased to aid us in all our necessities; for which we are bound to give him thanks for ever, and we pray that you will also do your part continuing with us as heretofore, for which service we hold ourselves much indebted to you. And, reverend father, in regard to our health, of which we believe that you in your kindness desire to hear good news, know that at this time we are well and happy and altogether in a good condition, praise be to God, which enables us now to let you hear and know that which we wish you to certify in your letters, and in frequent visits which you priests good naturedly permit, for the purpose of circulating news. You must know that on the eve of the translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, we commenced an incursion with our power, into the French territory, chiefly because we expected the arrival of our much honoured lord and father in those parts; and thus we advanced into the countries of Berges in Berry, Orleans and Tours, and had news that the king of France with a great power was at hand, and was coming to fight with us, and we approached so near that a battle took place between us, in which the enemy was discomfited, thanks be to God, and the said king and his son, and several other gentlemen, were taken or killed, for whose names we refer you to our very dear bachelor Mr. Roger de Cottesford, the bearer of these. Render thanks to God, and may the Holy Ghost have you our very dear friend, always in his keeping.

Given under our seal at Bourdeaux, the twentieth day of October.

the ransoms of the greater part of the French earls who were there, and paid ready money for them. There were many meetings and disputes among the knights and squires of Gascony, and others, relative to the capture of the king of France. On this account, Denys de Morbeque truly and by right of arms claimed him. He challenged another squire of Gascony, named Bernard de Trouttes, who had declared that he had an equal right to him. There was much disputing between them before the prince and the barons present: and as they had engaged to fight each other, the prince put them under an arrest, until they should be arrived in England, and forbade any thing more being said on the subject till they were in the presence of the king his father. However, as the king of France gave every assistance to Sir Denys in support of his claim, and leaned more to him than to any of the other claimants, the prince ordered two thousand nobles to be given privately to Sir Denys, in order to enable him the better to support his rank.

Soon after the prince's arrival at Bordeaux, the cardinal de Perigord came thither as, it was said, ambassador from the pope. It was upwards of a fortnight before the prince would speak to him, on account of the castellan of Amposta and his people having been engaged against him at the battle of Poitiers. The prince believed that the cardinal had sent them thither; but the cardinal, through the means of his relations, the lord of Chaumont, the lord of Montferrant, and the captal of Buch, gave such good reasons for his conduct to the prince, that he admitted him to an audience. Having obtained this, he exculpated himself so clearly that the prince and his council were satisfied; and he regained the place he before held in the prince's affection. All his people were set at liberty at moderate ransoms: the castellan's amounted to ten thousand francs, which he paid. The cardinal, soon after, began to touch upon the deliverance of king John: but I shall say little on that head, as nothing was done in the business. The prince, with his Gascons and English, remained all that winter at Bordeaux, where was much feasting and merriment; and they foolishly expended the gold and silver they had gained. In England also, there were great rejoicings, when the news arrived of the affair of Poitiers, and of the defeat of the French. Solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and squires who returned to England, after having been in this battle, were honoured in preference to any others.

CHAPTER CLXIX.—THE THREE ESTATES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLE AT PARIS, AFTER THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

During the time of this defeat at Poitiers, the duke of Lancaster was in the county of Evreux, on the borders of Coutantin; and with him were sir Philip de Navarre and the lord Godfrey de Harcourt. They had made war on Normandy from that quarter, and had continued to do so all that summer, on account of the king of Navarre, whom the king of France detained in prison. These three lords had done all in their power to join the prince of Wales; but it was not possible, for all the passages of the river Loire were too well guarded. When they were informed that the prince had made the king of France prisoner, and of the manner in which the battle of Poitiers had been won, they were much pleased, and put an end to their excursions; for the duke of Lancaster and sir Philip de Navarre wished to go to England, which they did. They sent sir Godfrey de Harcourt to guard the frontiers, at St. Sauveur le Vicomte.

If the kingdom of England and its allies were much delighted with the capture of the king of France, that realm was sore troubled and vexed. It had very good cause to be so; for there were great distresses and desolations in every quarter, and men of understanding foresaw that greater mischiefs might arise: since the king of France and all the flower of chivalry of that kingdom were either slain or made prisoners, and the three sons of the king, Charles, Louis, and John, who had escaped, were very young in years and understanding, so that no great expectation could be formed from them; and neither were they willing to undertake the government of the kingdom. Add to this, that the knights and squires who

had returned from the battle were so much despised and blamed by the common people, that they very unwillingly entered the great towns.

There were many conferences held, and much discontent appeared; when the most prudent and wise perceived that this state could not continue, nor longer go on without some remedy; for the English and Navarrois were in force in Coutantin, under sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was overrunning and destroying the country. The prelates of the church, bishops and abbots, and all the noblemen and knights, the provost of merchants and citizens of Paris, as well as the council from the other capital towns in the kingdom, assembled together in the city of Paris, in order to consult and advise upon the best manner of governing the kingdom of France, until king John should be set at liberty. But they were first determined to inquire what was become of the great sums of money that had been raised in France by way of dismes, maletostes *, subsidies, by the coinage and other vexations. Notwithstanding the country had been much harassed and distressed by levying them, the army had been badly paid, and the kingdom ill guarded and defended: but there was no one who could give any account of them. The clergy, therefore, resolved to select twelve of the wisest from among themselves, to consider and determine what would be most advisable to be done. The barons and knights chose twelve also, to attend to this business. The citizens likewise did the same, according to their unanimous agreement. These thirty-six personages were to remain at Paris, in order to confer together upon the better government of the kingdom; and all affairs were to be laid before these three estates: all prelates, noblemen, and all cities, towns and commonalties, were to obey them and execute their orders. In the beginning, however, there were many in this selection that were not agreeable to the duke of Normandy, or to his council.

The first act of the three estates was to forbid the coining any money in the manner in which it was then done, and to seize the dies. They next required of the duke of Normandy, that he would order the chancellor of the king his father to be arrested, the lord Robert Lorris, the lord Simon de Buci †, as well as many other masters of accounts and counsellors in former times to the king, that they might give a just account of what sums through their advice had been levied and raised in the kingdom. When all these personages heard of this, they quitted the realm as speedily as possible, and took refuge in other kingdoms until the face of affairs should be changed.

CHAPTER CLXX.—THE THREE ESTATES SEND MEN AT ARMS AGAINST SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT.

The three estates, after this, established and appointed, in their names, receivers to collect whatever taxes might be due to the king, or to the realm. They coined money of fine gold, which was called Moutons ‡: and they would with pleasure have seen the king of Navarre delivered from his prison in the castle of Crevecour in Cambresis, where he was confined; for it appeared to many members of the three estates, that the kingdom would be stronger and more ably defended, provided he would be true and loyal: for there were few noblemen at that time in France that were able to make any good defence, the greater part having been slain or made prisoners at the battle of Poitiers. They therefore requested the duke of Normandy to give him his liberty; for they thought he had been unjustly used, nor did they know for what reason he was a prisoner. The duke replied, that he could not advise his being set at liberty; for the king his father had ordered him to be confined, and he was ignorant of the cause or reason of it.

* *Maletoste*,—an extraordinary tax, or subsidy, levied the year 1296, by Philip le Bel, viz. at first the value of the hundredth, and afterwards of the fiftieth part of all either lay or churchman's goods.—*Cotgrave's Dictionary.*

† He was first president of the parliament.—*Hainault.*

‡ The gold coin called *Moutons* had the impression of the Agnus Dei, which the vulgar mistook for a sheep; hence it got the ridiculous name of Moutons. This coin was originally of the value of twelve sols six deniers fine silver.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. note, p. 231.

Le mouton d'or was a coin on which was impressed the figure of a lamb, with this inscription: "Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, miserere nobis;" and on the reverse a cross, with these words, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." There were fifty-two of these pieces in a marc of fine gold.—*Du Cange, Gloss.* ad verb *Muttones.*

At this period, news was brought to the duke and to the three estates, that sir Godfrey de Harcourt was waging a destructive war against Normandy; that his army, which was not very numerous, overran the country twice or thrice a-week, as far as the suburbs of Caen, of Saint Lo *, Evreux and Coutances, and no one went out to oppose him. The duke and the three estates ordered an expedition of men at arms, consisting of three hundred lances and five hundred with iron armour: they nominated four captains to command them, the lord de Reyneval, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Riville, and the lord de Frianville. This army set out from Paris, and marched to Rouen, where there was a large body collected from different parts. There were many knights from Artois and Vermandois, such as the lord of Crequi, the lord Lewis de Havesquerque, the lord Edward de Renti, lord John de Fiennes, lord Enguerrant de Hêdin, and many others: there came also from Normandy many expert men at arms. These lords, with their troops, advanced until they came to the city of Coutances, which they garrisoned.

CHAPTER CLXXI.—THE BATTLE OF COUTANTIN, BETWEEN SIR GODFREY DE HARCOURT, AND SIR RAOUL DE REYNEVAL.

When sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who was strong, bold, and courageous, heard that the French were come to the city of Coutances, he collected together as many men at arms as possible, archers and other friends, and said he would go to meet them. He left, therefore, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, accompanied by about seven hundred men, including every one. This same day, the French also sallied out, and had sent forward their scouts to examine the country, who returned and informed their lords that they had seen the Navarrois. On the other hand, sir Godfrey had sent out his scouts, who had taken a different road, and, having examined the army of the French, had counted their banners and pennons, and to what numbers they amounted. Sir Godfrey, however, paid but little attention to their report: he said, that since he saw his enemies he would fight with them. He immediately placed his archers in the front of his men, and drew up in battle array the Englishmen and Navarrois. When lord Raoul de Reyneval perceived he had drawn up his men, he ordered part of the French to dismount, and to place large shields before them to guard themselves against the arrows, and for none to advance without his orders.

The archers of sir Godfrey began to advance, as they were commanded, and to shoot their arrows with all their strength. The French, who were sheltered behind their shields, allowed them to shoot on, as this attack did not hurt them in the least. They remained so long in their position without moving, that these archers had expended all their arrows; they then cast away their bows, and began to fall back upon their men at arms, who were drawn up alongside of a hedge, sir Godfrey in the front, with his banner displayed. The French then began to make use of their bows, and to pick up arrows everywhere, for there were plenty of them lying about, which they employed against the English and men of Navarre. The men at arms also made a vigorous charge; and the combat was very sharp and severe, when they were come hand to hand; but the infantry of sir Godfrey would not keep their ranks, and were therefore soon discomfited. Sir Godfrey, upon this, retreated into a vineyard which was inclosed with strong hedges, and as many of his people as could get in followed him. When the French saw this, they all dismounted, surrounded the place, and considered how they could best enter it. They examined it on every side, and at last found an entrance. As they went round, seeking a passage, sir Godfrey and his men did the same, and halted at the weakest part of the hedge.

As soon as the French had gained this entrance, many gallant deeds of arms were performed; but it cost the French dear before they were complete masters of it. The banner of sir Raoul was the first that entered. He followed it, as did the other knights and squires. When they were all in the inclosure, the combat was renewed with greater vigour, and many a one was beat down. The army of sir Godfrey would not keep the order which he

* A city of Normandy, situated on the Vire, diocese of Coutances

had appointed, according to the promise made to him; but the greater part fled, and could not withstand the French. Sir Godfrey, on seeing this, declared, that he would prefer death to being taken, and, arming himself with a battle-axe, halted where he was; he placed one foot before the other, to be firmer; for he was lame of one leg, though very strong in his arms. In this position, he fought a long time most valiantly, so that few dared to encounter his blows; when two Frenchmen mounted their horses, and, placing their lances in their rests, charged him at the same time, and struck him to the ground: some men at arms immediately rushed upon him with their swords, which they ran through his body, and killed him on the spot. The greater part of his army were slain or made prisoners, and those who were able to escape returned to St. Sauveur le Vicomte. This happened in the winter of 1356, about Martinmas.

CHAPTER CLXXII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES CONDUCTS THE KING OF FRANCE FROM BORDEAUX TO ENGLAND.

After the death of the before-mentioned knight, sir Godfrey de Harcourt, as soon as the country had been freed from his incursions by the defeat of his troops, the French returned to Coutances, carrying with them their booty and prisoners. Shortly afterward, they returned to Paris, to the duke of Normandy, who was styled Regent, and to the three estates, who paid much honour to the knights and squires who had been in Coutantin. From that time, the town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and all the landowners of sir Godfrey de Harcourt, attached themselves to the English; for he had sold it, subject to his life, to the king of England, and had disinherited the lord Louis de Harcourt, his nephew, because he would not follow his party. When the king of England was informed of the death of sir Godfrey, he lamented him much, but embarked men at arms, knights, squires, and cross-bowmen, to the amount of upwards of four hundred men, to take possession of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which was well worth thirty thousand livres annual rent. He nominated the lord John Lisle governor of the lands and castles. The three estates, all this time, paid great attention to the better ordering of the realm of France, which was governed by them.

The prince of Wales, and the greater part of those lords who had been with him at the battle of Poitiers, remained all this winter at Bordeaux, revelling, making preparations of shipping, and settling their own affairs, or engaged in making arrangements for conducting the king of France, his son, and the principal lords who were prisoners, to England. When the season was sufficiently advanced, and every thing was ready for the prince's departure, he sent for the great barons of Gascony, the lord d'Albret first, and the lords de Mucident, de l'Esparre, de Longueren, de Pumiers, de Courton, de Rosem, de Chaumont, de Montferrant, de Landuras, sir Aymery de Tarse, the captal de Buch, the souldich de la Trane, and many others. He received them with every sign of affection and friendship, and promised them great rewards and profits, which is all that a Gascon loves or desires. He then informed them of his intention of going to England, that he should take some of them with him, and the rest he should leave in different parts of the province, to guard the frontiers against the French, and should put all the cities and castles under their management, as if they were their own property.

When the Gascons learnt that the prince of Wales intended taking away with him the king of France, whom they had assisted to make prisoner, they were unwilling to consent to it, and said to the prince: "Dear sir, we owe you, as it becomes us, all honour and obedience, to the utmost of our power, but it is not our intention you should carry the king of France from us, who have so largely contributed by our services to place him in the situation he is now in. Thank God, he is at present well in health and in a good city; and we are powerful enough to guard him against any force France may send to take him from us." The prince replied, "My dear lords, I willingly agree to all you have said, but the king, my father, wishes to have him, and to see him. We are very sensible and thankful for the services which you have done both to him and myself, and you may depend on being

handsomely rewarded for them." These words, however, did not satisfy the Gascons, nor would they agree to the departure of the king of France, until lord Reginald Cobham and sir John Chandos found a means of appeasing them. They were well acquainted with the avaricious disposition of the Gascons, and therefore said to the prince, "Sir, sir, offer them a handsome sum of florins, and you will see they will soon comply with whatever you wish." Upon this, the prince offered them sixty thousand florins; but they would not listen to him: at last it was settled that the prince should give them one hundred thousand florins, to be distributed among the barons of Gascony, and that he might set out with the king when he pleased. After this, he nominated four of them as governors of the country until his return; the lords d'Albret, de l'Esparre, de Pumiers, and de Rosem. This being done, the prince embarked on board a handsome ship, and took with him a great many Gascons; among them were the captal de Buch, sir Aymery de Tarse, the lord de Tarse, the lord de Landuras, the lord de Mucident, the souldich de la Trane, and many others.

The king of France was in a ship by himself, in order that he might be more at his ease. In the fleet there were five hundred men at arms and two thousand archers, to guard against any accidents at sea, and also because the prince had been informed before he left Bordeaux, that the three estates, who then governed France, had raised two large armies, which were posted in Normandy and at Crotoy *, to meet the English, and to carry off the king, but they saw nothing of them. They were eleven days and nights at sea, and on the twelfth they arrived at Sandwich, where they disembarked, and took up their quarters in the town and neighbourhood. They remained there two days to refresh themselves, and, on the third, set out and came to Canterbury.

When the king of England was informed of their arrival, he gave orders for the citizens of London to make such preparations as were suitable to receive so great a prince as the king of France. Upon which they all dressed themselves very richly in companies, and the different manufactories of cloth appeared with various pageants †. The king and prince remained one day at Canterbury, where they made their offerings to the shrine of St. Thomas. On the morrow, they rode to Rochester, where they reposed themselves. The third day they came to Dartford, and the fourth to London, where they were received with every honour and distinction, as indeed they had been by all the chief towns on their road.

The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London, thus accompanied, to the palace of the Savoy, which was part of the inheritance of the duke of Lancaster. There the king of France kept his household for some time; and there he was visited by the king and queen of England, who often entertained him sumptuously, and afterward were very frequent in their visits, consoling him all in their power. The cardinals de Perigord and St. Vital soon after came to England, by command of pope Innocent VI. They endeavoured to make peace between the two kingdoms, which they laboured hard to effect, but without success. However, by some fortunate means they procured a truce between the two kings and their allies, to last until St. John the Baptist's day, 1359. The lord Philip de Navarre and his allies, the countess of Montfort and the duchy of Brittany, were excluded from this truce.

Shortly afterward, the king of France and all his household were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windsor castle ‡, where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in that neighbourhood, as well as the lord Philip his son. The rest of the French lords remained at London, but they visited the king as often as they pleased, and were prisoners on their parole of honour

* A village in Picardy, near the mouth of the Somme.

† Unless Mr. Johnes's MSS. differed here from D. Sauvage's edition, he seems to have misconceived Froissart's meaning. "Adoncques ceux de Londres se vestirent par Connestablies, et très richement; et tous les maistres, en draps differens des autres," are the words in D. Sauvage's edition, which Lord Berners thus translates, "Then they of London arrayed themselfe by companyes: *and the chief masters clothing different fro the other.*"—Ed.

‡ He was afterward confined in Hertford Castle, under the guard of Roger de Beauchamp. David king of Scotland was likewise a prisoner there. John was removed to different other castles, from a suspicion of his being delivered by treason or force.—*Ashmole.*

CHAPTER CLXXIII.—DAVID BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY.

You have before heard how king David of Scotland had been a prisoner in England, where he had remained upwards of nine years. Shortly after this truce was agreed to between France and England, the two cardinals, in conjunction with the bishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, undertook the enlargement of the king of Scotland. The treaty was formed upon this ground, that the king of Scotland should never bear arms against the king of England, in his realm; neither advise nor consent that any of his subjects should molest or wage war upon the English: that the king of Scotland, upon his return to his kingdom, should make every exertion in his power to obtain his subjects' consent that the crown of Scotland be held in fief and homage from the king of England. If the country would not submit to this, then the king of Scotland would swear solemnly to maintain and keep a firm and lasting peace with the king of England. He was also to bind himself and his kingdom, as its own real lord and heir, in the payment of five hundred thousand nobles within ten years. And, upon the demand of the king of England, he was to send good hostages and securities for the performance of this treaty, such as the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar, the carl of Sutherland, the earl of Fife, sir Thomas Bisset and the bishop of Caithness, who were to remain in England as prisoners or hostages for their lord and king until there should have been paid the whole of the above sum. Public instruments were drawn up according to these resolutions and obligations, with letters patent, sealed by each of the kings.

The king of Scotland then left England, and returned to his own country, with his queen Johanna *, sister to the king of England. He was received by his subjects with every honourable mark of distinction, and, after having visited them, gave orders for his castle of Scone, near Perth, to be repaired, as it was in ruins. This is a good and commercial town, situated upon a river called the Tay †.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LAYS SIEGE TO RENNES.

About the middle of May, in the year 1357, the duke of Lancaster raised a large body of men at arms, of English and Bretons, for the assistance of the countess of Montfort and her young son, who at that time bore arms, and was a party in their excursions. There might be a thousand men at arms, well equipped and appointed, and five hundred others among the archers. This army left Hennebon, scouring and burning all the country until they came to the good town of Rennes, which the duke besieged on every side, and lay a

* "There is a strange diversity among historians concerning the time of the death of this ill-fated lady. Fordun, l. xiv. c. 18, says, that 'she went to England in 1357, and died after she had remained there for some time. In Scala Chron. ap. Leland, t. i. p. 568, it is said, the queen of Scotland, sister to king Edward, came out of Scotland to Wyndesore, to speak with him, and after was with her mother, queen Isabella, at Hertford, and there died. This imports, that she died either before her mother, or soon after her. It is certain that her mother died in the autumn, 1358.' Fordun and the author of Scala Chronica are in a mistake. Queen Johanna must have lived beyond the year 1357 or the year 1358. Her husband speaks of her as alive on the 21st February, 1358-9, Fœdera, t. vi. p. 118. Nay more, on the 2d May, 1362, a passport is granted by Edward III. to John Heryng, the servant of Johanna queen of Scotland, our sister; Fœdera, t. vi. p. 364;—and, therefore, I incline to follow Walsingham, p. 179, who places her death in 1362."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 250.

† "The treaty, which had been in agitation so many years was at length concluded, at Berwick, 3d October, 1357. By it the king of Scots was released, after a captivity of *eleven* years. The Scottish nation agreed to pay one hundred thousand marks sterling as the ransom of their sovereign, by yearly payments of ten thousand marks on the 24th June.

"Twenty young men of quality, and among them the eldest son of the Stewart, were to be given as hostages; and for further security, three of the following great lords were to place themselves in the hands of the English: the Stewart, the earls of March, Mar, Ross, Angus, and Sutherland, lord Douglas and Thomas Moray of Bothwell. It was provided, that a truce should continue between the two nations until complete payment of the ransom.

"The king of Scots, the nobility and the boroughs, ratified this treaty the 5th of October, and the bishops ratified it on the following day.

"David, immediately after his release, summoned a parliament, laid the treaty before the three estates, obtained their approbation, and then ratified the treaty anew, at Scone, 6th November."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 244.

long time before it, making many assaults, by which he gained not much, for there were in the town the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Laval, sir Charles de Dinan, and many others.

There was also in the town a young knight-bachelor called sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who, during the siege of Rennes, fought with an Englishman named sir Nicholas Dagworth. The terms of the combat were to be three courses with spears, three strokes with battle-axes, and three stabs with daggers. The two knights behaved most valiantly, and parted without hurting each other. They were seen with pleasure by both armies *. The lord Charles of Blois was at that time returned to the country: but, as he could not bear arms himself, he was perpetually teazing the regent of France to send him a sufficiency of men at arms to raise the siege of Rennes. But the regent was too much occupied with the affairs of France, which were in great confusion, to attend to his request, and therefore the siege of Rennes was still continued.

CHAPTER CLXXV.—A KNIGHT OF THE COUNTRY OF EVREUX, CALLED SIR WILLIAM DE GRAVILLE, RE-CONQUERS THE CITY AND CASTLE OF EVREUX FROM THE KING OF FRANCE, WHO HAD TAKEN IT FROM THE KING OF NAVARRE.

A KNIGHT, named the lord de Graville, who was attached to the king of Navarre by his faith and oath, was much hurt at his imprisonment, as were likewise many of the inhabitants of the Evreux; but they could not help themselves so long as the castle was in the enemy's possession. This sir William lived about two short leagues from Evreux, and whenever he came to that city, was received by a citizen, who in former times had been a great friend to the king of Navarre. When sir William came to the house of this citizen, he ate with him, and, during their repasts, discoursed on various subjects, but generally of the king of Navarre, and of his imprisonment, which vexed them sorely.

It happened one day that sir William said to him; "If you will give me your assistance, I will surely re-conquer this city and castle for the king of Navarre. "How will you do that?" replied the citizen, "for the governor is strongly attached to the French interest; and, without having gained the castle, we dare not shew ourselves, for he is master of the town and suburbs." Sir William answered: "I will tell you. You must get three or four citizens of your friends, that are of the same way of thinking as yourself, and fill your houses well with armed men that can be depended on; and I promise you on my head, that we will enter the castle by a trick, without incurring any danger." The citizen was so active, that he soon collected a hundred of his friends, who were as well inclined as himself.

Sir William went in and out of the town without any suspicion; for he had not borne arms in the last expedition with the lord Philip de Navarre, because the greater part of his property lay near to Evreux, and the king of France, at the time he conquered Evreux, had made all the landholders in the neighbourhood swear allegiance to him, otherwise he would have taken possession of their lands; he had thus only gained outwardly their affections, but their hearts remained attached to the interest of Navarre. If king John, however, had been in France, this sir William would not have dared to attempt what he performed. But he perceived the embarrassed state of public affairs, and that the three estates were desirous of giving the king of Navarre his liberty.

Sir William having made his preparations, the citizens were apprised what they were to do: he armed himself at all points, put on a short gown, and over all his cloak. He had under his arm a small battle-axe, and, thus equipped, he came, attended by his servant, whom he had let into the secret, to walk upon the square before the castle, as had been of

* The historian of Brittany says, it was William de Blancbourg, brother to the governor of Fougerai, who had been slain by Bertrand. In confirmation of this, Dugdale makes no mention of this duel, which he would probably have done, had sir Nicholas Dagworth been the person.

Bertrand, in the first course, pierced the coat of mail of Blancbourg, and his own helmet suffered the same. The two ensuing courses were harmless. Bertrand asked if he would run three more: which was accepted. In the first course, Bertrand struck him so violently on the body, his lance entered very deep, and unhorsed him. He would not kill him, from respect to the duke of Lancaster, but seized his horse, which he carried away as a trophy of his victory.

late his custom. He walked there so long a time, that the governor, who usually came to the gate twice or thrice about that time, opened the gate of the castle to look about him, but it was only the wicket-gate, and he placed himself right before it. When sir William perceived him, he approached nearer by little and little, saluting him most respectfully. The governor, though he returned the salute, kept his position. Sir William, however, at last came up to him, and began to converse with him on different subjects: he inquired if he had heard what was doing in France. The governor, from being constantly shut up in the castle, had enjoyed little communication from without, and being eager to learn the news, replied that he had heard nothing, and would thank him to let him know what was passing. "Very willingly," answered sir William. "It is reported in France, that the kings of Denmark and Iceland* have made an alliance, and have sworn never to return to their countries before they shall have destroyed England and brought back the king of France to Paris. They have an armament at sea, with upwards of one hundred thousand men: and the English are so much alarmed and frightened, that they know not which way to turn themselves to defend their coasts; for it was a very old saying with them that they were to be destroyed by the Danes." The governor inquired from whom he had learnt this news. Sir William said, that a knight in Flanders had written it to him as a fact, and added, "He has sent me the handsomest set of chess men I ever saw." He had invented this tale, because he had learnt the governor was very fond of playing at chess. The governor said, he should be very glad to see them. "Well," replied sir William, "I will send for them, but on condition you play with me for some wine;" and, turning to his servant, said, "Go, look for the chess-board and men, and bring them to us at the gate."

The servant set off, and the governor and sir William entered the first gate of the castle. The governor fastened the wicket on the inside with a bolt, but did not lock it. Sir William said, "Governor, open this second gate; you may do it without any risk." The governor opened the wicket only, and let sir William pass through to see the inside of the castle, while he himself followed. The servant, in the mean time, went to those citizens who had the armed men in their houses, led them up to the castle, and then blew his horn, as had been agreed on between him and his master. When sir William heard the horn, he said to the governor, "Let us go out, and pass this second gate, for my servant will soon return." Sir William re-passed this wicket, and stood close by it on the other side. When the governor had put one foot through, and had lowered his head, sir William drew out the axe he had under his cloak, and struck him such a blow that he split his head asunder, and felled him dead on the sill of the door. He then went to the first gate, which he opened.

The watch of the castle had heard with astonishment the servant's horn, for it had been proclaimed in the city, that no one should dare to sound a horn, under pain of losing his hand. He perceived also armed men running towards the castle; upon which he sounded his horn, and cried out, "Treason! treason!" Those that were in the castle hastened to the gate, which, to their surprise, they found open, the governor lying dead across it, and sir William, his axe in his hand, guarding the passage. The men at arms, who were to assist him, soon arrived, and having passed the first and second gates, fiercely drove back the garrison. Several were killed, and as many taken as they chose. They entered the castle: and in this manner was the strong castle of Evreux retaken. The citizens and inhabitants of the town immediately surrendered, when they drove out all the French. They sent to inform lord Philip de Navarre of this event, who was but lately returned from England. He came immediately to Evreux, and made it his principal garrison to carry the war into the rich country of Normandy. There were with him sir Robert Knolles, sir James Pipe, the lord Fricquet de Fricquant, le Bascle de Marneil, sir John Jewel, who afterwards, as you will hear in this history, did much mischief to France.

* *Ireland*, according to De Sauvage and Lord Berners.—Ed.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.—THE ARCHPRIEST ASSEMBLES A COMPANY OF MEN AT ARMS—HE IS MUCH HONOURED AT AVIGNON.

About this period, a knight, named sir Arnold de Cervole, but more commonly called the Archpriest, collected a large body of men at arms, who came from all parts, seeing that their pay would not be continued in France, and that, since the capture of the king, there was not any probability of their gaining more in that country. They marched first into Provence, where they took many strong towns and castles, and ruined the country by their robberies as far as Aviguon. Pope Innocent VI., who resided in Avignon, was much alarmed, as not knowing what might be the inventions of the archpriest, the leader of these forces; and, for fear of personal insult, he and the cardinals kept their households armed day and night. When the archpriest and his troops had pillaged all the country, the pope and clergy entered into treaty with him. Having received proper security, he and the greater part of his people entered Avignon, where he was received with as much respect as if he had been son to the king of France. He dined many times with the pope and cardinals, who gave him absolution from all his sins; and, at his departure, they presented him with forty thousand crowns, to distribute among his companions. These men, therefore, marched away to different places, following, however, the directions of the archpriest *

CHAPTER CLXXVII.—A WELSHMAN, OF THE NAME OF RUFFIN†, COMMANDS A TROOP OF THE FREE COMPANIES.

At this time, also, there was another company of men at arms, or robbers, collected from all parts, who stationed themselves between the rivers Loire and Seine, so that no one dared to travel between Paris and Orleans, nor between Paris and Montargis, or even to remain in the country: the inhabitants of the plains had all fled to Paris and Orleans. This company had chosen for their leader a Welshman named Ruffin, whom they had knighted, and who acquired such immense riches as could not be counted. These companies advanced one day near to Paris, another day towards Orleans, another time to Chartres; and there was no town nor fortress but what was taken and pillaged, excepting such as were strongly garrisoned. St. Arnout‡, Galardon§, Broumaulx, Aloes, Estampes‖, Chartres¶, Montlehery**, Plouviers in the Gatinois, Milly††, Larchant‡‡, Châtillon§§, Montargis‖‖, Yssieres, were plundered, and so many other towns that it would be difficult to recount them all.

They rode over the country in parties of twenty, thirty, or forty, meeting with none to check their pillage; while, on the sea-coast of Normandy, there were a still greater number of English and Navarrois, plunderers, and robbers. Sir Robert Knolles was their leader, who conquered every town and castle he came to, as there was no one to oppose him. Sir Robert had followed this trade for some time, and by it gained upwards of 100,000 crowns. He kept a great many soldiers in his pay; and, being very liberal, he was cheerfully followed and obeyed.

* "So some of his company departed: but styll the archpriest kept his company togyder."—*Lord Berners.*

† Barnes calls him *Griffith*, but mentions no authority.

‡ A town in Beauce, election of Dourdon.

§ A town in Beauce, election of Chartres.

‖ A city in Beauce, thirteen leagues from Paris.

¶ A city of Orleanois, capital of Beauce, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

** A town in the isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

†† A market-town in Gatinois.

‡‡ St. Mathurin de Larchant, a town in Gatinois.

§§ A town in Beauce, election of Châteaudun.

‖‖ Capital of Gatinois, twenty-seven leagues and a half from Paris.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.—THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS KILLS THREE KNIGHTS IN THE APARTMENT OF THE REGENT.

During the time that the three estates governed the kingdom, all sorts of people united themselves together, under the name of Free Companies: they made war upon every man that was worth robbing. I must here inform you, that the nobles and prelates of the realm and church began to be weary of the government and regulations of the three estates: they therefore permitted the provost of the merchants to Paris to summon some of the citizens, because they were going greater lengths than they approved of.

It happened one day, when the regent of France was in his palace at Paris, with many knights, nobles, and prelates, that the provost of the merchants collected also a great number of the common people of Paris who were devoted to him, all wearing caps* similar to his own, that they might know each other; and, attended by this crowd, the provost came to the palace. He entered the apartment of the duke, and demanded of him, in an insolent manner, to take the management of the kingdom of France, and to govern it wisely (since it would become his by inheritance), that all those free companies, who at present were overrunning the country, might be prevented from doing further mischief. The duke replied that he would very willingly comply with his request, if he had the means to carry it into execution; but that it more properly belonged to those who had raised and received the imposts due to the realm, to perform it. I cannot pretend to say how it happened, but words increased so much and with such warmth, that at last three of the principal counsellors of the duke were slain, and so near to him that their blood flew over his robe: he himself was in very great danger, but they had put one of their caps on his head, and he consented to pardon the death of his three knights. Two of them were knights of arms, and the other of laws. Their names were, the lord Robert de Clermont, a gallant and magnificent knight, and the lord de Conflans: the knight of laws was the lord Simon de Buci †.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.—BY WHAT MEANS THE KING OF NAVARRE ESCAPES OUT OF PRISON.

Shortly after this happened, the lord John de Piquigny and some other knights, through the advice of the provost of merchants and the principal persons of some of the other considerable towns, went to the strong castle of Alleres‡ in Pailleul, situated in Picardy, where the king of Navarre was imprisoned, under the guard of sir Tristan du Bois. These gentlemen brought such certain and assured tokens to the governor, that he allowed them to watch the opportunity when sir Tristan should be absent, so that by their means the king of Navarre was delivered out of his prison, and carried by them, with great joy, to Amiens, where he was gladly and honourably received.

He dismounted at the house of a canon, who was much attached to him, whose name was the lord Guy Kyrec. The king was conducted thither by lord John de Piquigny; and he remained with the canon fifteen days, until he had completed his equipage, and was assured of the duke of Normandy's dispositions; for the provost of merchants, who much loved him, obtained by intreaties his pardon from the duke, as well as from his fellow-citizens at Paris. Upon this, the king of Navarre was escorted to Paris by the lord John de Piquigny and others, citizens of Amiens, where he was gladly seen by all sorts of people: even the duke of Normandy entertained him; for it was necessary he should do so, as the provost and his faction had exhorted him to it; and the duke dissembled his own inclinations, to comply with those of the provost and the Parisians.

* Mi partie bleu.

† Etienne Marcel was provost of the merchants. The president, Henault, only mentions Robert de Clermont, marechal de Normandie, and Jean de Conflans, marechal de Champagne, as having been slain in the apartment of the regent.—Mezeray says the same. Simon de Buci he states as premier president, and ennobled 1369. This insolence of Marcel he puts under the year 1358, and the king of Navarre's escape from prison 1357.

‡ Q. if not Allery, which is a town in Picardy, near to Amiens. It was said before, that the castle of Crevecœur was his prison.—Barnes says it was *Arleux*, a town in the diocese of, Cambray and Douay.

CHAPTER CLXXX.—THE KING OF NAVARRE MAKES A SOLEMN HARANGUE TO THE PARISIANS.

When the king of Navarre had been some time in Paris, he collected an assembly of all sorts of people; prelates, knights, and the students at the university. He made to them a very long and studied harangue in Latin. The duke of Normandy was likewise present. He complained of the grievances and ills he had unjustly suffered, and said, that no one could possibly entertain a doubt but that his sole wish must be to live and die defending the realm and crown of France. It was his duty so to do; for he was descended from it, in a direct line, both by father and mother; and by his words he gave them to understand, that if he chose to challenge the realm and crown of France for himself, he could show that his right to them was incontestably stronger than that of the king of England.

It must be observed, that he was heard with great attention, and much commended. Thus, by little and little, he won the hearts of the Parisians, who loved and respected him more than they did the regent, duke of Normandy. Many other cities and towns in France followed this example: but, notwithstanding all the love and affection which the provost of merchants and the Parisians showed to the king of Navarre, the lord Philip de Navarre would not be seduced by it, or consent to come to Paris. He said, that in commonalties there was neither dependance nor union, except in the destruction of everything good.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.—THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INFAMOUS JACQUERIE OF BEAUVOISIS.

Soon after the deliverance of the king of Navarre out of prison, a marvellous and great tribulation befel the kingdom of France, in Beauvoisis, Brie, upon the river Marne, in the Laonnois, and in the neighbourhood of Soissons. Some of the inhabitants of the country towns assembled together in Beauvoisis, without any leader: they were not at first more than one hundred men. They said, that the nobles of the kingdom of France, knights, and squires, were a disgrace to it, and that it would be a very meritorious act to destroy them all: to which proposition every one assented, as a truth, and added, shame befal him that should be the means of preventing the gentlemen from being wholly destroyed. They then, without further council, collected themselves in a body, and with no other arms than the staves shod with iron, which some had, and others with knives, marched to the house of a knight who lived near, and breaking it open, murdered the knight, his lady, and all the children, both great and small; they then burnt the house.

After this, their second expedition was to the strong castle of another knight, which they took, and, having tied him to a stake, many of them violated his wife and daughter before his eyes: they then murdered the lady, her daughter, and the other children, and last of all the knight himself, with much cruelty. They destroyed and burnt his castle. They did the like to many castles and handsome houses; and their numbers increased so much, that they were in a short time upwards of six thousand: wherever they went, they received additions, for all of their rank in life followed them, whilst every one else fled, carrying off with them their ladies, damsels, and children, ten or twenty leagues distant, where they thought they could place them in security, leaving their houses, with all their riches in them.

These wicked people, without leader and without arms, plundered and burnt all the houses they came to, murdered every gentleman, and violated every lady and damsel they could find. He who committed the most atrocious actions, and such as no human creature would have imagined, was the most applauded, and considered as the greatest man among them. I dare not write the horrible and inconceivable atrocities they committed on the persons of the ladies.

Among other infamous acts, they murdered a knight; and, having fastened him to a spit, roasted him before the eyes of his wife and his children, and, after ten or twelve had violated her, they forced her to eat some of her husband's flesh, and then knocked her brains out.

They had chosen a king among them, who came from Clermont in Beauvoisis: he was elected as the worst of the bad, and they denominated him James Goodman *. These wretches burnt and destroyed in the country of Beauvoisis, and at Corbie, Amiens, and Montdidier, upwards of sixty good houses and strong castles. By the acts of such traitors in the country of Brie and thereabout, it behoved every lady, knight, and squire, having the means of escape, to fly to Meaux, if they wished to preserve themselves from being insulted, and afterwards murdered. The duchess of Normandy, the duchess of Orleans, and many other ladies, had adopted this course to save themselves from violation. These cursed people thus supported themselves in the countries between Paris, Noyon, and Soissons, and in all the territory of Coucy in the county of Valois. In the bishoprics of Noyon, Laon, and Soissons, there were upwards of one hundred castles and good houses of knights and squires destroyed.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.—THE KING OF NAVARRE DEFEATS MANY OF THESE VILLAINS IN BEAUVOISIS.—THE PROVOST OF MERCHANTS BUILDS A WALL ROUND PARIS.

When the gentlemen of Beauvoisis, Corbie, Vermandois, and of the lands where these wretches were associated, saw to what lengths their madness had extended, they sent for succour to their friends in Flanders, Hainault, and Bohemia: from which places numbers soon came, and united themselves with the gentlemen of the country. They began therefore to kill and destroy these wretches wherever they met them, and hung them up by troops on the nearest trees. The king of Navarre even destroyed in one day, near Clermont in Beauvoisis, upwards of three thousand: but they were by this time so much increased in number, that had they been altogether, they would have amounted to more than one hundred thousand. When they were asked for what reason they acted so wickedly; they replied, they knew not, but they did so because they saw others do it; and they thought that by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world.

At this period, the duke of Normandy, suspecting the king of Navarre, the provost of merchants and those of his faction, for they were always unanimous in their sentiments, set out from Paris, and went to the bridge at Charenton-upon-Marne, where he issued a special summons for the attendance of the crown vassals, and sent a defiance to the provost of merchants, and to all those who should support him. The provost, being fearful he would return in the night-time to Paris (which was then uninclosed), collected as many workmen as possible from all parts, and employed them to make ditches quite round Paris. He also surrounded it by a wall with strong gates. For the space of one year, there were three hundred workmen daily employed; the expense of which was equal to maintaining an army. I must say, that to surround, with a sufficient defence, such a city as Paris, was an act of greater utility than any provost of merchants had ever done before; for otherwise it would have been plundered and destroyed several times by the different factions.

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.—THE BATTLE OF MEAUX IN BRIE, WHERE THE VILLAINS ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE EARL OF FOIX AND THE CAPTAL OF BUCH.

At the time these wicked men were overrunning the country, the earl of Foix and his cousin the captal of Buch were returning from a croisade in Prussia †. They were informed, on their entering France, of the distress the nobles were in; and they learnt at the city of Chalons, that the duchess of Normandy, the duchess of Orleans, and three hundred other ladies, under the protection of the duke of Orleans, were fled to Meaux on account of these disturbances. The two knights resolved to go to the assistance of these ladies, and to reinforce them with all their might, notwithstanding the captal was attached to the English;

* Jacques Bon Homme.

† Barnes says that the lord Fauconbridge was with them, and quotes Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 4; but I do not see that he mentions any thing relative to this matter, except that *he made a voyage to the Holy Land.*

but at that time there was a truce between the two kings. They might have in their company about sixty lances. They were most cheerfully received, on their arrival at Meaux, by the ladies and damsels; for these Jacks and peasants of Brie had heard what number of ladies, married and unmarried, and young children of quality, were in Meaux: they had united themselves with those of Valois, and were on their road thither. On the other hand, those of Paris had also been informed of the treasures Meaux contained, and had set out from that place in crowds: having met the others, they amounted together to nine thousand men: their forces were augmenting every step they advanced.

They came to the gates of the town, which the inhabitants opened to them, and allowed them to enter: they did so in such numbers that all the streets were quite filled, as far as the market-place, which is tolerably strong, but it required to be guarded, though the river Marne nearly surrounds it. The noble dames who were lodged there, seeing such multitudes rushing towards them, were exceedingly frightened. On this, the two lords and their

Battle of Meaux, in Brie, where the Jacquerie were defeated by the Count de Foix and the Captal de Buch. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

company advanced to the gate of the market-place, which they had opened, and marching under the banners of the earl of Foix and duke of Orleans, and the pennon of the captal of Buch, posted themselves in front of this peasantry, who were badly armed. When these banditti perceived such a troop of gentlemen, so well equipped, sally forth to guard the market-place, the foremost of them began to fall back. The gentlemen then followed them, using their lances and swords. When they felt the weight of their blows, they, through fear, turned about so fast, they fell one over the other. All manner of armed persons then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, slaying so many that

they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In short, they killed upwards of seven thousand. Not one would have escaped, if they had chosen to pursue them further.

On the return of the men at arms, they set fire to the town of Meaux, burnt it; and all the peasants they could find were shut up in it, because they had been of the party of the Jacks. Since this discomfiture which happened to them at Meaux, they never collected again in any great bodies; for the young Enguerrand de Coucy * had plenty of gentlemen under his orders, who destroyed them, wherever they could be met with, without mercy †.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.—PARIS BESIEGED BY THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF FRANCE.

Not long after this event, the duke of Normandy assembled many noblemen and gentlemen, as well those of his own kingdom as from the empire, by means of subsidies. They might amount, in the whole, to more than three thousand lances. With this force he marched to lay siege to Paris, towards the suburbs of St. Antoine, along the river Seine. He took up his quarters at St. Maur ‡, and encamped his army in that neighbourhood; whence he made excursions with it every day towards Paris. Sometimes the duke resided at Charenton, at others at St. Maur.

Nothing could enter Paris, by land or water, on that side; for the duke had possession of the two rivers, Marne and Seine: his people had burnt all the villages round Paris, which were not inclosed, in order to chastise more severely the Parisians. Paris itself would have been destroyed if it had not been fortified, as before related; and no one dared to enter or go out of it, for fear of the duke's army, who scoured both sides of the Seine as they pleased, for none ventured to oppose them. The provost of merchants still continued his attachment to the king of Navarre as strong as ever; as did the council and commonalty of Paris; and, as before said, he employed people night and day the more strongly to fortify the city. He had also a large body of men at arms, Navarre soldiers and English archers, and other companions with him. There were among the inhabitants some very determined and able men, such as John Maillart, his brother Symon, and many of their relations, by whom he was very much disliked on account of his hatred to the duke of Normandy; but the provost had attached to himself such a strong party, that no one dared to contradict him, unless he wished to be murdered without mercy.

The king of Navarre, who was acquainted with all this variance between the duke of Normandy and the Parisians, justly imagined, that things could not long continue in their present state; nor had he any very great confidence in the commonalty of Paris: he therefore quitted Paris as handsomely as he could, and went to St. Denis, where there was a large body of men at arms in the pay of the Parisians. In this position, the king remained for six weeks, and the duke at Charenton. The two armies pillaged and ruined the country on all sides. The archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Auxerre, the bishop of Beauvais, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Fiennes and the lord de St. Venant, undertook to mediate between them. They managed so wisely with both parties, that the king of Navarre, of his own free will and accord, went to the duke, his brother-in-law, at Charenton, and made excuses for having given him cause of suspicion. First, for the death of the two marshals and master Simon de Buci; also for the insult which the provost of the merchants had offered to him in his own palace at Paris, which he swore had been done without his knowledge. He promised the duke to remain with him at all events, during this expedition

* *Enguerrand de Coucy* was one of the hostages given by France to England, at the treaty for the liberty of king John.

Edward, to attach him to his interest, married him to Isabella his second daughter, and gave him very large possessions in England. He erected the barony of Bedford into an earldom in his favour.

For further particulars relating to Enguerrand de Coucy, see M. de Zurlauben's memoir, in the xxvth vol. of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 168.

† Barnes says, that "their captain, James the Goodman, being here taken alive, was sent to the dauphin, who, understanding that he had assumed the name of a king, caused him to be crowned with a trivet, or the three-legged frame of an iron skellet, red hot, and so to be hanged, in requital for all his barbarous cruelties."

‡ Probably St. Maur des-Fossez, in the Isle of France.

Upon this peace was made between them. The king of Navarre added, that he would have the Parisians corrected for the evil deeds they had committed. The commonalty were to be included in this peace; but the duke was to have the provost of the merchants delivered up to him, and twelve of the citizens, according to his choice, to punish in what manner he should think best.

These things being settled, the king of Navarre returned to St. Denis, and the duke went to Meaux in Brie, where he dismissed his army. Some of the citizens of Paris, to whom the treaty had given more freedom to speak their minds, intreated the duke to return to Paris, in all security, and that they would pay him every honour in their power. The duke answered, "that he should consider the peace as good, having sworn to it; that it should never, with God's permission, be infringed by him; but that he would never again enter Paris, unless he had satisfaction from those who had insulted him." The provost of the merchants, and those of his faction, frequently visited the king of Navarre at St. Denis: they remonstrated with him on the indignation of the duke, which they had incurred on his account (for they had delivered him out of prison and brought him to Paris), and that in the name of God, they would not place any confidence in the duke, nor in his council.

The king replied: "Be assured, gentlemen and friends, that you shall not suffer any ills without my partaking of them; and, as you have at present the government of Paris, I would advise you to provide yourselves with gold and silver, so that, if there should be any necessity, you may know where to find it, and send it confidentially here to me at St. Denis, trusting to my faith: I will take good care of it, and will keep secretly a body of men at arms, and other companions, with whom, in case of need, you may make war upon your enemies." The provost of the merchants followed this advice; and thrice * every week afterwards, he conducted two horses laden with florins to the king of Navarre at St. Denis, who most cheerfully received them.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.—SOME PARISIANS ARE SLAIN AT ST. CLOUD, BY THE ENGLISH WHO HAD BEEN SOLDIERS IN PARIS.

There had remained in Paris a great number of the English and Navarre soldiers, whom the provost and commonalty of Paris had in their pay, to assist them against the duke of Normandy, and very loyally and well had they served them during the time the war lasted. When the treaty was concluded between the duke and the Parisians, some of these soldiers left Paris, others remained. Those that quitted it went to the king of Navarre, who retained them all, but there were left behind in Paris about three hundred, who enjoyed themselves, and spent their money cheerfully. There happened, however, a quarrel between them and the inhabitants, when upwards of sixty English were slain. The provost was exceedingly angry at this, and blamed the Parisians highly; but, to appease the commonalty, he seized one hundred and fifty of the English, whom he confined over three gates, and told the Parisians, who were so much incensed that they wanted to murder them, that he would have them punished, according to their deserts, which satisfied them. When night came, the provost set them at liberty to go where they pleased; they went to St. Denis to the king of Navarre, who accepted their services.

In the morning, when the Parisians found that the English were let out of prison, they were much enraged against the provost; but he, who was a prudent and wise man, knew well how to dissemble what part he had in it, and to turn it off, so that it was soon forgotten. When these soldiers, English and Navarrois, were all collected together at St. Denis, they were upwards of three hundred. They resolved to be revenged for the murder of their companions and the insults they themselves had sustained. They first sent a challenge to the Parisians, and then made war upon them, cutting off and slaying all those who issued out of the town, so that no one dared to venture beyond the gates. The provost of the merchants was, upon this, required to arm a part of the commonalty, and take the field, for they were desirous of fighting these English. He complied with their request,

* Lord Berners and D. Sauvage say *twice*.—Ed.

and said he would accompany them. He armed, therefore, a body of the Parisians, and marched out, to the number of twelve hundred, who, when they were in the plains, were informed that the English they were in search of were in the neighbourhood of St. Cloud. Upon this intelligence, they divided themselves in two bodies, and took separate roads. These two parties were on their march all that day round Montmartre, but did not meet their enemies.

It chanced that the provost had the smallest division, and, after searching all about, entered Paris by St. Martin's gate, without having done any thing. The other division, who were ignorant of the return of the provost, kept the field until vespers, when they began their retreat, but without any regular order, like those who did not look for or expect any hindrance. They came back in crowds quite fatigued; some carried their helmets in their hands, others slung them round their necks; some dragged their swords after them on the ground, while others hung theirs on their shoulders. They had taken their road so as to enter Paris by the gate of St. Honoré *, when suddenly they came upon the English, to the amount of four hundred, in a hollow road, who, upon seeing them, began to shout, "Here are the Frenchmen!" and fell upon them, which made them fly in every direction. At the first onset, there were upwards of two hundred overthrown. The French, who had not kept any order in their march, were so much astonished that they never thought of rallying, but made the best of their way to escape, and were killed in their flight like so many sheep. There were upwards of six hundred slain in this pursuit; they were followed even beyond the barriers of Paris. The commonalty of Paris threw all the blame of this accident on the provost of the merchants, and said that he had betrayed them. On the next morning, the near relations and friends of those that had been slain issued out of Paris with cars and carts, to seek for the bodies of the dead to bury them: but the English had placed an ambuscade near the field of battle, when they killed and wounded more than six score of them.

The Parisians were thrown into great trouble and dismay, for they did not know whom to trust. They were night and day under much alarm, for the king of Navarre was grown cold in his proffered assistance to support them, on account of the peace which he had sworn to the duke of Normandy, and also for the outrage which the Parisians had committed on the English soldiers: he connived, therefore, at the chastisement they had received. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy was much enraged, that the provost of the merchants should still keep the government of Paris. The provost and his faction were not quite at their ease; for the Parisians, as they were well informed, despised them exceedingly.

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.—THE DEATH OF THE PROVOST OF THE MERCHANTS OF PARIS.

The provost and those of his party held many secret councils among themselves, to consider in what manner they could best keep their authority. They knew they should not find mercy from the duke of Normandy, whose general answer to the Parisians was, that he would never make peace with them, until twelve persons from Paris should be given up to him, according to his choice, for him to deal with as he pleased. This declaration had very much alarmed the provost and his friends; they thought it preferable to remain alive in good prosperity than to be destroyed, and that it was much better to slay than to be slain. They entered, therefore, into a secret treaty with the English, to continue on the war against Paris. It was agreed upon between them, that the provost and his friends should be posted over the gates of St. Honoré and St. Anthony, so that the English and Navarrois might together enter Paris at midnight, properly prepared to ruin and destroy the town, except such parts where signals should be placed at the doors or windows: wherever this signal was not found, they were to put men and women to the sword.

The night on which this enterprise was to take place, God shewed his mercy to some of the citizens who had always been attached to the duke, that is to say, John Maillart, his

* At that period, the gate of St. Honoré was near the Quinze-Vingts.—*Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xvii. p. 696.

brother Symon, and many others, who by divine inspiration (as one may well suppose it) gained information that Paris was to be sacked and destroyed. They therefore armed themselves secretly, made all their party do the same, and whispered their suspicions abroad, in order to acquire more help. They all came properly armed, a little before midnight, to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand. Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name; "Stephen, what do you do here at this time of night?" The provost replied; "John, why do you ask it? I am here to take care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government." "By God," answered John, "things shall not go on so: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now shew you," addressing himself to those near him; "for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city." The provost said, "John, you lie." John replied, "It is you, Stephen, who lie;" and rushing on him, cried to his people, "Kill them, kill them: now strike home, for they are all traitors." There was a very great bustle; and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others, who were present, were also killed: the remainder were carried to prison. They then put themselves in motion, and awakened every one in the different streets of Paris.

John Maillart and his party went to the gate of St. Honoré, where they found those of the provost's faction, whom they accused of treason, and whose excuses were of no avail. Many of them were taken, and sent to different prisons: those who would not suffer themselves to be made prisoners, were slain without mercy. This same night, all those who were inculpated in the treason, for which the provost had been slain, were taken in their beds; for those who had been sent to prison had confessed the fact. On the morrow morning, John Maillart assembled the greater part of the commonalty of Paris in the market-place; where, having mounted a scaffold, he explained, in general terms, his reasons for having killed the provost of the merchants. All those who had been of the faction of the provost were then condemned to die by the elders of the commonalty, and were accordingly executed with various tortures.

These things done, John Maillart, who was much in the Parisians' favour, and some of the elders attached to him, sent Symon Maillart and two masters in Parliament, sir John Alphonso, and master John Pastorel, to the duke of Normandy, who resided at Charenton. They related to the duke the event that had happened in Paris, and besought him to return thither to direct and counsel the city henceforwards, as all his adversaries were slain. The duke replied, that he would willingly comply with their request. He accordingly came to Paris, attended by sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord of Roye, with many other knights, and took up his lodging in the Louvre *.

* All this chapter I have translated from my copy printed on vellum, which is conformable to Denys Sauvage's edition, and to lord Berners' translation: but, on comparing it with two of my manuscripts, there is a very great difference; they are perfectly similar in the text to the three manuscripts mentioned by M. Dacier in his memoir, "To whom ought to be attributed the glory of the revolution which saved Paris during the captivity of king John?"—*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, &c., vol. xliii. p. 563.

M. Dacier proves very clearly, that John Maillart, so far from being the hero who saved his country, was a rebel, and connected with the provost: that the regent, *on that account*, confiscated the property which John Maillart had in the county of Dampmartin, and gave to John de Chastilson, earl of Porcien, and his heirs for ever, on account of the services he had rendered, and was still rendering to the king, a rent charge of five hundred livres of this confiscated property in Dampmartin and elsewhere.—Extracted from the Trésor des Chartres—Registro 86, piece 142.

M. Dacier continues: "If this piece should leave any doubts upon the want of exactness in the narration of Froissart, I hope to be able to shew, that the commonly-received narration is not the true text. I believe I have found this text in three manuscripts in the king's library, two of which are perhaps the most ancient and authentic that exist in any library. One, numbered 8318, has a date, which marks its age; upon one of the leaves of vellum, at the beginning, is written:

"'This is a part of the chronicles done by master John Froissart, a Hainaulter, from the time of king Charles IV., of the wars between France and England; which chronicles master William Boisratier, master of requests of the king's palace, one of his counsellors, and counsellor also to the duke of Berry his lord, gave to the aforesaid duke his lord, in his hotel de Neelle, the 8th day of November in the year 1407.'—Signed Flamel.

"The manuscript cannot be later than this date: and one may see by the signature of W. Boisratier, which is on a leaf of parchment pasted on the inside of the cover, that he had been owner of it some time before he presented it to the duke of Berry; so that it may, without

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.—THE KING OF NAVARRE DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE, THE FRENCH KING BEING AT THE TIME A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.

When the king of Navarre was informed of the death of his great friend the provost of the merchants, and of those who were attached to him, he was sorely vexed; for the provost had always been very favourable to his designs. And because he had the reputation of being the chief cause of the provost's treasons, the lord Philip de Navarre, who at that time was at St. Denis with him, advised him, as he could not see any means of getting clear of this suspicion, to declare war against the kingdom of France. He sent his challenge to the duke of Normandy, to the Parisians, and to the whole realm of France. He quitted St. Denis, and his people overran the whole country, plundering it as far as Melun-sur-Seine*, where

difficulty, be estimated as having been written the latter end of the 14th century. The second manuscript is so perfectly conformable to the first in the quality of the vellum, the colour of the ink, and the form of the letters, that it clearly belongs to the same period."

M. Dacier does not believe these manuscripts copied from the same original, nor from each other. He then goes on to the

"Third manuscript, numbered 6760, which is less ancient. It appears to have been written towards the middle of the 15th century. In comparing it with the two preceding, I have found some differences that prove it is not a copy from them. This forms a third testimony in favour of the new text of Froissart. As this text has never been published, I shall transcribe the whole chapter, except the first twenty lines, in which the historian lays down the plan of the conspiracy of Marcel similar to what is in the printed editions.

"That very night which was to disclose all this mischief, (that is to say, the destruction of Paris,) God inspired and alarmed some of the citizens of Paris, who were and ever had been attached to the duke of Normandy, of whom sir Pepin des Essarts and sir John de Charny were the leaders; and these were, as we may suppose, informed by divine inspiration that Paris was to be overrun and destroyed. They soon armed themselves, made all those of their party do the same, and secretly spread abroad their intelligence in different quarters, that they might have more assistance. This sir Pepin then set out, with many other determined companions, well armed. Sir Pepin displayed the banner of France, crying out *Au Roi*, and *Au Due*, followed by crowds of people, until they came to the gate of St. Anthony, where they found the provost of the merchants, holding the keys in his hands.

"John Maillart was likewise there, who, having had that day a dispute with the provost and with Josseran de Mascon, had joined the party of the duke of Normandy. The provost was severely taunted by words and arguments; and there was such a noise made by the crowd, that scarcely anything could be heard: they kept crying out, 'Kill them, kill them! kill the provost of the merchants and his allies, for they are all traitors.' There was a great tumult; and the provost, who was standing on the steps of the fort of St. Anthony, would willingly have escaped, but he was so beset that he could not. Sir John de Charny struck him to the ground by a blow of his battle-axe on the head. He was then attacked by master Peter Fouace and others, who never quitted him until he was dead, as well as six of his party; among whom were Philip Guiffart, John de Lille, John Poiret, Simon le Paonnier, and Giles Marcel. Many more were taken and sent to prison. They then made search in all the streets of Paris, put the town in a state of security, and kept a strong guard all that night.

"You must know, that as soon as the provost of the merchants and the others had been slain or made prisoners, which happened on Tuesday, the last day of July, 1358, in the afternoon, messengers were sent in haste to carry this news to the duke of Normandy, at that time at Meaux, which gave him, and not without reason, great pleasure. He made preparations for his journey to Paris; but, before his arrival, Josseran de Mascon, who was treasurer to the king of Navarre, and Charles Toussac, sheriff of Paris, who had been made prisoners, were executed in the square of the Grève, by having their heads cut off, because they had been traitors, and were of the provost's party. The body of the provost and of those that had been slain with him, were dragged into the court of the church of St. Catherine du Val des Ecoliers, and, naked as they were, extended before the cross in that court, and left there a considerable time for the view of all those that chose it: they were afterward thrown into the river Seine.

"The duke of Normandy, who had sent a sufficiency of men at arms to Paris, to defend and reinforce it against the English and Navarrois, who were in the neighbourhood continually harassing it, set out from Meaux, where he then resided, and came with speed to Paris, attended by a noble and numerous escort of men at arms. He was received by the good town of Paris, and by all persons with great joy, when he dismounted at the Louvre. John Maillart was at that time near his person, and much in his grace and favour; and, to say the truth, he was then very deserving of it, as you have heard related above, notwithstanding he had been formerly, as it was said, one of the allies of the provost of the merchants. Shortly afterward, the duke sent for the duchess of Normandy his wife, and all the ladies who had for some time taken refuge at Meaux in Brie. When they came to Paris, the duchess alighted at the hotel of the duke, which had been the hotel de St. Pol, whither he had retired, and where he had remained for a considerable time."

M. Dacier then adds:

"This is the new reading I announced, and which appears to me far preferable to the common one, because it unites the double advantage of coming from the most authentic manuscripts we know, and of agreeing much better than the printed copies, as well with the contemporary historians, as with the other monuments of the times, to which it may serve both as a commentary and supplement." I shall refer the reader, for further proofs that John Maillart was not the hero who saved Paris, to the memoir of M. Dacier, in the xliiid vol. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, &c.

* Melun,—an ancient town in the Isle of France, ten leagues and a half from Paris

the queen Blanche his sister, the widow of king Philip, resided. That lady received him cheerfully, and gave up to him everything she possessed.

The king of Navarre made this town and castle his principal garrison. He collected men at arms from all parts, and soldiers from Brabant, Germany, Hainault, and Bohemia. People everywhere came willingly to serve under him; for he paid them largely out of the treasures he had amassed, through the means of the provost of merchants, from the city of Paris, as well as from the neighbouring towns. The lord Philip de Navarre withdrew his forces to Mantes*, and Meulan†, upon the river Seine, where he posted garrisons. Every day their forces were increased by those who were desirous of getting money. In this manner did the king of Navarre begin his war upon the kingdom of France, which was especially directed against the city of Paris, for he was master of the three rivers, the Seine, Marne, and Oise.

The Navarrois multiplied so fast, that they took the strong town of Creil‡; they were besides the masters of the river Oise, and the strong castle of Herielle§ three leagues distant from Amiens, and afterwards of Mauconseil‖. The capture of these three fortresses was the cause of innumerable ills to the realm of France. There were at least fifteen hundred combatants who were overrunning the country, without any attempt made to oppose them. They soon spread farther, and took, shortly afterward, the castle of St. Valery¶, of which they made a very strong garrison. Sir William de Bonnemare and John de Segures** were governors of it. They had under them full five hundred fighting men, with whom they scoured the country as far as Dieppe and Abbeville, along the sea-coast, to the gates of Crotoy, Roye, and Montreuil-sur-mer. These Navarrois, whenever they had determined to take a castle, whatever its strength might be, never failed of succeeding. They frequently made excursions of thirty leagues in a night, and fell upon a country that never suspected they could come to them. Thus did they ruin and destroy the fortresses and castles in the kingdom of France. They took pleasure to summon knights, ladies, and damsels, before they were out of bed, for their ransoms. Sometimes they seized all they had, and then turned them out of doors.

The lord Fondrigais of Navarre was chief governor of Creil-upon-Oise. He gave passports to those who wished to go from Paris to Noyon, or from Noyon to Compiegne, or from Compiegne to Soissons, or Laon, as well as to other parts in the neighbourhood. These passports were worth to him, during the time he remained at Creil, one hundred thousand livres. Sir John de Piquigny, who, though of Picardy, was strongly attached to the cause of Navarre, resided in the castle of Herielle. His troops grievously oppressed the inhabitants of Montdidier, Arras, Peronne, Amiens, and all that part of Picardy on the river Somme. In the castle of Mauconseil were three hundred men, under the command of Rabigeois de Dury††, Charles Frangnelin, and Hannequin François; they plundered the country all round Noyon, and all the large towns and monasteries which were not fortified, if their inhabitants did not ransom themselves from these captains, by paying them a certain number of florins weekly. On any other conditions they would have been burnt and destroyed, for these ruffians were very cruel to their enemies. From such causes as these, the lands were uncultivated; for no one dared to till them; so that very great scarcity soon added to the disasters under which the kingdom already laboured.

* Mantes,—in the Isle of France, capital of the Mantois, fourteen leagues from Paris.

† Meulan, or Meullent,—in the Isle of France, four leagues from Mantes, ten from Paris.

‡ Creil,—a town in the Isle of France, on the Oise, twenty leagues and a half from Amiens, ten leagues and a half from Paris.

§ La Herielle,—a village of Picardy, in the election of Montdidier, near Breteuil.

‖ Q. If not Maucourt, which is a village of Picardy near Noyon.

¶ A town in Picardy, at the mouth of the Somme, four leagues and a half from Abbeville.

** Sir John Segar, an Englishman.—*Barnes.*

†† Barnes says, that "in Mauconseil were three hundred men at arms, under these captains, Rabigois of Derry, an Irishman,—Franklin and Hawkins, two squires of England, sir Robert Knolles his companions."—Page 544.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.—THE NAVARROIS ARE BESIEGED IN THE CASTLE OF MAUCONSEIL, BY THE MEN OF PICARDY.

When the duke of Normandy, who resided at Paris, heard that these men at arms were destroying the country, under the name of the king of Navarre, and that their numbers were daily increasing, he sent to all the principal towns in Picardy and Vermandois, to require that each should, according to his proportion, send a certain number of men at arms, on foot and on horseback, to oppose the Navarrois, who were ruining the kingdom of which he had the government. The cities and chief towns willingly complied with his request: they taxed themselves, according to their fortunes, with men at arms, both horse and foot, archers and cross-bowmen. These advanced first toward the good city of Noyon, making straight for the garrison of Mauconseil, because they thought this the weakest of the fortresses of the Navarrois, and that which had most harassed the inhabitants of Noyon and the country of Vermandois.

The bishop of Noyon, the lord Raoul de Coucy, the lord de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny, the lord de Roye, and sir Matthew de Roye, his brother, were the captains and leaders of these men at arms and the other troops. These lords had with them many other knights and squires from Picardy and Vermandois, who, laying siege to Mauconseil, made many assaults on it, and hardly pressed the garrison; who, when they could not hold out much longer, sent to inform sir John de P' ₁uigny of their distressed situation. He then resided in the castle of la Herielle. All these garrisons and places were under his command. He made haste, therefore, to succour his good friends in Mauconseil, and sent orders privately to the garrison of Creil, to arm themselves directly, and to march to a certain spot which he pointed out to them; for he meant to make an excursion through the country with all the men at arms under his command. When they were all assembled, they amounted to one thousand lances at least. They rode on, under the direction of guides, all that night, without halting, and came before the castle of Mauconseil at day-break. There was so thick a fog that morning, that they could not see the length of an acre of ground. Immediately on their arrival, they fell suddenly on the French army, who, not expecting them, nor having a sufficient guard, were sleeping as if in perfect safety. The Navarrois set up their cry, and began to kill and cut down both men, tents, and pavilions. The skirmish was very sharp, insomuch that the French had not time to arm themselves or collect together, but ran off, as fast as they could, to Noyon, which was hard by, and the Navarrois after them. Many were slain and unhorsed between Noyon and Orcamp*, and between Noyon and Pont l'Evêque†, and in that neighbourhood. The dead and wounded lay in heaps on the ground, on the highways, and between the hedges.

The pursuit lasted as far as the gates of Noyon, which put that town in great danger of being ruined; for some of both parties who were there, have declared, that if the Navarrois had chosen, they might for a certainty have entered the town, as those who belonged to it were so much frightened, when they returned, that they forgot, or had not time to shut the gate leading to Compiegne. The bishop of Noyon was taken prisoner, near the barriers, and gave his word to surrender himself, or he would have been killed. On the morrow, the lord Raoul de Coucy was taken, as were the lord Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Chauny, and his two sons, le borgne ‡ de Rouvroy, the lord de Turte, the lord de Vendueil, the lord Anthony de Coudun, and full one hundred knights and squires.

There were upwards of fifteen hundred men slain: the greatest loss fell upon those who came from the city of Tournay: they suffered much, as many had come from that part. Some said, that of the seven hundred which they at first were, scarcely any returned back, but all were either killed or taken prisoners. The garrison of Mauconseil made a sally, to complete this defeat, which happened in the year 1358, on the Tuesday following the feast of our Lady, the middle of August. The Navarrois conducted the greater part of their prisoners to Creil, because it was a good and strong town. They acquired by this

* † Villages near Noyon. ‡ Q. Borgne,—whether one-eyed; or some title, as captal or souldich?

expedition much wealth, as well in jewels as by the ransoms of their prisoners. From this time they became rich, and ransomed the citizens of Tournay and those of the other towns whom they had captured cheerfully, for such sort of ware as swords, axes, spear-heads, jackets, doublets, housings, and for all the different sorts of tools they were in want of. The knights and squires took their payments in ready money, in coursers or other horses; and one poor gentleman, that had not wherewithal to pay, they made serve for a quarter of a year: two or three were treated in this manner*. With regard to wines and provision, they had plenty: for all the flat countries supplied them handsomely by way of ransom. The towns got nothing, but in an underhand manner, or by means of their passports, which they sold at a high price. By this method they could obtain all they wanted, except hats of beaver, ostrich feathers, and spear-heads; which things they never would insert in their passports. The garrison of Mauconseil destroyed the greater part of the fine abbey of Orchamps, at which the governor was much enraged when informed of it.

These Navarrois spread themselves over many places, along the banks of the Somme and the Oise; and two of their men at arms, called Rabigeois de Dury and Robin l'Escot † took by escalade, the good town of Berly ‡, in which they placed a garrison, and strongly fortified it. These two companions had in pay, under their command, about four hundred men, to whom they gave fixed wages, and paid them every month. The garrisons of Beaulieu, Creil, Mauconseil, and la Herielle, scoured all parts of the country, as no one opposed them; the knights having sufficient employment in guarding their houses and castles. These English and Navarrois went armed or unarmed, and rode over the country at their pleasure, to amuse themselves, from one garrison to another, as if all had been at peace. The young lord de Coucy had his towns and castles extremely well guarded; he was also lord paramount of that part of the country. The canon de Robesart watched the Navarrois better than any other, and harassed them much; for frequently he had overthrown many of them.

CHAPTER CXC.—SEVERAL OF THE CITIZENS OF AMIENS ATTEMPT TO GIVE UP THAT CITY TO THE NAVARROIS.—A FAMINE IN FRANCE.

The lord John de Piquigny, who was much attached to the king of Navarre, was the chief of his council, and through whose assistance he had escaped from prison, resided at la Herielle, three leagues from Amiens. He had tampered so successfully, by fine speeches and otherwise, with several of the principal citizens of Amiens, that they had consented to admit the Navarrois into the city. These treacherous citizens had even hid in their chambers and garrets some of the Navarrois that were to assist in destroying their town. Lord John de Piquigny, lord William de Graville, lord Fricquet de Friquant, lord Lin de Belaysy, and the lord Fondrigay, came one night, with upwards of seven hundred men, to the gates of the city, which lead to la Herlelle, on assurance of their friends within the town, that they should be open; and they kept their promise. Upon this, those who had been hid in cellars and garrets sallied forth, shouting, "Navarre!" whilst the inhabitants, being awakened, cried out, "Treason, treason!" and collecting themselves together, hastened towards the gate where the greatest tumult was, between the suburbs and the city. The first comers defended the gate well, and with good courage: numbers were slain on both sides. If the Navarrois had hastened to enter the city instantly on their arrival, they would have won it; but they loitered in the suburbs, and performed the enterprise in a cowardly manner enough.

This same night, God inspired the lord Morel de Fiennes, constable of France, and the earl de St. Pol, who were at Corbie in great force, with the design to go to Amiens. They rode there so fast, and came so opportunely, that the Navarrois had but just gained the suburbs:

* "And of a poor gentylman that had nothyng to pay, they took their seruyce for a quarter of a yere or a halfe or thre quarters, as they could agree."—*Lord Berners*—who in this agrees with D. Sauvage.—Ed.

† Q. The first, see note ††, p. 248;—the second Robin Scott.

‡ Q. If not Beaulieu, which is a town in Picardy, in the diocese and election of Noyon.

they were exerting all their efforts to win the city, and must have succeeded, if these gentlemen had not arrived. As soon as they had entered the city of Amiens by another gate, they advanced to the place where the battle raged, and having displayed their banners, drew up their men in the street, without passing through the gate to the suburbs; for they gave them up as lost, which in truth they were. They, by this timely succour, inspired fresh courage into the men of Amiens, who lighted the streets with a number of torches, and with pitched ropes in iron lanthorns. The lord John de Piquigny and the Navarrois, on hearing that these lords and their squadrons were arrived, and drawn up in the city, thought that, if they remained, they ran a risk of losing more than they could gain: lord John, therefore, collected his people together, and sounded a retreat, which he made as handsomely as he could, but not before he had destroyed and burnt the suburbs. There were at least three hundred * houses, and a number of handsome hôtels, with parish-churches, burnt; for nothing was spared. Thus did the Navarrois carry off with them great wealth, which they had found in the large suburbs of Amiens, and returned with many prisoners to their different garrisons.

The constable and the earl of St. Pol, upon the retreat of the Navarrois, separated their troops, and sent them to all the different gates of the city, with orders, under pain of death, to suffer no one to quit the town. On the morrow morning, these two lords, and some of the citizens of Amiens, who were acquainted with the manner in which the town had of late been governed, and who suspected some of the citizens of both sexes of this treason, went to the houses of those they were in search of, and arrested seventeen, who were soon after beheaded in the public market-place. The abbot of Gars was among the number, who had been an accomplice in this treason, and had even lodged some of the Navarrois in his house. Shortly after, six of the principal inhabitants of Laon were arrested and executed, for a similar crime: and it would have gone hard with the bishop of that place if he had been caught, for he was accused of being concerned, which afterwards he could not deny: but he quitted the town secretly, as he had good friends, who gave him notice of what was likely to happen, and went immediately to the king of Navarre, at Melun-sur-Seine, who most courteously received him. Such adventures as these happened often in France: on which account, the barons and knights, as well as the cities and principal towns, were always upon their guard. To speak truly, the king of Navarre had many friends intermixed in every part of France; and, if they had not been discovered, much worse things would have been done, though in truth they did enough.

During this time, the duke of Normandy and his brothers resided at Paris. No merchants nor others dared to venture out of the town, to look after their concerns, or to take any journey: for they were attacked and killed, whatever roads they took. The kingdom was so full of the Navarrois, they were masters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This caused such a scarcity of provisions in France, that a small cask of herrings was sold for thirty golden crowns, and every thing else in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine lasted more than four years. The great towns, in particular, were much distressed for salt, which could only be had through the ministers of the duke of Normandy, who sold it at a very dear rate, in order to collect more money to pay the soldiers.

CHAPTER CXCI.—THE MEN OF PICARDY BESIEGE THE NAVARROIS IN ST. VALERY.—THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE IS FILLED WITH NAVARROIS.

The constable of France and the young earl of St. Pol acquired great popularity in Picardy, for the succours which they had brought to Amiens. The knights and squires of that province united themselves to them; and they thought they were now in sufficient force to lay siege to St. Valery. The constable sent to all the principal towns, to inform them of it: upon which, those of Tournay, Lisle, Douay, Arras, Bethune, St. Omer,

* Lord Berners and D. Sauvage say three *thousand*.—Ed.

St. Quontin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, and Abbeville, met together: they engaged to find a certain number of men, whom they sent to the constable and the earl of St. Pol. Even the knights and squires of Hainault put themselves in motion, and came thither, on account of the estates they had in France. The lord d'Andreghen sent thither the young seneschal of Hainault, the lord John de Verthin, magnificently equipped, the lord Hugh d'Antoing his cousin, with many others; when they marched to lay siege to St. Valery. There were full two thousand knights and squires; and the chief towns had sent twelve thousand common soldiers at their expense: Abbeville, in particular, was too heavily taxed, for thence they took all their purveyances.

The siege of St. Valery lasted some time. There were many sharp assaults and skirmishes. Almost every day there was something of this sort going forward; for the young knights and squires were eager to make trial of their arms, and they readily found those who would gratify them. The lord William de Bonnemare, sir John Segar, and several other knights, who were in the garrison, advanced from the barriers of the castle, to tilt and skirmish with those of the army; so that there were generally some killed or wounded on both sides daily. There might have been in St. Valery three hundred companions, without counting those of the town, whom they forced to fight and assist them, otherwise it would have ended badly. The chiefs of the besiegers ordered engines of war to be brought from Amiens and Abbeville, and to be pointed against St. Valery, which cast large stones, and much harassed the inhabitants, who had cannon and springalls *, with which they annoyed the army. Whilst this siege was carrying on, and the king of Navarre making war in all parts of France, the captal of Buch, cousin to the king of Navarre, arrived at Cherbourg, according to his intreaties, being retained by him, with two hundred lances in his pay.

The captal, on his arrival in Normandy, took the field, and, passing through the lands of the king of Navarre, came to Mantes, where he found the lord Philip de Navarre, with whom he tarried some days. He then set out secretly with all his companions, and made such expedition in one night, through the good country of Vexin and Beauvoisis †, that he arrived at Clermont ‡ in Beauvoisis, which is a large town, though not inclosed, with a handsome castle, having one large tower walled all round. Immediately after having summoned it, he took it by escalade, though the tower had hitherto been deemed impregnable. Nevertheless he succeeded by means of rope-ladders, and by using arrow-heads to attach them to the walls. The first person who entered was sir Bernard de la Salle, climbing like a cat. He, in his time, had taken many other places by similar means. The captal de Buch exerted himself so much that he conquered Clermont, which he and his companions kept possession of for a long time. He from that post harassed the countries of Vexin and Beauvoisis, with the assistance of the Navarrois, who were in garrison in the neighbouring fortresses, such as Creil, la Herielle, and Mauconseil. All the flat countries were at their disposal, as there were none to oppose them.

In such manner was the whole kingdom of France kept in a state of warfare, under the name of the king of Navarre. Many strong castles were taken in Brie, Champagne, and Valois, in the bishoprics of Noyon, Soissons, Senlis, and Laon, of which divers knights and squires from foreign parts were made governors. In that part of the country, near Pont-sur-Seine §, towards Provins ||, Troyes ¶, Auxerre **, and Tonnerre ††, they were so overrun with soldiers that no one dared to venture out of the strong cities and well-fortified towns. Sir Peter Audley resided in the castle of Beaufort, between Chalons and Troyes, which was part of the duke of Lancaster's inheritance. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, a Hainaulter, resided

* Espringalles, or espringolds, or springolds, were machines whence came shot stones, or bolts.
Skinner's Dictionary.

"And eke within the castil were
"Springoldis, gonnes, bowes, and archers."
Chaucer's Roman de la Rose, verses 490, 491.

† A small province in the isle of France. Beauvais is the capital.

‡ Fifteen leagues from Paris.

§ A town in Champagne, diocese of Sens, twenty-eight leagues from Paris.

|| An ancient city of Brie, diocese of Sens, twenty-two leagues from Paris.

¶ A large city of Champagne, thirty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.

** An ancient city of Burgundy, capital of the Auxerrois, forty-one leagues and a half from Paris.

†† A town in Champagne, diocese of Langres, forty-eight leagues and a half from Paris.

sometimes on Pont-sur-Seine, sometimes at the castle of Nogent, with about five hundred combatants, who pillaged all the country round about. In another part of Champagne, lived a squire from Germany called Albret. These three captains kept possession of all Champagne and the country on the Marne, with upwards of sixty castles and fortified houses. At any time they pleased, they could bring into the field more than two thousand combatants.

That whole district was under their subjection: they ransomed or robbed every one. They had pillaged and burnt the good towns of Ay, Epernay*, and Vertus†, and all the chief towns on the Marne, as far as Château-Thierry‡, with those that were in the neighbourhood of Rheims§. They had also taken the good town and castle of Ronay‖, and the strong castle of Hans¶ in Champagne, ascending the river as far as St. Antoine in Pertois**. Further advanced on the borders of Burgundy and Pertois, Thibat de Chaufour and John de Chaufour had taken up their quarters in the name of the king of Navarre. They had got possession of a strong castle called Mont Sangon††, in the diocese of Langres; in which they had a garrison of four hundred men, who scoured the country as far as the bishopric of Verdun and the country of Soissons.

Between Laon and Rheims were other pillagers, whose principal garrison was at Vely, in which were six hundred men. Rabigeois de Dury, an Englishman, was the governor of it. He retained all sorts of persons, who wished to serve under him; and, as he paid well and punctually, he was duly obeyed. He had with him Robert Scott, as companion in his gains and losses, who, during the Christmas holidays, won and plundered the strong castle and town of Roucy‡‡, in which he established a garrison that was afterwards a great grievance to the neighbourhood. He ransomed the earl, his lady, and daughter, for the sum of twelve thousand golden florins *au mouton*, and kept possession of the town and castle all that winter and ensuing summer of 1359. As soon as the earl of Roucy had paid his ransom, he went to reside in Laon, and in divers other places. During this period, there was not any tilling of the ground, so that it caused a great scarcity in a short time.

CHAPTER CXCII.—THE CANON DE ROBESART DEFEATS THE NAVARROIS IN THE LAONNOIS, NEAR TO CREIL.

About this time, as I have been informed, the canon de Robesart performed a very gallant action. It fell out, that as the lord of Pinon, a knight-banneret of Vermandois, was riding from one strong place to another, accompanied by about sixty men at arms, the garrisons of Vely§§ and Roucy, to the number of three hundred, but without their captains, were also abroad to see what they could capture. As they advanced towards Creil, they perceived the lord of Pinon marching in good order, in the plain near that town, with his pennon displayed. They immediately saw they were French: the lord of Pinon also knew they were his enemies, and that he had no way to escape from them. However, he and his little troop turning to the right and skirting Creil, for the Navarrois had cut off his retreat the way he had come, stuck spurs into their horses to save themselves, if possible, by flight; but the Navarrois pursued them, crying out, "St. George, Navarre!" and, being better mounted, would have come up with them in less than half a league.

It chanced that the lord de Pinon, in his flight, met with a large and deep ditch, inclosed on one side by strong hedges, and having only one entrance, which was so narrow horses could not pass through. As soon as he was come near, he noticed the advantage that might be made of it, and said, "Dismount, dismount: it is much better to wait here the chance of war, and defend ourselves, than to be slain or made prisoners in our flight." Upon which,

* An ancient city of Champagne, diocese of Rheims, thirty-three leagues from Paris.

† A town in Champagne, near Epernay.

‡ A city in Brie, diocese of Soissons, twenty-one leagues and a half from Paris.

§ An ancient city and archbishopric in Champagne, thirty-eight leagues from Paris.

‖ A village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

¶ A village in Champagne, election of St. Menehould.

** Pertois, a fertile country of Champagne.

†† Q. if not Monsaujon? which is in the diocese of Langres.

‡‡ A town in Picardy, diocese and election of Laon.

§§ Vely,—a chatellany in Picardy, diocese of Soissons.

all his people dismounted; as did the Navarrois on their arrival. In the troop of the lord de Pinon, there was a knight*, who, calling his page, said, "Mount my courser, and spare him not, but gallop to the garrison of Pierrepont†, and intreat the canon de Robesart to come to our assistance." The page answered, "Suppose I should meet with him, how will it be possible for him to arrive in time, for it is five leagues distant from hence?" The knight said, "Do thy duty." The page immediately set off, and left his master fiercely attacked by these plunderers of Vely and Roucy. The lord de Pinon and his company defended themselves with great valour. He kept possession of the advantageous position in the ditch, without any loss, from ten o'clock in the morning until the afternoon.

I will now return to the page, who never broke gallop until he came to Pierrepont in the Laonnois. He delivered his message to the canon de Robesart, who replied that he would do his duty, and hasten to the place where the lord de Pinon was engaged, as he was perfectly acquainted with the spot. He ordered his trumpet to sound, and his companions, who might be about six score, to mount their horses. At the same time, he sent off one of his servants to Laon, which was not far distant, to inform a captain who was stationed there what was going forwards. He would not wait for the arrival of this reinforcement, but set off directly, full gallop, which he continued until he came to the lord de Pinon and his company, whom he found so hard pressed by the Navarrois, that they could not have held out much longer. The canon immediately placed his lance in its rest, and rushed upon the Navarrois with such force, that he struck down three the first onset. His people being fresh and in spirits, drove down the Navarrois, who were quite fatigued with having combated the whole day. The canon de Robesart gave such deadly blows with his battle-axe, that none could stand before him. These plunderers were totally routed: more than one hundred and fifty were left dead on the field of battle; and if any attempted to save themselves they were met by the detachment from Laon, who made such a slaughter, that, of the three hundred they amounted to at first, fifteen only escaped; the rest were either slain or made prisoners.

CHAPTER CXCIII.—THE NAVARROIS SURRENDER ST. VALERY TO THE FRENCH, WHO HAD BESIEGED IT A LONG TIME.

I HAVE before related, that the lords of Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu and the Boulonnois, were a considerable time before St. Valery; that they had made many grand attacks upon it by machines and other instruments. Among other events, it chanced that the lord de Bacien from Picardy, having got into a boat to reconnoitre more particularly the castle, was struck with a bolt from an espringal, of which he died. The garrison had such quantities of artillery, that every attack upon them was attended with great danger. This siege, therefore, lasted from the beginning of August until the following Lent. The lords then declared they would starve them to a surrender, since they could not take it by assault. They therefore remained a long time inactive, but took great care to guard all the passes, so that nothing could enter the town by sea or land.

Their provisions soon began to lessen, for they could not venture abroad to forage: on the other hand, they saw no appearance of any succours coming to them. They therefore determined in council to treat with the constable of France, the earl of St. Pol and the other barons of the army, to surrender the fortress upon condition that their lives and fortunes should be spared, and that they might be allowed to go wherever they pleased. This was granted them; but they were to leave the place unarmed. Some difficulties also attended the compliance with their proposals, for the earl of St. Pol insisted on their surrendering unconditionally. At this time, the lord Philip de Navarre was advanced towards St. Valery, to raise the siege, which he would have done, if the garrison had not been in such haste to surrender. He and his army were very angry at the event; but they could not now by any means prevent it.

* A *squire*, according to D. Sauvage and Lord Berners.—ED.

† A village in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

CHAPTER CXCIV.—THE LORD PHILIP DE NAVARRE ASSEMBLES THREE THOUSAND MEN TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ST. VALERY.

THE lords of France were still drawn up in the plain; and, though no one had left the army, yet they were about departing; their tents, pavilions and baggage were packing up; when news was brought them that the Navarrois were upon their march, and not more than three leagues off. It was the lord Philip of Navarre who governed all the territories of the king his brother; that is to say, the county of Evreux; and all the different parties that were making war on France obeyed his orders. He had been informed by sir John de Piquigny, that the garrison of St. Valery was on the point of surrendering. The lord Philip was encouraged to attempt raising the siege: and for this purpose he had assembled secretly, at Mantes and Meulan, three thousand men, one with the other. The young earl of Harcourt, the lord de Granville, sir Robert Knolles, and sir John de Piquigny, were there, with, many other knights and squires, who had followed him to within three leagues of St. Valery when it was surrendered. He was assured of the truth of it, by the arrival of the lord de Bonnemare and sir John Segar, who met him on his march.

When the French, who had taken possession of St. Valery, heard of the approach of the Navarrois, the constable, the earl of St. Pol, the lord de Châtillon, the lord de Poix, the lord de Beausault, the lord de Helly, the lord de Crestkes, lord Odoart de Renty, lord Baudoyn d'Ennekin, and some other barons and knights who were present, retired into the castle, to a council; when it was resolved they should advance to combat their enemies. The constable issued his orders for every one to fall into his rank, and prepare for combat; upon which they all marched forward in good order, as if they were immediately to fight with the lord Philip. The Navarrois, learning that the French were marching towards them in battle-array, to the amount of thirty thousand men, did not think it advisable to wait for them, but crossed the river Somme as speedily as possible, and took post in the castle of Long* in Ponthieu, with their horses, baggage, and whatever else they had, which straightened them much for room. They had scarcely entered it, when the French, who were in pursuit of them, came before it, about the hour of vespers. Their numbers were continually increasing; for the common soldiers from the cities and chief towns could not march so fast as the men at arms. The lords held a council, and determined to take up their quarters that night before the castle, to wait for more troops, which were dropping in one after another, and on the morrow to make a general assault upon it. This was done. But the Navarrois within the castle, being short of provisions, as soon as it was midnight sallied out at a back way, without any noise, and took the road for the Vermandois.

They were more than two leagues off before the French knew of their departure: they immediately armed themselves, and set out after them, following the tracks of their horses. Thus did both parties push forward, the Navarrois first, and the French behind them, until the Navarrois came to the little village of Thorigny, which is situated on an eminence whence there is a good view of all the country round about. It is in the Vermandois, between St. Quentin and Peronne. There the Navarrois halted, to refresh themselves and horses, and to fight their enemies, if they were forced to it. They had formed themselves in a circle on the summit of the eminence, so that they might profit from the situation of the place. They had not remained long before they saw the whole country below them covered over, and full of Frenchmen, who seemed to amount to upwards of thirty thousand. When the Navarrois perceived they had the appearance of coming to attack them, they issued out of the town, and drew up their army in three battalions: the first of them was given to sir Robert Knolles, the second to sir Lewis de Navarre, and the third to the earl of Harcourt. Neither of these battalions consisted of more than seven hundred fighting men. They cut their lances to five feet in length, and ordered their servants to carry their

* Long ot le Castlelet,—a village of Picardy, near Abbeville.

spurs to the slope of the hill, where they were to fix them with the rowels uppermost; so that their enemies might not ascend the hill at their ease. The lord Philip de Navarre knighted the young earl of Harcourt, who displayed his banner, as did also the young lord de Granville.

The French halted in sight of the Navarrois, and dismounted, for many were desirous to give them immediate combat, whilst others were against it, saying, "Our people are fatigued; besides, we have such numbers in the rear, that it is proper we wait for them, and take up our quarters where we are for the remainder of this day. It will be night soon, and we can fight them to-morrow in better order."

In this situation, the French encamped themselves, placing all their baggage-waggons round them, of which they had great numbers. When the Navarrois found that there was no intention of attacking them, they retired towards evening into their village of Thorigny, making great fires and smoke, to let them understand they meant to remain there that night: but as soon as it was dark, they got their horses ready, having previously made every other preparation, and set off in silence. The night was dark and foggy; and they marched down to the river Somme, which they crossed at a ford, near a small village not far distant from Bethencourt*; thence they took the road to the wood of Bohain†, which they skirted: they marched that night upwards of seven leagues, which caused many of the worst mounted to remain behind, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of Bohain. The peasants also of the country slew many who were unable to keep up with their masters, and all who had lost their road.

The French were informed of the departure of the Navarrois a little before day-break; when they resolved to cross the Somme by the bridge at St. Quentin‡, and to push forward towards Liannes§, and by this means to come up with them. Every one, therefore, mounted his horse as quickly as possible, and galloped on for the fastest, taking the road for St. Quentin, where they arrived as day appeared, for it was but two short leagues distant. The constable and the earl of St. Pol were among the first. When the guards of the town who were stationed over the first gate heard the bustle of their arrival, they began to be alarmed, as they knew the enemy was in the neighbourhood; but recollecting that the draw-bridge was up, they were somewhat re-assured, as that would prevent them from doing any mischief. They asked, who they were that were come there at such an unusual hour: the constable answered, "We are such and such persons, and wish to pass through this town in pursuit of the Navarrois, who have stolen away from Thorigny, and are flying from us: we command you therefore, in the king's name, instantly to open the gates." The guard replied, that the keys were with the magistrates in the town. Two of the guard went to those that had the keeping of the keys, who told them they would not consent to open the gates till they had consulted the inhabitants. By this means, so much time was lost that it was after sun-rise, before they had considered what answer to give: they then ascended over the gateway, and, putting their heads out of the windows, thus addressed the constable and the earl of St. Pol, who were waiting: "Dear lords, have the goodness to take compassion and excuse us this time; but it is the determination of the commonalty of the town, that only five or six of you may enter, out of the respect we bear you: the others must go any other way they choose." The lords were so much enraged at this answer, that many high words and abusive language ensued; nevertheless, those of St. Quentin would not open their gates. These lords, therefore, gave up all thoughts of following further the Navarrois, as it would have been in vain. By the advice of the constable, the French separated themselves, and the earl of St. Pol went to his castle of Bohain, in such a rage that no one dared to speak to him.

* A village in Picardy, election of Peronne.

† Bohain,—a small town in Picardy, election of Guise, near St. Quentin.

‡ A strong city in Picardy, diocese of Noyon, generality of Amiens.

§ Liannes, a village in Picardy, generality of Amiens.

CHAPTER CXCV.—SIR PETER AUDLEY LEADS A PARTY OF NAVARROIS, IN THE NIGHT, TO TAKE CHALONS.

Thus did this grand expedition end: the French separating, went one way, and the Navarrois another: the last came that day to Vely, where they crossed the river Oise at a ford; when, finding they were out of all danger, they halted and refreshed themselves. As soon as they thought proper, they returned into Normandy, and journeyed from fortress to fortress in perfect security, as they were masters of all the rivers and flat country. Having again entered the district of Coutantin, they carried on their excursions, as before, through Normandy. During this time, the king of Navarre remained at Melun-sur-Seine, with a large body of men at arms.

It happened that while sir Peter Audley was governor of Beaufort, which is situated between Troyes and Châlons, he imagined, that if he could cross the Marne above the town of Châlons, and advance by the side of the monastery of St. Peter, he might easily take the town. To carry this scheme into effect, he waited until the river Marne was low, when he secretly assembled his companions from five or six strong castles he was master of in that neighbourhood. His army consisted of about four hundred combatants. They set out from Beaufort at midnight. He led them to a ford of the river Marne, which he intended to cross, for he had people of the country as guides. On coming thither, he made them all to dismount, and give their horses to their servants, when he marched them through the river, which was very low. All having crossed, he led them slowly towards the monastery of St. Peter. There were many guards and watchmen scattered over the town of Châlons, and in the public squares: those who were nearest to the monastery of St. Peter, which is situated above the town, heard very distinctly the noise of the Navarrois: for as they were advancing, their arms, by touching each other, made a noise and sounded. Many who heard this wondered what it could be: for all at once, sir Peter having halted, the noise ceased, and, when he continued his march, the same sounds were again heard by the sentinels posted in St. Peter's street, as the wind came from the opposite quarter; and some among them said, "It must be those English and Navarrois thieves that are advancing, to take us by escalade: let us immediately sound the alarm, and awaken our fellow-citizens." Some of them went to the monastery, to see what it might be. They could not, however, make such speed but that sir Peter and his army were in the court-yard; for the walls in that part were not four feet high; and they immediately rushed through the gate of the monastery into the street, which was large and wide. The citizens were exceedingly alarmed, because there were cries from all parts of, "Treason, treason! To arms, to arms!" They armed themselves in haste, and, collecting in a body to be the stronger, advanced to meet their enemies, who overthrew and killed the foremost of them.

It happened, very unfortunately for Châlons, that Peter de Châlons, who had been governor of the city upwards of a year, with a hundred lances under his command, had lately left it, on account of not being able to get paid according to his wishes. The commonalty of the city were numerous, and set themselves in earnest to make a good defence. It was high time; but they suffered much, and the Navarrois conquered all the lower town, as far as the bridges over the Marne. Beyond the bridges, the citizens collected themselves, and defended the first bridge, which was of great service to them. The skirmish was there very sharp: the Navarrois attacked and fought well. Some of the English archers advanced, and, passing over the supports of the bridge, shot so well, and so continually, that none from Châlons dared to come within reach of their arrows.

This engagement lasted until mid-day. It was said by some, that Châlons must have been taken, if sir Odes de Grancy had not learnt, as it were by inspiration, this excursion of the Navarrois. In order to defeat it, he had intreated the assistance of many knights and squires; for he knew that there was not one gentleman in Châlons. He had come therefore, day and night, attended by sir Philip de Jancourt, the lord Anceau de Beaupré, the lord John de Guermillon, and many others, to the amount of sixty lances. As soon as they were come to Châlons, they advanced towards the bridge, which the inhabitants were

defending against the Navarrois, who were exerting themselves to the utmost to gain it. The lord de Grancy displayed his banner, and fell upon the Navarrois with a hearty good will. The arrival of the lord de Grancy mightily rejoiced the people of Châlons; and well it might, for without him and his company they would have been hard driven. When sir Peter Audley and his friends saw these Burgundians, they retreated in good order the way they had come, and found their servants with their horses on the banks of the Marne. They mounted them, and, crossing the river without molestation, returned towards Beaufort, having by a trifle missed their aim. The inhabitants of Châlons were much pleased at their departure, and gave thanks to God for it. After expressing their obligations to the lord de Grancy for the kindness he had done them, they presented him with five hundred livres for himself and his people. They intreated the lord John de Besars, who was present and a near neighbour, to remain, to advise and assist them. He consented to their request, for the handsome salary they allowed him, and set about fortifying the city in those places which were the weakest.

CHAPTER CXCVI.—THE EARL DE ROUCY TAKEN A SECOND TIME.

About this period, the two garrisons of Vely and Roucy * united together, and took by assault the town of Sissonne *, which they garrisoned with all sorts of people: the captain of it was Hannequin François †, a lad from Cologne on the Rhine. He was so cruel in all his excursions, that he showed neither pity nor mercy to any one who fell in his way. He burnt all the country, slaying men, women and children, whom he could not ransom according to his will. The earl of Roucy, who had still at heart the loss of his town and castle, which these robbers had wrested from him, intreated the assistance of those knights and squires who were his neighbours. He collected upwards of a hundred lances and forty horsemen, whom he conducted from the city of Laon. Among them were the earl de Porcien, lord Robert de Canency, the lord de Montegny in Ostrevant, and others. They advanced towards Sissonne, and meeting with that garrison, who were burning a village, fell upon them merrily. This Hannequin and his followers immediately dismounted, and placed their archers in the front. The engagement was very sharp; but those from Laon retreated towards their city without having done much. The other Frenchmen remained, and fought manfully for a long time. However, the fortune of the day was against them: the earl de Roucy was severely wounded, and made prisoner: the lord Gerald de Canency, the lord de Montegny and many other men at arms, were likewise captured. Thus was the earl of Roucy made prisoner twice in the space of one year.

The lord Eustace d'Ambreticourt resided at this time in Champagne, with seven hundred fighting men under his command; by whose means he acquired great wealth, from the ransoms of towns, castles, vineyards and private houses, as well as by granting passports. He was master of at least twelve fortresses, and much in love with the lady Isabella de Juliers ‡, daughter of the earl of Juliers, whom he afterwards married. This lady was greatly attached to sir Eustace, for his gallant deeds of arms, which had been related to her; and she sent him coursers, hackneys, and letters full of love, which so much emboldened sir Eustace, and spurred him to perform such feats of chivalry and of arms, that all those under him made fortunes.

CHAPTER CXCVII.—THREE QUEENS, WITH THE NAVARROIS, ARE BESIEGED IN MELUN.

After the surrender of St. Valery, as you have heard related, the duke of Normandy collected upwards of three thousand lances, set out from Paris, and laid siege to Melun-sur-Seine, of which the Navarrois kept possession. At that time, three queens resided therein: Jane, aunt to the king of Navarre and widow of Charles king of France; Blanche,

* Towns in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

† Mentioned in chapter 188, as one of the garrison of Mauconseil.—Ed.

‡ "Niece to the queen of England, and widow of the earl of Kent."—*Marginal note, D. Sauvage.*

widow of king Philip of France and sister to the king of Navarre: the third was the queen of Navarre, sister to the duke of Normandy. The duke of Normandy sent his forces thither, but did not accompany them in person: they were under the command of the lord Morel de Fiennes, constable of France, the earl de St. Pol, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lord Arnold de Coucy, the bishop of Troyes, the Lord Broquart de Fenestrages, Peter du Bar and Philip des Armoyes, with others, amounting in the whole to three hundred lances. They besieged Melun all round, and had brought from Paris a number of springals and other engines, which, day and night, kept continually throwing stones into the fortress, against which also many assaults were made.

The Navarrois within the town began to be alarmed, more particularly those queens, who would cheerfully have seen this siege raised at any rate: but the governors of the town, lord John Pippes and lord John Carbinaux *, desired the ladies not to be so much frightened, for in a few days this siege would be raised, as they had learnt from the king of Navarre, who was at that time at Vernon †. The lord Philip de Navarre also was assembling a body of men at Mantes and Meulan, to come to their assistance; and at those places all the various garrisons in the Navarre interest were collecting together. On the other hand, the duke of Normandy, who knew the Navarrois intended to attempt raising the siege, retained soldiers wherever he could get them, and sent them to Melun. But good people interposed between the duke and the king; for at that time the cardinals de Perigord and de St. Vitalis were in France, who exerted themselves so efficaciously, that a day was appointed for treating of a peace between them at Vernon. The duke of Normandy and his council came thither; as did the king of Navarre, accompanied by the lord Philip his brother; when a peace was made. The king of Navarre swore, that from henceforward he would be a loyal Frenchman. There were included in this peace as many as three hundred knights and squires, who were pardoned by the duke: some others, however, were excepted, whose evil deeds he refused to forgive.

The lord Philip of Navarre would not accept of the peace. He told the king his brother, he was bewitched for so doing, and was acting very ill towards the king of England, who was his ally, and who had always faithfully assisted him. In despite of his brother the king of Navarre, the lord Philip, with three others, set off, and rode as fast as they could to St. Sauveur-le-Vicomte, where was an English garrison. The lord Thomas Dagworth commanded there, in the name of the king of England, who received the lord Philip, and told him he had acquitted himself loyally towards the king his lord.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.—SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES, WITH MANY FRENCH, DRAW UP IN BATTLE-ARRAY, AGAINST SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH IN CHAMPAGNE.

By the articles of this peace, many towns and castles in Normandy, which had been in dispute, were given up to king Charles of Navarre, particularly Mantes and Meulan. Peace was also made between the young earl of Harcourt and the duke of Normandy. The lord Lewis de Harcourt, uncle to the earl, who was of the council and household of the duke, interested himself much in its success; and the duke gave to the earl in marriage the daughter of the duke of Bourbon, sister to the duchess of Normandy. The siege of Melun-sur-Seine was raised. The town remained to the French. But, in spite of this peace, the kingdom of France was torn in pieces by war as before; for the truce between the two kingdoms of France and England had lately expired; so that those captains who had carried on the war for the king of Navarre, in the provinces of Burgundy, Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, Brie, and Beauce, still continued it in a powerful and shameful manner, in the name of the king of England. They never passed any fortress without attacking it, notwithstanding the peace; for these soldiers had learnt to pillage or ransom the inhabitants of the country, and to make

* Lord James Pipe,—sir Hugh Calverly,—English natives.—*Barnes.*
† Vernon-sur-Seine,—a town in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

excursions sometimes in bodies of two thousand, many of whom had from ten to twelve horses, who, if they had not kept up this war, would perhaps have gone on foot.

After the siege of Melun had been raised, the duke of Normandy besought the lord Broquart de Fenestrages, who was from Lorraine, and who had in his pay five hundred men, to assist him in driving the English out of the province of Champagne, where they had established themselves, and were harassing the country day and night. Sir Broquart consented, on condition of receiving a large sum of florins for himself and for his people. Upon this, the bishop of Troyes, the count de Vaudemont, the count de Jouy, the lord John de Châlons, and the lord Broquart de Fenestrages, assembled men at arms in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy: they amounted to full two hundred lances, and fifteen hundred footmen, who advanced and posted themselves before the strong castle of Hans* in Champagne, which the English had taken and kept possession of a year and a half. They carried it by assault at the third attack; and there were upwards of fourscore English slain, for none were spared. The French then retreated to the city of Troyes; and, when they had refreshed themselves, they sallied forth with twelve hundred lances†, and nine hundred footmen, taking the road to Nogent-sur-Seine‡.

Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who was informed of this expedition, collected those garrisons under his command, to the amount of four hundred lances and two hundred archers, with whom he set out from Pont-sur-Seine§. He was completely armed, except his helmet, and was mounted on a hackney which had been given to him, but he had a very fine war-horse led by one of his people. He had not rode far before he heard of the French from his scouts, who brought intelligence that they had seen his enemies. Had sir Eustace known that they were in such numbers, he would have asked assistance from the lord Peter Audley and lord d'Albret, who could easily have sent to his aid four hundred combatants. Sir Eustace having drawn up his men beyond Nogent, placed himself on a small hillock, in the midst of a vineyard, his archers in front. As soon as the French arrived, they formed themselves into three battalions: the first under the command of the bishop of Troyes and sir Broquart; the second under the lord John de Châlons and the count de Jouy; the third under the count de Janville‖.

Sir Eustace, who was in the midst of his people, said to them: "Gentlemen, let us fight courageously, and the day will be ours: we then shall be masters of all Champagne, which was formerly an earldom. Perhaps I may in time do such essential services to the king of England, whom I hold as the rightful king of France, that he may confer this earldom on me." He then called to him some young squires, such as the courageous Manny, his cousin John of Paris, Martin of Spain and others, whom he knighted. Having dismounted his men, he caused their lances to be shortened to the length of five feet, and placed his pennon before him, which had his arms, ermine, three humets in pale gules.

CHAPTER CXCIX.—THE BATTLE OF NOGENT-SUR-SEINE, BETWEEN SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES AND THE FRENCH, AND SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT AND THE ENGLISH.

When sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who was a bold and courageous knight, saw that sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and his battalion were not inclined to quit their position, he said,

* Hans,—a village in Champagne, in the election of St. Menehould.

† Denys Sauvage has on this passage the following note, in the margin:

"From what follows it appears to me that each lance was, upon both sides, only one man." This is probably in reference to the numbers which could have been furnished by lord Audley and lord d'Albret, "four hundred *combatants*," which Froissart speaks of as sufficient to have insured sir Eustace's success. Such a reinforcement would have been of great service, if the twelve hundred French lances consisted only of that number of individuals, but would have been quite inefficient if they amounted to three or four times that number. The remark is, however, confined to this particular instance—in general each lance was equal to three men. See Note, p. 214.—Ed.

‡ Nogent-sur-Seine,—a town in Champagne, between Paris and Troyes, diocese of Sens.

§ Pont-sur-Seine,—a town in Champagne, diocese of Sens, election of Nogent.

‖ Q. if not Joinville.

"Let us march to them, for we must fight, whatever be the consequences." Upon which, he advanced with his battalion. Sir Eustace received the attack of this battalion in such a manner, that he broke it and threw it into confusion. At the first shock, he unhorsed upwards of forty*, and would have completely routed them, if the second battalion of the French had not immediately moved forward to their assistance, who, having rallied them, collected all the stragglers together. Upon this, the English archers began to use their bows, and so well, that none dared to come within the reach of their arrows. The third battalion of the French now advanced on their flank, to support the other two; and the engagement was very sharp and bloody, but the French were three to one. Sir Eustace struck to the ground four of the most vigorous of his enemies, with the spear he had in his hand; which was no sooner perceived by sir Broquart de Fenestrages, than he flung his lance over the heads of all those that were between him and sir Eustace, and, hitting him on the visor of his helmet, it penetrated through and broke three of his teeth: this, however, did not prevent sir Eustace from continuing the combat.

The English had the advantage of the hill, and they kept so closely together that they could not be broken. The French were on horseback, the English on foot. The archers had retreated, in a battalion by themselves, to somewhat higher ground, and shot briskly against the French; and when the French attempted, by marching about, to surround them, they kept their front to face the enemy. At this time, however, the French infantry, who could not make such haste as the men at arms, arrived. This infantry were full nine hundred men, and, being armed with lances and large shields†, broke through the line of the archers, and flung them in disorder; for their shields were so strong, that the arrows made no impression on them. They kept up the fight as long as they could; but, being thrown into confusion, the second battalion of the French men at arms galloped after them, and slew them all. This second battalion then went to the boys who were guarding the English horses, and killed or made prisoners the greater part of them, for very few escaped.

During this time, the two other battalions of the French were engaged with the English; and in the end they broke them, that they never were able to rally: the pennon of sir Eustace, which was their standard, was taken and torn to pieces. When the English were thrown into confusion, many were beaten down and the French made prisoners at their choice. Sir Eustace fell into the hands of a knight who served under the count de Vaudemont, whose name was sir Henry de Quenillart, to whom he surrendered himself, and who had great difficulty to save his life; for the common people of Troyes wanted to put him to death for the gallant deeds of arms he had performed in Champagne. Lord John de Paris and lord Martin of Spain were also made prisoners, as well as many other knights and esquires. Those that were able to escape fled to the garrison of Nogent; but very few were so fortunate, as almost all were slain or taken.

Sir Courageous de Manny‡ was left for dead on the field of battle, and by this means forgotten: but after the defeat, and when all the French were retired, he, who had been grievously wounded, and more than half killed, raised his head a little, and saw nothing but dead bodies around him. He then got up as well as he could, and seating himself, looked about to see if he were far from Nogent, which had an English garrison; and, by crawling on his hands and knees, in about an hour's time he came to the foot of the tower of Nogent. He made signs to the garrison, that he was of their party. Upon which, they carried him into the fortress; and, by dressing and sewing up his wounds with much care, he was completely cured. This engagement took place in the year 1359, the vigil of the feast of St. John the Baptist.

* Sixty.—*Lord Berners.*

† Pavisses.—*Lord Berners.*

‡ I cannot find any thing relative to this Monseigneur Courageux de Manny in Dugdale's Baronage. Lord Walter Manny seems to have left at his death only one daughter, married to the earl of Pembroke.

Barnes says, he was cousin to sir Eustace and nephew to sir Walter Manny, and was honoured always with the epithet *courageous*.

CHAPTER CC.—THE PILLAGERS WHO HAD KEPT POSSESSION OF DIFFERENT FORTRESSES IN FRANCE BEGIN WONDERFULLY TO FALL OFF.

After the defeat of Nogent-sur-Seine, which I have just related, the country being cleared of the enemy, the French barons and men at arms returned to Troyes, carrying with them their booty; but the prisoners they sent by different roads to several of the French garrisons, because the common people at Troyes were desirous of putting them to death.—When those who had remained at Pont-sur-Seine heard that sir Eustace, their captain, was made prisoner; that all his army were slain or taken; they packed up their baggage and set out as quickly as possible, for they were but a very few in number. Those also who were at Torcis *, Espoye †, Ausy ‡, Mery §, and Pleusy‖, and in all the forts that had been under the command of sir Eustace, did the same, and left them void, for fear of the bishop of Troyes and sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who were great warriors: they united themselves with other garrisons at a distance. Sir Peter Audley did not, for this check, quit Beaufort **; nor sir John Segar, Nogent; nor the lord Albret, Gié-sur-Aube ††.

About this time, the lord John of Piquigny died in an extraordinary manner at his castle of la Herielle, within three leagues of Amiens: it was reported that he was strangled by his chamberlain, and that sir Luke de Bekusy, who was of his council, died much in the same manner. Near this period, as some of the soldiers belonging to sir Peter Audley were riding through the country, they came to a good large village of the name of Ronay ‡‡, which they plundered; insomuch that, as the curate of the place was celebrating high mass, an English squire entered the church, took the chalice from the altar, in which the curate was preparing to consecrate the precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and cast the wine upon the floor. Upon the curate remonstrating with him for this conduct, he struck him so hard a blow with his gauntlet upon the hand, that the blood spirted upon the altar. These pillagers then marched out into the fields, and the squire carried with him the sacred vessels and the cloth. He was, however, scarcely got into the fields, when his horse began to caper, and to play such violent tricks that no one dared to approach him: after many plunges, they both fell to the ground with their necks broken, and were immediately turned into cinders and dust. His companions, seeing this, made a vow, that from henceforward they would never violate the sanctity of any church.

The garrison of Mauconseil, not having any provisions, sold the place to the inhabitants of Noyon §§, and those in its neighbourhood, for about twelve thousand gold moutons ‖‖, with liberty to go away in safety, which they did, carrying off all that belonged to them. They withdrew into the fortresses of Creil, Clermont, la Herielle, Vely, Pierrepont, Roucy, and Sissonne, which, for a length of time, had been held by the Navarre party; but, since the conclusion of the peace with the king of Navarre, they had remained with the English. As soon as those of Noyon were in possession of Mauconseil, they razed it to the ground.

Sir John Segar sold also Nogent to the bishop of Troyes, and gave it up to him for a large sum of florins, which he was to receive, and had it ratified to him under the hand and seal of the bishop. Upon this, he went to the city of Troyes, and dismounted at the hôtel of the bishop, who said to him: "John, you will stay with me two or three days; and, whilst you are courteously treated, I will prepare the money for your payment." Sir John, who had come thither on the bishop's word, agreed to the proposal: but the populace began to murmur, and to say, "How can our lord bishop make such a mock of us, as to entertain in his house the greatest pillager of all France, besides wanting to make us give him our

* A village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

† A village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

‡ Ausson is a town and village in Champagne,—Arcy le Pousard, election of Rheims.

§ Mery-sur-Seine,—a town in Champagne, diocese of Troyes.

‖ A town in Champagne, diocese of Troyes.

** Beaufort-les-Regnicourt, a village in Champagne, election of Rheims.

†† Gié,—a village in Champagne, election of Bar-sur-Aube.

‡‡ Ronay,—a village in Champagne, diocese and election of Troyes.

§§ Noyon,—an ancient town in Picardy. Its bishop is suffragan to the bishop of Rheims.

‖‖ Moutons,—see note, p. 231.

money?" They then collected together, sent strong guards to each of the gates, to prevent his escape, and marched in a body of six thousand, with arms, to slay sir John Segar in the court of the bishop's hôtel. When the bishop saw this, he spoke to them, and said: "My good friends, he is come here under the security of my passport; and you know that a treaty has been made between us, with your consent: it would therefore be highly disloyal to do anything, under this assurance, that may be hurtful to him." However, notwithstanding the endeavours of the bishop, they forced into the hall and the apartments, in which they made so exact a search that they found sir John Segar, slew him, and cut him into pieces.

CHAPTER CCI.—THE FRENCH REFUSE TO RATIFY THE TREATY WHICH KING JOHN HAD ENTERED INTO WITH ENGLAND.

I HAVE been a long time silent with regard to the king of England: but until this moment there has not been any cause for speaking of him; for as long as the truce lasted his people did not carry on the war in his name. The truce having expired the first day of, May, 1359, from that period the English and Navarre garrisons made war for him as king of France, and continued so to do daily. It happened that soon after the peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre had been concluded, as has been related, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, returned to England; for he was not yet ransomed since he was made a prisoner at Poitiers. At that time also, the king of England and the prince of Wales came to Westminster, to meet the king of France and lord James de Bourbon; when these four assembled together in council, and agreed on a peace, without any arbitrator between them, upon certain conditions which were written down, and also a letter was indited to be sent to France to the duke of Normandy.

The earl of Tancarville and sir Arnold crossed the sea with these dispatches, landed at Boulogne, and hastened on to Paris; where they found the duke of Normandy and the king of Navarre, to whom they delivered their letters. The duke of Normandy consulted the king of Navarre on the subject of them, who advised that the prelates, nobles, and the councils of the principal towns should be assembled, which was accordingly ordered. It appeared to the king of Navarre, the duke of Normandy and his brothers, as well as to the council of state, that the conditions of peace were too hard: and they gave an unanimous answer to the two lords who had brought them, that "they would much rather endure the great distress they were in at present, than suffer the kingdom of France to be diminished, and that king John must remain longer in England." When the king of France was informed they had not succeeded in their mission, he said, "Ha, ha, my good son Charles, you consult with the king of Navarre, who deceives you, and would deceive forty such as you." The king of England, on receiving their answer, said, that since it was so, before the winter was over, he would enter France with a most powerful army, and remain there until there was an end of the war by an honourable and satisfactory peace. He began making more splendid preparations than he had ever done before.

About this season, which was the middle of August, 1359, the lord John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the inhabitants of that town and its neighbourhood, with other knights and squires of the counties of Rethel and Laon, marched and laid siege to the castle of Roucy: they pressed it so hard for five weeks, that the garrison surrendered, on condition of saving their lives and fortunes. For this effect, they had letters, with permission to go wherever they pleased in surety, under the hands of the archbishop, the count de Porcien and the count de Braine, who were there: but when they were setting out, the common people came forth to meet them, and slew the greater part, in spite of the lords, who with much difficulty saved the life of their leader, Hanequin François. Thus had the count de Roucy once more possession of his town and castle.

CHAPTER CCII.—SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY BY A GREAT RANSOM.

Soon after the re-capture of the castle of Roucy, sir Peter Audley fell sick, and died in his bed, at the castle of Beaufort in Champagne, which caused great grief among all the followers of his fortunes. Upon this, the English and Germans, who were united in carrying on the war in the name of the king of England, consulted together, and determined that they could not fix on a more proper leader than sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who was then recovered from his wounds. They sent Faucon the herald into the county of Vaudemont, to confer with the earl of that name, and with the lord Henry de Quenillart *, who had made him prisoner, touching his redemption. His liberty was granted, on condition of his paying down twenty-two thousand French livres for his ransom. Sir Eustace thus recovered his freedom; the different garrisons in Champagne and Brie having made a subscription for that purpose, when each man cheerfully paid his part. He obtained his hackney and war-horse that he had lost at the battle of Nogent, which had been sent to him by the lady Isabella de Juliers, countess of Kent, from England, out of her affection to him. The English also surrendered at that time the castle of Conflans † in Champagne, of which they were in possession.

When these troops, who were carrying on the war against France, had thus ransomed sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, they elected him their chief, and all sorts of persons enlisted under his banner. He made an excursion into the Rhetelois ‡, where no one had been before, and took by storm the good town of Attigny § upon the Aisne, where they found upwards of a hundred butts of wine. They fixed upon this as the principal garrison, and overran from it the whole country in the environs of Rheims: they pillaged Epernay ||, Damery ¶, Touraine **, and the town of Vertus ††, where they met with very great booty; they placed there another garrison, which scoured the country from the river Marne to la Ferté-Milon ‡‡; whilst those of Attigny overran it as far as Mesieres §§ upon the Meuse, Donchery |||, and even to le Chêne Pouilleux ¶¶.

CHAPTER CCIII.—SIR BROQUART DE FENESTRAGES FORCES PAYMENT FROM THE DUKE OF NORMANDY, REGENT OF FRANCE.

About this time it happened, that sir Broquart de Fenestrages, who had been to the aid of the duke of Normandy and the French, against the English and men of Navarre, and had much assisted them in their conquests, and in driving them out of their fortresses in Champagne, had been very badly paid for his assistance, insomuch that there was owing to him and his men, for their subsidy, thirty thousand livres. He sent therefore certain persons to the duke at Paris, who did not give them very pleasant answers, for they returned without having been able to do any thing. Upon this, sir Broquart sent a defiance to the duke and to all France, and took possession of a handsome town called Bar-sur-Seine ***, where at that time there were nine hundred hôtels, and plundered the inhabitants; but the castle was so well guarded, he could not gain it. Having packed up his booty, he carried away upwards of five hundred prisoners, and burnt the town so completely, that nothing remained but the walls. His men retreated to Conflans, which they had made their garrison, and committed afterward more atrocious acts in Champagne than ever the English or men of Navarre had

* Barnes calls him sir Henry de Quingey, but why, I know not.

† Diocese and election of Châlons, near Châlons.

‡ A country of Champagne, near Rhetel.

§ A market-town in Champagne, diocese of Rheims, and near Rhetel.

|| Diocese of Rheims, eight leagues from Châlons.

¶ Damery,—a village near Epernay.

** I can find only Touraille, a village in Champagne, election of Chaumont, near Ligny.

†† A town in Champagne, six leagues from Châlons.

‡‡ A town in Picardy, diocese of Senlis, election of Crespy.

§§ A strong city in Champagne, on the Meuse.

||| A town in Champagne on the Meuse, bordering on Luxembourg.

¶¶ Chesne Pouilleux,—a town in Champagne, in the election of Rhetel, near Sedan,—made famous by the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, before Dumouriez, in the year 1792.

*** A town of Burgundy, on the Seine, diocese of Langres.

done. When sir Broquart and his troop had thus overrun and pillaged the country, there was an agreement made with them; and each man was paid even more than he demanded; so that sir Broquart retreated into Lorraine, whence he had come, carrying with him all his soldiers: he left peaceably the kingdom of France and country of Champagne, after having done a sufficiency of evil to each of them.

CHAPTER CCIV.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES MAKES AN EXCURSION INTO BERRY AND AUVERGNE. HE IS PURSUED BY THE GENTLEMEN OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

At this same period, in the year 1359, sir Robert Knolles prepared an expedition, consisting of three thousand persons, including every one. With this army, he quitted the marches of Brittany; and having followed the course of the Loire upwards, entered the province of Berry, overrunning and destroying all that part of the country. It was reported that his intentions were to pass through Auvergne, to pay a visit to the pope and cardinals at Avignon, and get some of their florins, as the archpriest had done before. The gentlemen of Auvergne and Limousin assembled, in large bodies, to oppose this invasion; in particular, the count de Forests, who brought with him four hundred lances: and they were very numerous when all were assembled.

Sir Robert Knolles and his troops, who were all called Englishmen, continued their march from Brittany unmolested, until they came to the borders of Auvergne. The lords of Auvergne, with their array, advanced to within a short day's journey of sir Robert. They observed, from a mountain where they had posted themselves, all that the English were doing. On the morrow, they marched to that part; there were only two short country leagues between them; when they halted, and took post on a mountain, and the English did the same on another: each army saw the fires the other was making. The next morning, the French decamped, and advanced still nearer to meet them, for they were well acquainted with the country, and, about noon, took up their quarters on an eminence right before the English: the two armies were only separated by a meadow of about twelve acres. The English immediately drew up in order of battle, and placed their archers on the declivity of the hill, in the front. The French lords then drew up their army in two battalions, each of which consisted of upwards of five thousand men. The count de Clermont, dauphin of Auvergne, commanded the first battalion; his name was Berault. He was knighted on the spot, and displayed his banner, which was quartered with the arms of Auvergne and Clermont*. There were near to his person, his uncle the lord Robert Dauphin, the lord of Montagu, the lord of Talençon, the lord of Rochefort, the lord of Serignac, the lord Godfrey of Boulogne, and many young squires from Limousin, Quercy, Auvergne, and Rouergue. In the second battalion, were the count de Forests, the lord John of Boulogne, the count d'Auvergne, the lord d'Archer and his sons, the lord d'Achon, the lord d'Uzes, the lord Reginald de Forests, brother to the count, and great numbers of knights and squires, with a thorough good will for the combat, as was apparent. On the other hand, sir Robert Knolles and his troops showed an equally good countenance to engage.

Thus then they remained until the evening, each in their entrenchments, without moving, except some young knights and squires, who, in hopes of gaining glory by feats of arms, descended into the meadow, with the leave of their marshals, in order to tilt with their opponents. He who conquered his adversary carried him off prisoner. Towards night, each party retired to his quarters, and kept a good and great guard. The lords of France

* In all my manuscripts and printed editions, it is Auvergne and *Merquel*. Denys Sauvage says, that there must be some mistake, and proposes *Clermont* in lieu of Merquel, which, as he was count de Clermont as well as dauphin of Auvergne, seems to me proper. Barnes changes the word Merquel into *Marleques*; but he gives no reason or authority for so doing.

The counts of Auvergne added the title of dauphin, in rivalship to the dauphin of Viennois, 1167. How long they continued it I know not. The last dauphin of Viennois was Humbert, who ceded the title and his estates to the crown of France, 1345, on condition of the heir apparent to that crown bearing it. Dauphin was formerly a title of honour, as duke, marquis, &c. is now.

held a council, and resolved at the hour of midnight to descend the mountain, not on the side next the English, but by that which they had ascended; when, by making a circuit of only two leagues, they would come to the opposite side of the hill where the English were posted, which part was not high nor difficult of ascent: they had hopes to arrive there so early, that the English would not be all armed. Each lord was to give these orders to his own people: this, however, was not done so secretly but that the English were informed of it by one of their countrymen, a prisoner in the French army, who made his escape, and told sir Robert Knolles of their intentions. Sir Robert summoned a council of those in whose opinion he most confided, who, considering the superiority of the French forces, thought it not advisable to wait for them. Upon this, their baggage was immediately loaded: they decamped, and were conducted by those of the country whom they had made prisoners.

At midnight, the French were drawn up in battle-array, and marched according as it had been ordered. They arrived by day-break on the mountain, where they thought to have found the English: but, when they saw they had decamped, they sent off some of their most expert and best mounted, over the hills, to see if they could get any tidings of them. They returned about nine o'clock, and reported that they had seen them on their march, named the roads they had taken, and added they were advancing towards Limoges. When the lords of Auvergne heard this, they broke up their expedition, and each returned to his own home.

Very soon after, a treaty of marriage was entered into, and completed, between the gallant knight the lord Berault, dauphin of Auvergne, with the daughter of the count de Forests, whom he had by a sister of the lord James de Bourbon.

CHAPTER CCV.—SOME GERMANS WAIT FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND AT CALAIS, TO ATTEND HIM IN HIS EXPEDITION INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME KING JOHN WAS IN ENGLAND.

DURING all this time, the king of England was making such great preparations for his expedition into France, that the like was never seen before: on which account, many barons and knights of the German empire, who had formerly served him, exerted themselves much this year, and provided themselves handsomely in horses and equipage in the best manner they could, each according to his rank, and hastened as fast as possible, by the frontiers of Flanders, to Calais, where they remained, to wait for the king of England. It happened that the king could not come thither with his army by the time appointed, which caused such numbers to remain at Calais, that there were no lodgings for them, nor stables for their horses. In addition to this, bread, wine, hay, oats, and all sorts of provisions, were so scarce, that none could be had for money.

Thus did these mercenary Germans, Bohemians, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, both poor and rich, wait from the beginning of August until St. Luke's day; so that many were forced to sell the greater part of their jewels. If the king had arrived then, they would not have known where to have lodged him and his people, except in the castle, for the whole town was occupied. There was also some doubt if these lords, who had spent their all, would have quitted Calais, for the king or any one else, if their expenses had not been allowed them. The king had not sent for a fourth part of them. Some came out of good-will to him, in hopes of grace and favour: others, with the expectation of gaining from the plunder of France.

The king of England at last ordered the duke of Lancaster to Calais, with four hundred men in armour and two thousand archers and Welchmen. When the duke came to Calais, he was much rejoiced to see so many foreign lords, who made earnest inquiries after the king. He excused the king for not coming, on the impossibility of getting all preparations ready for so large an army by the time he had fixed. He then told these lords, that a longer residence there would be of no service; that as he intended making an excursion into France, to see what he could find, he entreated of them to accompany him, offering to lend to each a sum of money, to pay their landlords and other expenses, as well as to supply them

with as much provision as their horses could carry. They accepted the duke's proposal, for they were ashamed to refuse it: and having had their horses new shodden, and packed up their baggage, they set out from Calais in a magnificent train, accompanying the duke towards St. Omer. They might be about two thousand men with armour, without counting the archers or footmen. They passed by St. Omer, riding on towards Bethune*, which they also left unmolested, and came to Mont St. Eloy†, where there was a large and rich monastery, situated two leagues distant from Arras. Here they halted four days, to refresh themselves and their horses, as they found a sufficiency for both in the monastery.

When they had robbed and plundered the country round about, they advanced until they came to the town of Braye‡, which they attacked a whole day. A knight-banneret§ of England was slain there, with many others; for the townsmen defended themselves valiantly, owing to a reinforcement which the count de St. Pol and the lord de Lameval, with others, to the amount of two hundred lances, had thrown into the back part of the town. When the English perceived they could make no impression, they marched off, following the course of the river Somme, being in great distress for bread and wine, until they came to a town called Cherisy ‖, where they found enough of both. They crossed the river at this last place by the bridge, which was not destroyed, and remained there that night and the feast of All-Saints. That day, a messenger brought the news to the duke, that the king was arrived at Calais, with orders for him and his troops to join him immediately. Upon which they all returned to Calais. In this expedition was sir Henry of Flanders, with two hundred lances. From Brabant, there were sir Henry de Beautresen, lord of Bergues, the lord Girard de la Harde, and lord Franque de Halle ¶. From Hainault, the lord Walter de Manny and the lord John de Gommeguines. From Bohemia, sir Walter de la Hautepomme, sir Reginald de Boullant, the lord Godfrey de Harduemont, and the lord John his son, the lord Duras, Thierry de Ferram, the lord Russe de Jumeppe, the lord Giles Sorles, the lord John de Bermont, the lord Reginald de Bergehes, and many other noblemen. The Germans and mercenaries from strange countries, I am unable to name; therefore, for the present, I shall be silent on that head.

CHAPTER CCVI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND LEADS A GREAT ARMY INTO FRANCE, DURING THE TIME THE KING OF FRANCE WAS A PRISONER IN ENGLAND.—THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY OF ENGLAND.

As the duke of Lancaster, with his barons and knights, were returning to Calais, to salute the king of England, who was impatient to see them, they met, within four leagues of Calais, such a multitude of people, the whole country was filled with them; and they were so richly armed and dressed out, that it was a pleasure to view their arms glittering in the sun, their banners waving in the wind, and the whole army marching slowly in battle-array. When the duke and the above-mentioned lords were come to the king, he received them very graciously, and thanked them much for their services. Shortly afterward, these mercenary Germans, Brabanters, and Bohemians, having assembled together, informed the king, that, having spent their money, and sold their horses and armour, very little remained with them for his service, according to the design of their coming, and that, if there should be occasion, they had not wherewithal to return to their own country: they intreated him, out of his generosity, to pay some regard to their situation. The king thus replied: "I am but ill prepared at this place to give you a complete answer; and, as I imagine, you must all be much fatigued, if you will go and refresh yourselves in Calais for two or three days, I will consider your requests this night, and to-morrow will send you such an answer as ought to

* A strong town in Artois.

† A village of Artois, diocese of Arras.

‡ Braye-sur-Somme,—a village in Picardy.

§ Barnes says it was sir Thomas Murrers, but gives no authority.

‖ A village in Picardy, diocese of Noyon.

¶ Sir Francis van Halle was afterwards captain of Calais, and a commissioner for treating of peace with France. He was installed knight of the garter in the 23rd stall, in the room of sir Otho Holland.—*Buswell's Account of the Garter*, No. 50.

be satisfactory to you in reason, and according to my means." These lords then left the king and the duke, and advanced towards Calais. When they had marched about half a league, they met a great number of handsome waggons, and soon after the prince of Wales, who, as well as all his attendants, were most brilliantly armed, and in such numbers that the whole country seemed covered with them: they marched slowly in close order, as if they were about to engage in battle, and always a league or two in the rear of the king's division, with their baggage and provisions between them; which arrangement the foreign lords viewed with delight.

War-Waggons and Baggage-Trains on their March.—From Authorities of the Fifteenth Century. Engraved and Described in Grose's Military Antiquities.

These lords attentively considered this army, and respectfully saluted the prince, the barons, and the other lords that were with him. After the prince had courteously and handsomely received them, like one who knew well how to do so, on their taking leave, they informed him also of their poverty and situation, beseeching him that he would have the goodness to attend to their necessities. The prince listened to them, and cheerfully complied with their request. They then rode on, and came to Calais, where they took up their lodgings. The second day after they had been there, the king of England sent them his answer by three worthy knights, who told them plainly, that the king had not with him adequate sums of money to pay all their expenses, nor what they might perhaps demand: that he had brought with him only sufficient for the enterprise he had undertaken: that, however, if they thought proper to accompany him, and partake of his good and bad fortune, should any success ensue, they should partake of it, and largely; but that he would not be understood as obliged to pay them any wages, nor anything for horses destroyed, or other expenses which they might be put to; for he had brought an army from his own country equal to the business that he had undertaken. This answer was not very agreeable to these lords, nor to their companions, who had laboured hard, and expended their all: they had also pawned their horses and armour, having sold every thing superfluous through necessity. Nevertheless, they could obtain nothing except some small sums lent them to carry them home

again. However, some of these noblemen chose to remain with the king and share his adventures; for they would have been blamed if they had gone back to their own country without having done anything.

I shall now point out the manner of the arrangement of the king of England's forces, which he brought with him for this expedition. It ought not to be passed over in silence, for so large an army* had never left England before. Previous to the king's embarking for France, he sent all the French earls and barons, his prisoners, into different parts and strong castles in his kingdom, in order to be more under command. He placed the king of France in the Tower of London, which is very large and strong, and situated on the river Thames: his young son Philip was sent thither with him: but they were deprived of many of their attendants, curtailed in several comforts, and more closely confined than before.

When he was ready to set out, he summoned all those who had provided themselves with everything necessary to attend him to France, to advance towards Dover, where they would find vessels to cross the sea. Each man got himself ready as fast as he could: there was not knight, squire, or man of honour, from the age of twenty to sixty years, that did not go; so that almost all the earls, barons, knights, and squires of the realm went to Dover, except those whom the king and his council had ordered to remain to guard his castles, bailiwicks, mayoralties, sea-ports, havens, and marches. When all were collected together at Dover, and the vessels ready, the king ordered both small and great to assemble at a particular place out of the town, where he distinctly told them, that his intentions were to pass into France, and never to return until he should have put an end to the war, and obtained an honourable and efficient peace; that he would die sooner than not accomplish this object; and that if there were any among them who disapproved of what he had said, he desired they would return home. They all approving, embarked on board the ships, to the cries of "God and St. George!" and arrived at Calais two days before the feast of All-saints, 1359.

CHAPTER CCVII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND LEAVES CALAIS—THE ORDER OF HIS ARMY IN THEIR MARCH THROUGH PICARDY TOWARDS RHEIMS.

When the king of England was arrived at Calais, attended by the prince of Wales and three other sons, namely, Lionel earl of Ulster, John earl of Richmond, and Edmund, afterwards earl of Cambridge, the youngest of the four, with the following lords and their attendants, he ordered the cavalry, provision, and baggage, to be landed, and remained there four days. He then commanded every man to get ready; for he was desirous of marching after his cousin the duke of Lancaster.

He left the town of Calais on the next morning, and took the field with the largest army and best appointed train of baggage-waggons, that had ever quitted England. It was said, there were upwards of six thousand carts and waggons, which had all been brought with him. He then arranged his battalions: they were so richly and well dressed that it was a pleasure to look at them: he nominated his cousin the earl of March, whom he much loved, his constable.

First marched five hundred knights, well armed, and a thousand archers, in the van of the king's battalion, which was composed of three thousand men at arms and five thousand archers; himself and attendants riding among them in close order after the constable. In the rear of the king's battalion, was the immense baggage-train, which occupied two leagues in length: it consisted of upwards of five thousand carriages, with a sufficiency of horses to carry the provision for the army, and those utensils never before accustomed to be carried after an army, such as handmills to grind their corn, ovens to bake their bread, and a variety of other necessary articles. Next marched the strong battalion of the prince of Wales: he was accompanied by his brothers: it was composed of full two thousand men at arms, most excellently mounted and richly dressed. Both the men at arms and archers marched in close order, so that they were ready instantly to engage, should there be occasion. On their march,

* Or so well ordered.—*Lord Berners.*

they did not leave even a boy behind them without waiting for them, so that they could not well advance more than four leagues a-day.

In this state, they were met by the duke of Lancaster with the foreign lords, as has been before related, between Calais and the abbey of Licques*, in a handsome plain. There were also, in this army of the king of England, five hundred pioneers with spades and pick-axes, to level the roads, and cut down trees and hedges, for the more easily passing of the carriages.

I wish now to name the great lords of England who crossed the sea with the king, and the duke of Lancaster his cousin-german:—First then, there were his four sons already named; Henry duke of Lancaster; John earl of March, constable of England; the earls of Warwick and Suffolk, marshals of England; the earls of Hereford, Northampton, Salisbury, Stamford, Oxford; the bishops of Lincoln and Durham; the lords Percy, Neville, Despenser, Roos, Manny, Reginald Cobham, Mowbray, Delawarre; sir John Chandos, sir Richard Pembridge†, the lord Maine, the lord Willoughby, the lord Felton, the lord Basset, the lord Charlton‡, the lord Silvancier‡; sir James Audley, sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, the lord Scales, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, sir Nesle Loring, and a great many others whom I cannot recollect.

These lords then rode on in the same order I mentioned on their quitting Calais, and marched through Artois, passing by Arras, taking the same road which the duke of Lancaster had done before. They, however, could not find any provision in the flat countries, for every thing had been carried into the different garrisons. The country had been so pillaged and destroyed, that the ground had not been cultivated for the last three years; and there was such distress and famine in the kingdom of France, that if corn and oats had not been sent from Hainault and the Cambresis, into Artois, Vermandois, the bishopric of Laon, and Rheims, must have died with hunger. It was upon this account, that the king, who had been informed of the poverty and distress in France, had made such ample provision before he quitted England. Each lord had done the same according to his rank, except in the articles of straw and oats, and for that they did with their horses as well as they could. The season, however, was very rainy, which hurt greatly both themselves and their horses; for almost every day and night it rained in torrents, so that the vintage of this year was worth nothing.

The king continued his march, by short journeys, with his whole army, until he came near Bapaume§. I must notice here an adventure which befel sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, a very gallant and expert knight of Picardy. I will first inform you, that all the towns, cities, and castles, near the road that the king of England was following, were well guarded; for each town in Picardy took and received knights and squires into their pay. The count de St. Pol had posted himself, with two hundred knights, in Arras; the constable of France in Amiens; the lord de Monsault in Corbie; sir Odart de Renty and sir Enguerrant de Hedin in Bapaume; sir Baldwin de Annequin, captain of the cross-bowmen, in St. Quentin: and thus from city to city, for it was well known to all that the king of England was marching to lay siege to the good city of Rheims. It happened, that the inhabitants of Peronne in Vermandois had neither captain nor leader; and as their town was on the line of march the king was taking, and the English very near, they were not at their ease. This town is situated upon the river Somme; and the English followed the course of the rivers in preference: they bethought themselves, therefore, of sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was not at that time engaged to any town, and, as they had heard, was at Tournay. They sent thither to him most courteous letters, to intreat that he would come to assist in guarding the good town of Peronne, and bring as many companions as were attached to him; that they would pay him every day, for himself, twenty livres; for each knight under him, ten livres; and each lance having three horses, seven livres‖ a-day.

* Licques,— a small town in Picardy, sovereignty of Ardres.

† Sir Richard Pembridge is buried in Hereford cathedral.—See Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

‡ In my MSS. it is *Corbanton* and *Silvancier*. Barnes says, there was lord John Charlton, who was chamberlain to the king; but who Silvancier is, I cannot find out. Lord Berners repeats the word, and calls the first lord Grabalton.

§ Bapaume,—a strong town in Artois, diocese of Arras.

‖ All my copies, MS. as well as printed, have *ung franc* a-day; but as Denys Sauvage has altered it to *seven*, and says that other authors say seven, and particularly as La Chaux marks it clearly vii., I have therefore followed it.

Sir Galahaut was always eager for any warlike enterprise, and, finding himself thus courteously sought after by his neighbours of Peronne, readily complied with their request, and answered, that he would set out and be with them the day after the morrow. He left Tournay with about thirty lances; but his numbers, as he rode on, increased. He sent to sir Roger de Cologne, to meet him at an appointed place, which sir Roger did, accompanied by nineteen good companions, so that sir Galahaut had now fifty lances. They took up their quarters one night, in their way to Peronne, within two short leagues of the enemy, at a village, but where they found no one, for all the inhabitants of the low countries had fled to the fortified towns. On the next morning, they were to have got into Peronne, as they were but a small distance from it. About the hour of midnight, when supper was over, after they had posted their watch, they were chatting and jesting about feats of arms, of which they had wherewithal to talk, sir Galahaut said: "We shall get into Peronne very early to-morrow morning; but, before we make our entry there, I would propose an excursion towards the flanks of our enemies; for I shall be much mistaken, if there will not be some of them who who will set out early in hopes of gaining honour or booty by pillaging the country; and we may perchance meet with them, and make them pay our score. His companions immediately agreed to this proposal, kept it secret among themselves, and were ready with their horses saddled at break of day. They took the field in good order, and, leaving the road which led to Peronne, skirted the woods to see if they could meet with any one: they arrived at a village, the inhabitants of which had fortified the church: sir Galahaut dismounted at this place, where there was wine, with bread and meat in plenty, which were offered to them by those within. Whilst they were at this place, sir Galahaut called to him two of his squires, one of whom was Bridoul de Tallonne, and said to them; "Ride forward, and examine the country round, to see if you can perceive any one: and, if you find nothing, return here to us: we will wait for you." The two squires set off, mounted on good horses, and made for a wood which was about half a French league distant.

This same morning, sir Reginald de Boullant, a German knight belonging to the duke of Lancaster's division, had rode forth since day-break, and, having made a large circuit without seeing any one, had halted at that spot. The two squires, being come thither, imagined they might be some persons of the country, who had placed themselves there in ambuscade, and rode so near that each party saw the other. The two Frenchmen, therefore, consulted together, and said, "If they be Germans, we must pretend we belong to them: if they be of this part of the country, we will tell them who we are." When they were so near each other that they could speak, the two squires soon perceived, by their uniforms, that they were Germans and their enemies. Sir Reginald de Boullant spoke to them in German, and inquired whose soldiers they were. Bridoul de Tallonne, who well understood that language, answered, "We belong to sir Bartholomew Burghersh." "And where is sir Bartholomew?" "He is," replied he, "in that village." "For what reason has he stopped there?" "Sir, because he has sent us forward, to see if we can find any thing to forage in this part of the country." "By my faith, there is not," answered sir Reginald; "for I have been all over it, and have not been able to pick up any thing. Return to him, and tell him to advance, and we will ride together as far as St. Quentin, and see if we cannot find out a better country, or some good adventure." "And who are you?" demanded the squire. "I am called Reginald de Boullant," answered the knight, "and say so to sir Bartholomew." Upon this the two squires turned about, and went to the village where they had left their master. As soon as sir Galahaut saw them, he asked, "What news? have you found or seen any thing?" "Yes, sir, enough, in conscience: beyond this wood is sir Reginald de Boullant, with about thirty more: he has been riding about this neighbourhood all this morning, and desires much to have your company to ride further forward towards St. Quentin." "How," replied sir Galahaut, "what are you saying? sir Reginald de Boullant is a German knight, and in the service of England." "All this we know well," answered the squire. "Then how could you get away from him?" "Sir," said Bridoul, "I will tell you." He then related to him all that conversation which has just been mentioned.

When sir Galahaut heard what had passed, he was for a moment thoughtful, and then asked the opinions of sir Roger de Cologne and some other knights present, what was best

to be done. The knights answered, "Sir, you are seeking for adventures, and, when they fall into your mouth, take advantage of them, for by all means, allowed by the laws of arms, every man ought to molest his enemy." To this advice sir Galahaut cheerfully assented, for he was very desirous of meeting the Germans. He ordered his steed to be got ready, and put on his helmet with the visor down, that he might not be known: the rest did the same. They quitted the village, and, getting into the fields, rode to the right for the wood, where sir Reginald was waiting for them. They might be about seventy men at arms, and sir Reginald had but thirty. As soon as sir Reginald perceived them advancing, he collected his men together in a very orderly manner, and thus left his ambuscade, with his pennon displayed before him, and marched with a gentle pace to meet the French, whom he believed to be English. When he was come up with them, he raised his visor, and saluted sir Galahaut, by the name of sir Bartholomew Burghersh. Sir Galahaut kept his face covered, and replied in a low voice, adding, "Come, come, let us ride on." Upon which, his people drew off on one side, and the Germans on the other. When sir Reginald de Boullant noticed his manner, and that sir Galahaut was eyeing him askance without saying a word, some doubts entered his mind. He had not rode a quarter of an hour before he stopped short, under his banner, in the midst of his people, and said aloud: "I have some suspicions, sir knight, that you are not sir Bartholomew de Burghersh; for I am well acquainted with sir Bartholomew, and hitherto I have not seen your face; therefore, you must tell me your real name, before I ride any farther in your company." At these words, sir Galahaut raised his visor, and advanced towards the knight, in order to seize the reins of his horse, crying out, "Our Lady of Ribemmont!" which was echoed by sir Roger de Cologne, crying, "Cologne to the rescue!"

Sir Reginald, perceiving his mistake, was not much frightened, but laying his hand quickly on his sword of war, which he wore by his side, that was both stiff and strong, drew it out of the scabbard; and, as sir Galahaut advanced to take the bridle, sir Reginald gave him so furious a stroke with this sword, that it penetrated the armour, and passed through his body. Having drawn it back again, he stuck spurs in his horse, and left sir Galahaut grievously wounded.

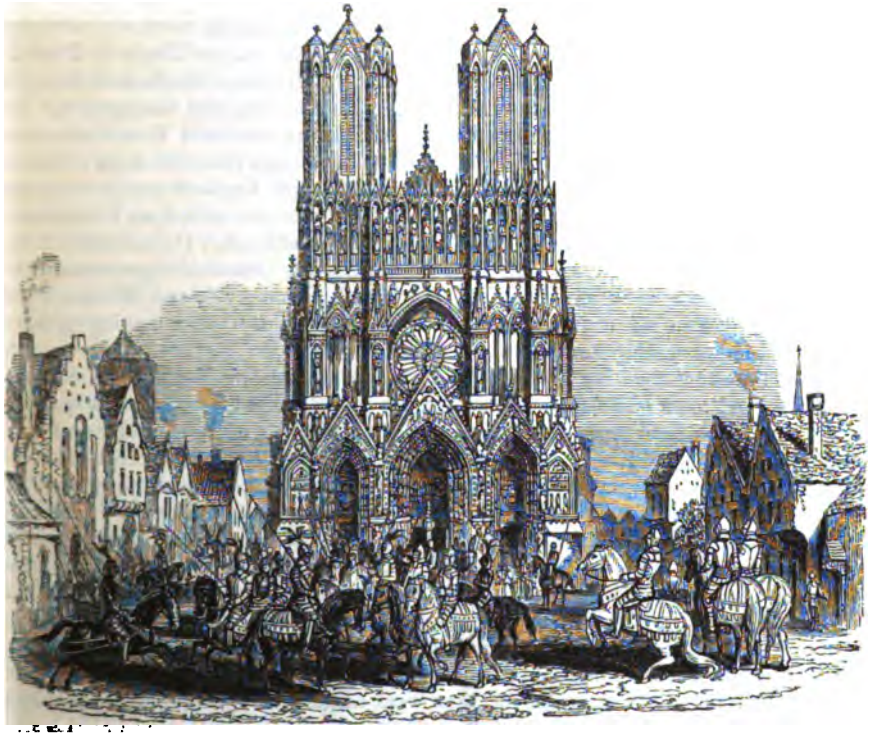
The companions of sir Galahaut, perceiving their master and captain in such a condition, were like madmen: they threw themselves up, and attacked the party of sir Reginald most fiercely, when some of them were unhorsed. As for sir Reginald himself, he had no sooner struck sir Galahaut than, clapping spurs to his horse, he had galloped off. Some of sir Galahaut's squires pursued him, whilst others were engaged with the Germans, with the intention of being fully revenged: but sir Reginald, who was a bold and accomplished knight, was not much alarmed: however, when he found himself so closely pursued, that it was proper to turn about or be disgraced, he wheeled round, and struck the nearest so violently with his strong sword, that he had not any desire to follow him further: thus, as he was riding off, he beat down and severely wounded three; and had he had a sharp battle-axe in his hand, every one of his strokes would have killed a man. In this manner did the knight escape from the French, without receiving the smallest wound, which his enemies, as well as all those who heard of it, considered as a most gallant act: but it fared otherwise with his people, as they were almost all killed or made prisoners, scarcely any escaping. They placed sir Galahaut de Ribemmont, who was very severely wounded, on a litter, and carried him to Peronne to a physician. He was never perfectly cured of this wound; for he was a knight of such courage that he would not allow it time to heal, so that he died shortly afterward.

We will now return to the king of England, and relate how he laid siege to the city and castle of Rheims.

CHAPTER CCVIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS SIEGE TO THE CITY OF RHEIMS, AND TO THE CASTLE OF CHARGNY.—THE WAR RE-COMMENCES BETWEEN THE DUKE OF NORMANDY AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.

THE English continued their march, until they had passed through Artois, the low country of which they found in great poverty and distress for provisions, and had entered Cambresis, where all things were in greater abundance: for the inhabitants of the plains had not carried their provisions into any fortresses, thinking themselves secure from the English, as forming a dependence of the empire; but the king of England did not consider them in that light, nor look upon Cambresis as part of the empire.

The king took up his quarters in the town of Beaurevoir in Cambresis, encamping his army in the neighbourhood, where they halted four days to refresh themselves and horses, and from whence they overran the greater part of the country of Cambresis. The bishop, Peter of Cambray, and the councils of the lords of the country and the principal towns, sent divers messengers, under a passport, to inquire the grounds of the war. They received for answer, that some time ago they had contracted alliances with the French, had aided them



RHEIMS.—The Cathedral and part of the Old Town, as it appeared during the Siege. Designed from Original Sketches.

much, had supported them in their towns and fortresses, and had before made part in the war as enemies: that these were the reasons why the war was carried on in their country: nor could they get any other answer. The Cambresians were therefore obliged to put up with their losses and grievances as well as they could. The king continued his route through Cambresis, and entered Tierache *; but his people overran the country to the right and left, and took provisions wherever they could lay hands on them. It chanced, that in one of

* Tierache,—a fertile country in Picardy, watered by the Oise and the Serre, to the west of Champagne, and south of Hainault.

these foraging parties sir Bartholomew Burghersh, in riding towards St. Quentin, accidentally met the governor of that place, sir Baldwin d'Annequin, when both riders and horses met together: there was great confusion, and many were unhorsed on each side; but in the end the English gained the field, and sir Baldwin d'Annequin was captured by sir Bartholomew Burghersh, to whom he had been before a prisoner at the battle of Poitiers.

The English returned to the king, who that day was lodged in the abbey of Femy *, where they found great plenty of provisions for themselves and horses; they then passed on, and continued their march without any hindrance, so that they arrived in the environs of Rheims.

The king's quarters were at St. Waal beyond Rheims, and the prince of Wales' at St. Thierry †, where they held their courts. The duke of Lancaster, after them, kept the greatest household. The counts, barons, and knights, were quartered in the neighbouring villages to Rheims, so that they were not very comfortable, nor had they weather to please them; for they had arrived there in the depth of winter, about St. Andrew's day, when it was very rainy: their horses were badly housed, hardly treated, and ill fed, as the whole whole country was so destroyed, by having been for two or three years before the theatre of war, that no one had tilled or sowed the ground. There was such scarcity of corn of all sorts, many were forced to seek forage ten or twelve leagues off. These parties met frequently with the garrisons of the neighbouring fortresses: sharp skirmishes ensued between them: sometimes the English lost, at others were victorious.

Sir John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, tho count de Porcien, sir Hugh de Porcien his brother, the lord de la Bone, the lord de Canency, the lord Dannore, the lord de Lore, were governors and captains of the town at the time the king of England besieged it. Many other barons, knights and squires of the district of Rheims were also there, who exerted themselves so much that the town suffered little loss or damage from the siege: besides, it was strong, well fortified, and as well defended. The king of England was not desirous of storming it, lest his army might suffer too much from wounds or fatigue; he remained, therefore, before it, from St. Andrew's day to the beginning of Lent. Detachments from his army, however, scoured the country in search of adventures. Some of them went over the whole country of Rhetel, as far as Warq ‡, to Maisieres §, Donchery ||, and Mouson ¶: they quartered themselves in the country for three or four days; and after having pillaged it without let or hindrance, they returned again to their army.

During the time that the king of England was before Rheims, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt had taken the good town of Achery-sur-Aine **; in which he had found a great quantity of provisions, and, in particular, upwards of three thousand butts of wine. He sent a large portion of it to the king of England and his sons, for which they were very thankful.

Whilst this siege lasted, many knights left it, to seek what good fortune they might find. Among others, sir John Chandos, sir James Audley, the lord of Mucident, sir Richard de Pontchardon, with their companies, advanced so near to Châlons in Champagne, that they came to Chargny-en-Dormois ††, where there was a very handsome and strong castle. Having carefully examined it, they were very desirous of gaining this castle, and directly made an assault on it. Within it were two good and valiant knights as governors: the name of one was sir John de Caples, who bore for arms a cross anchored sable, on a shield or.

The attack was sharp and long: the two knights and their garrison defended themselves well: and it behoved them so to do, for they were assaulted very roughly. The lord of Mucident, who was a powerful and rich lord in Gascony, advanced so forward at this attack, that he received a severe blow from a stone on his helmet, through which it found a passage to his head: he was so badly wounded, that he could not be carried away, but died in the arms of his people. The other barons and knights were so enraged at the death of the lord

* Femy,—a village in Cambresis, on the borders of Hainault.

† St. Thierry,—a small village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

‡ Warq-les-Maisons,—a village of Champagne, election of Rhetel.

§ Mezieres,—a strong city of Champagne, diocese of Rheims, election of Rhetel.

|| Donchery,—a town of Champagne, on the Meuse, diocese of Rheims, election of Rhetel.

¶ Mouson,—a town of Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

** Achery,—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, diocese of Laon. The river Aine falls into the Oise near Compiegne.

†† Dormois,—a country of Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

of Mucident, they swore they would never quit the place until they had conquered the castle, and all that were in it. They renewed the assault with double vigour: many gallant deeds were performed: for the Gascons, being irritated by the loss of their lord, rushed into the ditches, close to the walls of the castle, without sparing themselves, and, placing their shields over their heads, climbed up them: the archers, in the meantime, kept such a continual volley of arrows, that no one dared to appear. The castle was so briskly assaulted that it was won, but it cost them dear. When the English were masters of it, they made the two knights prisoners who had so valiantly defended it, and some other squires and gentlemen: the rest of the garrison they put to the sword. They destroyed much of the castle of Chargny, because they did not wish to keep it, and returned to the king and his barons, to relate what they had performed.

During the time they were before Rheims, great animosities and hatred arose between the king of Navarre and the duke of Normandy. I am not perfectly well informed of the real cause*, but so it was, for the king of Navarre quitted Paris suddenly, and went to Mantes-sur-Seine, from whence he sent his challenge to the duke and his brothers. Many a baron was much surprised at this, and wondered for what cause the war was to be renewed. However, a squire from Brussels, whose name was Waustre Ostrate, under pretence of this war took the strong castle of Roulleboise upon the Seine, a short league from Mantes, which was afterwards a great annoyance to the Parisians and all the neighbourhood.

While the king of England was besieging Rheims, with his whole army, it happened that the lord Gomegines, who had returned to the queen in England, at the time the king had sent all strangers out of Calais, as had been before related, re-passed the sea, and with him some squires of Gascony and England, who accompanied him into Hainault, intending to join the army before Rheims. The young lord of Gomegines, being eager to advance himself, collected some men together on his return to Hainault. Many men at arms joined him, and served under his pennon. When they were all assembled, they might amount to about three hundred. They set out from Maubeuge†, where they had been mustered, and came to Avesnes‡, which they passed through, and then to Trelon§.

The lord of Roye, at this period, was in garrison at Roye|| in Tierache: there were a great many companions with him, as well knights as squires; and he had been informed, by the spies he kept in pay on the borders of Hainault, of the lord of Gomegines having collected a body of forces, which he was marching to the assistance of the king of England before Rheims, and that he and his troops must pass through Tierache. As soon as the lord of Roye had ascertained the truth of this intelligence, he communicated it secretly to all his fellow-soldiers in the neighbourhood, and particularly to the lord Robert, canon de Robersart, who at that time managed the estates of the young earl de Courcy, and resided in the castle of Marle¶. When the canon heard it, he was not slow in obeying the summons, but came to the lord of Roye with full forty lances. The lord of Roye was chosen the chief of this expedition, as indeed he had reason to expect, for he was a powerful baron in Picardy, and for the times was a good man, and a gallant soldier, much renowned, and well spoken of in various places.

These French men at arms, who might amount to three hundred, posted themselves in ambuscade, on the road the lord of Gomegines and his troops must necessarily pass, who was quite ignorant of their intentions, and who thought to continue his march unmolested; he entered, therefore, Tierache, and taking the road to Rheims, came very early in the morning to a village called Habergny**, where they determined to halt for a short time to refresh themselves and horses, and then to continue their route without any more delay. They

* Probably occasioned by the king of Navarre's treasonable designs being discovered. See Villaret's Hist. of France, pp. 216, &c.
It is said there, that the castle of Roulleboise was taken by one of the king of Navarre's captains.

† A strong town in Hainault, on the Sambre, diocese of Cambray.

‡ Avesnes,—a strong town in Hainault, diocese of Cambray.

§ Trelon,—a village in Flanders, near Avesnes.

|| Roye,—a strong town in Picardy. My printed copies have it Ray, two MSS. Roy, one Rosoy.

¶ Marle,—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

** Habergny. Barnes calls it Harcigny, which is a village in Picardy, diocese of Laon. Habergny is not in the Gazetteer.

dismounted in this village, and began to make preparations for feeding their horses. Whilst his companions were thus employed, the lord of Gomegines, who was then young and wilful, said, he would ride out of the village to see if he could not meet with something better to forage. He called to him five or six of his companions, and Christopher de Mur* his squire, who bore his pennon: they quitted the village furiously, but without any order or regularity.

It happened that the French knights and their troops were in ambuscade near this village: they had followed them the preceding day and night, in order that they might combat them with more certainty; and, if a proper opportunity had not offered itself in the plain, they intended to have entered the village, for the purpose of attacking them; but the lord of Gomegines fell into their hands. When the French lords perceived the lord of Gomegines and his company advancing on this secret excursion, they were at first surprised, and could not conceive who they might be. They sent two scouts on the look-out, who brought back word, that they were enemies. This news was no sooner heard than they quitted their ambuscade, each crying out, "Roye, for the lord of Roye!" The knights advanced before the lord of Roye, who had his banner displayed in front. There were sir Flamen de Roye his cousin, sir Lewis de Robersart, the canon de Robersart his brother, who was a squire, sir Tristram de Bonne-roye, and others, each armed according to his condition, with their swords hanging to their wrists, and their spears couched, towards their enemies, crying out, "Roye, for the lord of Roye!"

When the lord of Gomegines perceived the ambuscade he had fallen into, he was much astonished; but he determined to stand his ground, and wait his enemies, for both himself and followers disdained to fly: they couched their spears, and formed themselves in order of battle. The French, being well-mounted, charged these English and Gascons, who were not very numerous; and, at the first charge, the lord of Gomegines was run through with a spear, and had not afterwards an opportunity, from the situation of the place, to remount his horse. His people fought valiantly, and many gallant deeds were done; but in the end the lord of Gomegines could not hold out; he was therefore made prisoner, on his parole. Two of his squires had fought valiantly, but were forced to yield, or they would have been slain, as well as Christopher de Mur, a valiant squire, who bore the pennon of the lord of Gomegines. To make an end of this affair, all those of the Gomegine party were either slain or made prisoners, except the valets, who, being well-mounted, saved themselves by flight. No pursuit was made after them, more weighty considerations occupying their enemies.

CHAPTER CCIX.—THE LORD OF ROYE AND HIS COMPANY DEFEAT THE REMAINDER OF THE TROOPS OF THE LORD OF GOMEGINES.—THE CASTLE OF COMMERCY† SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.

The knights and squires who had taken the lord of Gomegines, and overthrown all those who had followed him out of the village, did not wish to lose time, but, putting spurs to their horses, galloped into the above-mentioned village, calling out, "Roye, for the lord of Roye!" Those who were there were much alarmed at this cry, and surprised to find their enemies so near them, as they were chiefly disarmed and scattered about, so that they could not rally nor collect together. The French made prisoners of them at their pleasure, in houses, barns, and ovens: and the canon de Robersart had many who surrendered themselves to him, because his banners were better known than those of the others. It is true, indeed, that some of them retreated to a small fortified house, surrounded by a moat, which is situate in this village of Harcigny, and consulted among themselves whether to defend it until the king of England, who was before Rheims, might hear of their disaster, (for the mansion could very soon be made strong enough to enable them to hold out,) when they

* Barnes makes him an Englishman, of the name of Moor, but I see no cause for it.

† Commercy is not in the Gazetteer. Barnes calls it Cormicy, which is a town in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

thought, that as soon as he should know of their situation, he would without doubt send forces to relieve them. Some, however, hesitated, as the house was in an open country, and they were surrounded by their enemies. Whilst they were thus debating, the lord of Roye and his companions came before it, and said to them: "Listen, gentlemen; if you force us to make the slightest assault, we will not suffer any one of you to escape death; for, if we begin, we will continue the attack until we take it." These and such-like words threw them into confusion; and even the boldest were alarmed: they surrendered, therefore, on having their lives spared. They were all made prisoners, and sent to the castle of Coucy, and the other garrisons from whence the French had marched. This disaster happened to the lord of Gomegines and his party about Christmas, 1359. When the king of England was informed of it, he was mightily enraged; but he could not amend it.

We will now return to the siege of Rheims, and speak of an adventure which happened to sir Bartholomew Burghersh, who had laid siege to the town and castle of Cormicy, in which was a knight of Champagne, whose name was sir Henry de Vaulx; he wore black armour, and bore for arms five almonds argent on a field sable: his war-cry was "Viane*."

During this siege of Rheims, the earls, barons, and great lords were quartered in the neighbourhood, as you have before heard, in order to prevent any provision being carried into that city. Among them was sir Bartholomew Burghersh, a great baron of England: he and his suite, with his company of archers and men at arms, were lodged near Cormicy, where there is a very handsome castle belonging to the archbishop of Rheims, who had put into it the knight before-mentioned, with many good companions, to guard it against their enemies. They were far from fearing any attack; for the castle had a large square tower, whose walls were very thick, and it was well furnished with arms of defence.

When sir Bartholomew had surrounded this castle, and, by well reconnoitering its strength, found he could not take it by assault, he ordered a number of miners, whom he had with him in his pay, to get themselves ready and do their duty in undermining the fortress, when he would reward them handsomely: upon which they replied, they would cheerfully undertake it. The miners immediately broke ground, and, having lodged themselves in their mine, worked night and day; insomuch that they advanced far under the great tower; and, as they pushed forward, they propped up the work, that those within knew nothing of it. When they had thus completed their mine so that they could throw down the tower when they chose, they came to sir Bartholomew Burghersh, and said to him: "Sir, we have carried our works so far that this tower, great as it is, shall be thrown down whenever you please." "It is well," replied sir Bartholomew, "but do nothing more without my orders:" to which they willingly consented. The knight immediately mounted his steed; and taking John de Guistelles† with him, who was one of his companions, they advanced to the castle, and sir Bartholomew made a signal that he wished to have a parley with those within. Upon this, sir Henry came forward on the battlements, and demanded what he wanted. "I want you to surrender," replied sir Bartholomew, "or you will be all infallibly destroyed." "By what means?" answered the French knight, who began to laugh; "we are perfectly well supplied with every thing; and you wish us thus simply to surrender: certainly it shall not be to-day," added sir Henry. "Certainly," said the English knight, "if you were truly informed what your situation is, you would surrender instantly, without more words." "Why, what is our situation?" demanded sir Henry. "If you will come out, upon my assurance of your safety, I will show you," replied sir Bartholomew. Sir Henry accepted the condition, and came out of the fortress, with only three others, to sir Bartholomew and John de Guistelles, who immediately conducted them to the mine, and showed them that the great tower was only supported on props of wood.

* In all the printed books I have seen, his name is Henry de Noir, but at the end it is Henri de Vaulx. My two MSS. have, "Messire Henri de Vaulx, et s'armoit le dit messire Henri, de noir a cinq amans d'argent, et criet Viane."

Q. Amans,—not in any of my dictionaries. Mr. Lodge supposes they must mean almonds.

[Amans, in Norman French, mean *diamonds*, or, in heraldic phrase, lozenges; the arms of Henri de Noir or de Vaulx, are not given in D. Sauvage's or Lord Berners. —Ed.]

† Barnes calls him lord John de Botetourt; but he gives no authority for it.

When the French knight saw the peril he and his garrison were in, he told sir Bartholomew, that he had very good reasons for what he had said, and that his proceedings were truly gallant and noble: "We shall therefore surrender ourselves to your will." Sir Bartholomew took them all his prisoners, made them leave the tower one after the other with their baggage, and then set fire to the mine. The timber was soon on fire; and, when the props were burnt, the tower, which was extremely large, opened in two places, and fell on the opposite side to where sir Bartholomew was standing, who said to sir Henry and the garrison of the fortress, "Now, see if I did not tell you the truth." "We own it, sir," replied they, "and remain prisoners at your pleasure. We also return you our best thanks for your kindness to us; for if the Jacquerie, who formerly overran this country, had had the same advantage over us that you have, they would not have acted so generously." Thus were all the garrison of Cormicy made prisoners, and the castle thrown to the ground.

The king of England remained before Rheims for upwards of seven weeks, but never made any assault upon it, as it would have been useless. He began to tire; and as his army found great difficulties in obtaining forage and provision, their horses perished. He broke up his camp, and marched off towards Châlons, in Champagne, in the same order as before. The king and his army passed very near to Châlons, and sat down before Bar-sur-Aube, and afterwards before the city of Troyes. He took up his quarters at Mery-sur-Seine *.

The whole army lay between Mery and Troyes, which is reckoned to be eight leagues distant from each other. Whilst he was at Mery-sur-Seine, his constable †, who commanded always the van battalion, advanced and came before St. Florentin ‡, which was under the command of sir Odoart de Rency; and, after having displayed his banner, (which was blazoned, or and azure, a chief pally, and at each of the two corners girons, and an escutcheon argent in the midst of the shield,) before the gate of the fortress, made a fierce attack on it, but in vain. The king of England and his whole army came and took up their quarters at Saint Florentin and the neighbourhood, on the banks of the river Armançon §. When they marched from thence, they came before Tonnerre ||, which was so briskly attacked, the town was won, but not the castle. The English, however, found in that town upwards of three thousand butts of wine, which were of great service to them.

At this period, the lord de Fiennes, constable of France, was in the city of Auxerre ¶ with a number of men at arms.

CHAPTER CCX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND, AFTER HE HAD RAISED THE SIEGE OF RHEIMS, WASTES AND DESTROYS ALL THE COUNTRIES HE PASSES THROUGH.—HE COMES TO GUILLON, WHERE HE REMAINS.—GREAT QUANTITIES OF PROVISION FOLLOW THE ARMY.

THE king of England and his army remained five days in Tonnerre, on account of the good wines he found there. The castle was often assaulted; but it was well provided with men at arms, commanded by sir Baldwin d'Annequin, master of the cross-bows. When they had well-reposed and refreshed themselves in Tonnerre, they marched off, and crossed the river Armançon. The king of England left the road to Auxerre on his right hand, and took that which leads to Noyers **: his intentions were to enter Burgundy and pass his Lent there. He and his whole army marched above Noyers; but he would not suffer any attack to be

* Mery-sur-Seine,—diocese and election of Troyes, seven leagues from Troyes.—*Gazetteer.*

† Roger earl of Mortimer. See more of him and his arms, in Ashmole, p. 692.

Mr. Lodge says, the arms of Mortimer have puzzled heralds at all times: but the terms heralds now use in blazoning the arms of Mortimer are these: "Barry of six or and azure, an inescutcheon argent; on a chief of the first three pallets of the second, between two girons or."—[The arms of Mortimer, given in Burke's "Extinct, dormant, and suspended Peerages," are as follow: Barry of six or and azure on a chief of the first, three pellets between two esquires, bust dexter and sinister, of the second, and in escutcheon argent.—ED.]

‡ St. Florentin—situated on the Armançon, thirteen leagues from Troyes.

§ In the printed copies it is Mouson, but in my MSS. Armançon.

|| Tonnerre,—situated on the Armançon, diocese of Langres.

¶ It is Dampierre in the printed copies. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to have been Auxerre. It is Auxerre in my MSS.

** Noyers,—a town in Burgundy, on the river Serin, diocese of Langres.

made on it, as the lord of it was his prisoner since the battle of Poitiers. They marched on for their quarters to a town called Montroyal *, situated on a river called Sellettes; and, when the king left it, he went up that river, and proceeded straight to take possession of his lodging at Guillon †, which is also on its banks; for one of his squires, called John d'Alençon, who bore for his arms a scutcheon argent in a field azure, had taken the town of Flavigny ‡ in its neighbourhood, and had found within it a sufficiency of provision for the whole army for a month. This was very fortunate, as the king remained there from the night of Ash-Wednesday until Mid-lent. His marshals and light troops scoured the country round, burning and destroying it, and frequently bringing to the army fresh provisions.

I must inform you, that the king of England and his rich lords were followed by carts laden with tents, pavilions, mills, and forges, to grind their corn and make shoes for their horses, and every thing of that sort which might be wanting. For this purpose there were upwards of six thousand carts, each of them drawn by four good and strong horses which had been transported from England. Upon these carts also were many vessels and small boats, made surprisingly well of boiled leather: they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size: and they were of great use to the lords and barons during Lent: but the commonalty made use of what provisions they could get. The king had, besides, thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks: sixty couple of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds; so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing either by land or water §. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king.

Their army was always in three divisions, and each person kept to his division: there was also a vanguard to every one of them, and their quarters were one league distant from each other, the king being with the third and largest division. This order was constantly kept on their march from Calais, until they came before the town of Chartres.

During the time the king of England remained at Guillon, where he was living on the provision which John d'Alençon had found in Flavigny, his thoughts were employed in devising means to keep and maintain himself in France. The young duke of Burgundy and his council, at the request of his subjects, sent to the king divers lords and knights, as ambassadors to treat with him, so that the duchy of Burgundy should not be destroyed or pillaged. The under-named lords accepted this commission: first the lord Anselme de Sallins, great chancellor of Burgundy, sir James de Vienne, sir John Derie, sir Hugh de Vienne, sir William de Thoroise and sir John de Montmartin. These lords managed the affair so well, and found the king of England in such good humour, that a treaty was soon entered into between them; and a composition was made, that for three years no part of the duchy of Burgundy should be overrun, on condition of having 200,000 livres paid down ||. When this treaty was finished and sealed, the king and his whole army dislodged, and set out on his return, taking the straight road for Paris, fixing his quarters at Avalon ¶ upon the river Cousin, below Vezelay **.

The quarters of his army extended from the river Yonne as far as Clamecy ††, to the entrance of the county of Nevers. The English entered Gatinois; and the king made such forced marches that he came so near Paris as to take up his quarters within two short leagues of it, at Bourg-la-Reine. As he and his army passed through the country, they destroyed it on all sides. On the other hand, the garrisons which he had in Picardy,

* I cannot find Montroyal, nor the river Sellettes, in the Gazetteer.

† Guillon,—a town in Burgundy, in the bailiwick of Avalon.

‡ Flavigny, a town of Burgundy, situated near the Ouzerain, bailiwick of Semur-en-Auxois.

§ Lord Berners says "he either hunted or hawked *at the riuer*." It is not to be supposed that he or his lords could find much pleasure in fishing in their leather boats or coracles, although they were useful to obtain a supply of fish for them in Lent. The words in D. Sauvage's ed. are, "Le roy avoit bien pour lui trent fauconiers à cheval, chargez d'oiseaux, et bien soixantes couples de forts chiens et autant de leuriers: *dont* il alloit chacun jour ou en chace ou en riviere."—Ed.

|| See this treaty in Rymer, anno 1360. The sum was 200,000 moutons,—50,000 to be paid at the ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist, 100,000 at Christmas, and 50,000 at Easter.

¶ Avalon, a town of Burgundy, on the Cousin, which falls into the Yonne.

** Vezelay, a town in Nivernois, diocese of Autun, four leagues from Clamecy.

†† Clamecy,—a small city of the Nivernois, diocese of Auxerre, on the conflux of the Yonne and Beuvron.

Beauvoisis, the Isle of France, Champagne and Brie, carried on a continual war, and ruined the country.

The king of Navarre resided in Normandy, and made a cruel war against France, insomuch that that noble kingdom was so grievously oppressed, it did not know which way to turn itself.

But above all, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was the most active: his quarters were at Cheny-sur-Aisne, where he had a strong garrison of soldiers and men at arms, who overran, pillaged and ransomed the good county of Rethel, from Donchery to Mezières, and as far as Chesne-le-Pouilleux and Stenay *, in the county of Bay †. They quartered themselves wherever they chose in all that country, for two or three nights, without opposition from any one, and then returned unmolested to their garrison at Cheny, to refresh and recruit themselves. It is true indeed, that all the neighbouring lords, knights and squires threatened them much: they met together, and appointed different days for their assembling, to take the field and besiege sir Eustace in his castle of Cheny; but nothing in fact was done.

It happened that these adventurers (whose whole thoughts, night and day, were occupied on the best means of taking towns, and in what parts of the country they should find most to pillage) came one night to a good town with a strong castle, situated in the Laonois ‡, tolerably near to Montagu §, and in a very deep marshy country, the name of which was Pierrepont ||. At this time, there were in it a great many people of the country, who had carried thither their goods, trusting to the strength of the place. When sir Eustace's companions arrived, the guard was asleep: they marched, therefore, through the deep marshes with much loss, for their avarice urged them on, and they came to the walls of the town, which they entered without resistance, and robbed at their pleasure. They found in it more riches than in any other place; and, when it was day, they burnt the town, and returned to Cheny, well laden with booty ¶.

CHAPTER CCXI.—THE KING OF ENGLAND LAYS THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE UNDER GREAT TRIBULATION.—A CORDELIER FRIAR PROPHESIES.—THE ENGLISH PLACE AN AMBUSCADE FOR THOSE WHO SHOULD COME OUT OF PARIS.

About this period, a Franciscan friar, full of knowledge and understanding **, was at Avignon: his none was John de Rochetaillade: and pope Innocent VI. kept him a prisoner in the castle of Baignoux, not only on account of the great prophecies he made of the times to come, chiefly and principally relating to the heads and prelates of the holy church, by reason of their pride and the expensive life they led, but also concerning the kingdom of France, and the great lords of Christendom, for their heavy oppressions on the common people. The above-mentioned John was willing to prove all he said from the Apocalypse, and by the ancient books of the holy prophets, which were opened to him through the grace of the Holy Ghost, by which he uttered things that were difficult to be credited. Some of the predictions he had made were seen to come to pass within the time, which he never could have foretold as a prophet but by means of the ancient Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit, that had given him the power of understanding these ancient prophecies, and of announcing to all Christians the year and time when they were to be fulfilled.

* Stenay,—in the diocese of Treves, on the Meuse.

† I cannot find, in any dictionary, the county of Bay. It is Buy in Denys Sauvage. Stenay is in the diocese of Treves: but even the connection of names is so wide, I cannot suppose it to be a mistake for Treves.

‡ Laonois,—in Picardy.

§ Montagu,—in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

|| Pierrepont,—village of Picardy, diocese of Laon.

¶ This passage is one of those so excellently translated by Lord Berners, that we are induced to subjoin it. "These companyons who ymagined nyght and daye howe they might geat and steale townes and fortresses on a night ther, came to a stronge towne and a good castell in Laonnoyse nere to Montague; this fortresse was called Pierpont standyng in a maresse; the same season there were within the towne great nombre of men of the countrey that had brought thither theyr goodes on trust of the strength of the place. When they of Cheny came thither the watche within was aslepe; they spared not the dangerous maresses, but went through them and came to the walles and so entered into the towne and wanne it without defence and robbed it at their pleasure. They found ther more riches than ever they found before in any towne. And whan it was day they brent the towne and returned to Cheny well furnysshed with great pyllage."—Ed.

** "Plein de grand *clergie* et de grande entendement," are the words used in D. Sauvage's ed.—Ed.

He made many books, full of much science and learning. One was written in the year 1346, which contained many marvellous things, difficult of belief, but of which some had come to pass already. When he was questioned concerning the war against France, he answered, that what they had seen was nothing to what was to happen; for there would be no peace until the realm of France was destroyed and ruined from one end to the other*. This indeed happened afterwards; for that kingdom was completely spoiled at the time the friar had fixed, in the years 1356, 1357, 1358, and 1359; insomuch that none of its princes or gentlemen dared to show themselves against those of the low estate collected from all parts, and who had arrived, one after the other, without leader or chief, whilst the country had not any means of resisting them. They elected (as you have before seen), in different parts of the country, captains from among themselves, to whom they paid obedience. The captains, when they enrolled any man in their companies, made certain agreements with them respecting their shares of booty and the ransoms of prisoners: they found so much pillage, that all the leaders became rich from the great wealth they amassed.

King Edward was lodged at Bourg-la-Reine, two short leagues from Paris, and his army in different parts between that and Montlhery†. He sent from thence his heralds to the Duke of Normandy in Paris, who had with him a great number of men at arms, to offer him battle: but the duke would not accede to it. His messengers, therefore, returned without having done anything. When the king found that his enemies would not venture out of Paris, he was mightily enraged: upon which that good knight, sir Walter Manny, stepped forth and besought his lord that he would permit him to make an excursion and assault as far as the barriers of Paris. The king consented to his request, and named himself those knights that should accompany him. He made also many new knights on the occasion; among whom were, the lord Delawarre, the lord de Silvacier, sir Thomas Banaster‡, sir William Torceaux, sir Thomas le Despensier, sir John Neville, sir Richard Dostmay, and many others. Colart d'Ambreticourt, son of sir Nicholas, would have been of the number; for the king was desirous of it, as he was attached to his person and squire of his body; but the young man excused himself, by saying he could not find his helmet.

Sir Walter Manny set out on his enterprise, and carried with him these new knights to skirmish and make an attack on the barriers of Paris. Many hard blows were given and received; for there were within the city several valiant knights and squires, who would willingly have sallied forth, if the duke of Normandy had given his consent. They, however, guarded the gates and barriers so well that no damage was done to them. This skirmish lasted until twelve o'clock, and many were killed on both sides. Sir Walter then retreated with his people to their quarters, where they remained together that day and the following night. On the morrow, the king dislodged, and took the road to Montlhery.

When the camp was breaking up, some English and Gascon knights planned the following enterprise. They thought, that as there were so many knights in Paris, some of them would sally out after them; and some young adventurers would endeavour to gain, by their valour, both honour and booty. They therefore placed two hundred picked men, well armed, in an old empty house, three leagues from Paris. The chiefs on the Gascon party were, the captal de Buch, sir Aymery de Pommiers, and the lord de Courton: on the English, the lord Neville, the lord Mowbray, and sir Richard de Pontchardon. These six knights were the leaders of this ambuscade.

When the French who were within Paris perceived that the king of England was decamping,

* There is a difference here in Lord Berners, and we have therefore transcribed his version.—The ed. of D. Sauvage agrees with Mr. Johnes. It will be seen that Lord Berners makes the friar *particularly* predict the Jacquerie, whilst in Mr. Johnes's version a general prophecy alone is ascribed to him. "The whiche sayeng was well seen after, for the noble realme of Fraunce was sore wasted and exyled, and specially in that terme that the sayd frere had sette, the which was in the yeres of our Lorde MCCCLVI, VII, VIII, and VIX. *He sayde in those years the pryncis and gentylmen of the realme shuld not for feare shewe themselfe agynst the people of lowe estate* assembled of all countres without heed or capitayne, and they shulde do as they lyste in the realme of Fraunce, the whiche felle after as ye have herde, howe the companyons assembled theym toguether and by reason of theyr robbery and pyllage waxed riche and became great capitaynes," are the words of Lord Berners.—Ed.

† Montlhery,—a town in the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.

‡ Sir Thomas Banaster was afterwards elected knight of the garter in this king's reign.—See his life, in Anstis' History of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 153.

some young knights collected together, and said among themselves: "It will be a good thing for us to sally out secretly, and follow a while the army of England, to see if we cannot gain something." They were all instantly of this opinion, so that sir Raoul de Coucy, sir Raoul de Ravenal, the lord de Monsault, the lord de Helay, the constable of Beauvais, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Beausiers, the lord of Ulbarin, sir Gauvain de Valouel, sir Flamant de Roye, sir Azelles de Cavilly, sir Peter de Fermoises, Peter de Savoisies, and upwards of a hundred lances with them, sallied out well mounted, with a thorough good will to do something; but they must first find the occasion. They took the road to Bourg-la-Reine, which they passed, and gained the open fields, when they followed the track of the cavalry and army of England, and rode beyond the ambuscade of the captal and his company.

They were no sooner passed than the English and Gascons marched out of it, after them, with their lances in their rests, shouting their war-cry. The French turned about, wondering who they could be: but they soon found they were their enemies. They immediately halted, and drew themselves up in battle array, and, with couched spears, prepared to meet the English and Gascons, who soon joined them. At this first onset many were unhorsed on each side, for both parties were well mounted. After this tilting-bout, they drew their swords, and attacking each other more closely, many hard blows were given, and many gallant deeds performed.—This attack lasted a considerable time, and the ground was so well disputed, that it was difficult to say which of the two would be conqueror. The captal de Buch shone particularly, and did with his hand many deeds worthy so good a knight. In the end, however, the English and Gascons fought so valiantly, that the field remained to them: they were more than half as many again as the French.

The lord of Campreny showed himself a valiant knight on the side of the French, and fought gallantly under his banner, the bearer of which was slain: his banner was argent, a buckle gules, between six martlets sable, three above and three below. The lord of Campreny was made prisoner. The other French knights and squires, who saw the ill success of their attempt, and that they could not recover themselves, took the road toward Paris, fighting as they retreated, and the English pursuing them most eagerly. In this retreat, which continued beyond Bourg-la-Reine, nine knights, as well bannerets as others, were made prisoners; and, if the English and Gascons who pursued them had not been afraid that others might sally out of Paris to their assistance not one would have escaped being killed or taken. When this enterprise was finished, they returned towards Montlhery, where the king was. They carried their prisoners with them, to whom they behaved very courteously, and ransomed them handsomely that same evening, allowing them to return to Paris, or wherever else they chose, taking readily their word of honour as sufficient security for their ransom.

The intention of the king of England was to enter the fertile country of Beauce, and follow the course of the Loire all the summer, to recruit and refresh his army in Brittany until after August; and as soon as the vintage was over, which from all appearances promised to be abundant, he meant to return again and lay siege to France, that is to say, to Paris; for he wished not to return to England, as he had so publicly declared, on setting out, his determination to conquer that kingdom, and to leave garrisons of those who were carrying on the war for him in France, in Poitou, Champagne, Ponthieu, Vimeu, Valguessin *, in Normandy, and throughout the whole kingdom of France, except in those cities and towns which had voluntarily submitted to him.

The duke of Normandy was at this time at Paris with his two brothers, their uncle the duke of Orleans, and all the principal councillors of state, who, well aware of the courage of the king of England, and how he pillaged and impoverished the whole realm of France, knew also that his situation could not last, for the rents both of the nobles and clergy were generally unpaid. At this period, a very wise and valiant man was chancellor of France, whose name was sir William † de Montagu, bishop of Therouenne: by his advice the kingdom was governed: every part of it profited from his good and loyal counsel. Attached to him were two clerks of great prudence; one was the abbot of Clugny, the other friar

* Most probably Vexin. Vexin Norman is bounded on one side by the Seine.

† The president Henault calls him Gille Aycelin de Montagu, cardinal and bishop of Thérouenne, vol. i. 4to, p. 263.

Symon de Langres, principal of the predicant monks, and doctor in divinity. These two clerks just named, at the request and command of the duke of Normandy and his brothers, the duke of Orleans their uncle, and of the whole of the great council, set out from Paris with certain articles of peace. Sir Hugh de Geneve, lord of Autun, was also their companion. They went to the king of England, who was overrunning Beauce, near to Gallardon *.

These two prelates and the knight had a parley with the king of England, when they began to open a treaty of peace with him and his allies. To this treaty the duke of Lancaster, the prince of Wales, the earl of March †, and many other barons were summoned. However, this treaty was not concluded, though it was discussed for a long time. The king of England kept advancing into the country, seeking for those parts where was the greatest abundance. The commissioners, like wise men, never quitted the king, nor suffered their proposals to drop; for they saw the kingdom in such a miserable situation, that the greatest danger was to be apprehended if they should suffer another summer to pass without peace. On the other hand, the king of England insisted on such conditions as would have been so very grievous and prejudicial to France, that the commisioners, in honour, could not assent to them: so that their treaties and conferences lasted seventeen days, the two prelates and the lord of Autun constantly following the king of England: this last was much listened to at the court of the king.—They sent every day, or every other day, their treaties and minutes to the duke of Normandy and his brothers at Paris, that they might see what state they were in, and have anwers thereto; as well as to know in what manner they were to act. All these papers were attentively examined and considered privately in the apartments of the duke of Normandy, and then the full intentions of the duke were written down, with the opinions of his council to these commissioners; by which means, nothing passed on either side without being fully specified and examined most cautiously. These aforesaid Frenchmen were in the king's apartments, or in his lodgings, as it happened, in the different places he halted at, as well on his march towards Chartres as otherwise; and they made great offers, to bring the war to a conclusion; but the king was very hard to treat with: for his intention was, to be in fact king of France, although he had never been so, to die with that rank, and also to put Brittany, Blois and Touraine in the same situation as those other provinces where he had garrisons. If his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, whom he much loved and confided in, had not persuaded him to give up such ideas, and advised him to listen to the offers of peace, he never would have come to any terms.—He very wisely remonstrated with him, and said: "My lord, this war which you are carrying on in the kingdom of France is wonderful to all men, and not too favourable to you. Your people are the only real gainers by it; for you are wasting your time. Considering every thing, if you persist in continuing the war, it may last you your life; and it appears to me doubtful if you will ever succeed to the extent of your wishes. I would recommend therefore, whilst you have the power of closing it honourably, to accept the proposals which have been offered to you; for, my lord, we may lose more in one day than we have gained in twenty years." These prudent and sensible words, which the duke of Lancaster uttered loyally, and with the best intentions, to advise the king of England to his good, converted the king to his opinion, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, who also worked to the same effect: for an accident befel him and all his army, who were then before Chartres, that much humbled him, and bent his courage.

During the time that the French commissioners were passing backwards and forwards from the king to his council, and unable to obtain any favourable answer to their offers, there happened such a storm and violent tempest of thunder and hail, which fell on the English army, that it seemed as if the world was come to an end. The hailstones were so large as to kill men and beasts, and the boldest were frightened.

The king turned himself towards the church of Our Lady at Chartres, and religiously vowed to the Virgin, as he has since confessed, that he would accept of terms of peace. He

* Gallardon,—a town in Beauce, diocese and election of Chartres.

† This is a mistake, for the earl of March was killed a month prior to this treaty, the 26th of February, at Rouvray in Burgundy.—*Barnes.*

was at this time lodged in a small village, near Chartres, called Bretigny; and there were then committed to writing, certain rules and ordinances for peace, upon which the following articles were drawn out. To follow up this, and more completely to treat of it, the counsellors and lawyers of the king of England drew up a paper called the Charter of Peace, with great deliberation and much prudence, the tenor of which follows.

CHAPTER CCXII.—THE FORM AND TENOR OF THE PAPER DRAWN UP AS ARTICLES OF THE PEACE, WHICH WAS CONCLUDED BEFORE CHARTRES, BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

"EDWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. As, in consequence of the dissensions, variance, discord and strife, that have arisen, or that might have been expected to arise between us and our very dear brother the king of France, certain commissioners and procurators from us and from our dear son, Edward prince of Wales, having sufficient power and authority for us, for him and for our kingdom on the one part, and certain other commissioners and procurators from our said brother, and from our very dear nephew Charles duke of Normandy and dauphin of Vienne, eldest son to the aforesaid king of France, having power and authority from his father, in this instance, for his father and for himself on the other part, have been assembled at Bretigny, near Chartres; in which place the above-mentioned dissensions, variances and strife were discussed, debated, and finally closed; and the commissioners from us and from our son, for us and for him, and the commissioners from our aforesaid brother and nephew, for his father and for himself, did swear upon the holy evangelists, to preserve, keep and fulfil the aforesaid treaty, as we have also sworn and will swear to whatever is said or concluded in the above treaty.

"And in this treaty, among other articles, our brother of France and his son aforesaid, are held and have promised to give up and surrender to us, our heirs and successors for ever, the counties, cities, towns, castles, fortresses, lands, islands, rents, and revenues, and other things which follow, with all that we are now in possession of in Guienne and Gascony, to hold for ever by us, our heirs and successors, in the same manner that the kings of France have always held them: that which is in demesne in demesne, and that which is in fief in fief, in such manner as will be hereafter explained; that is to say, the city, castle and county of Poitiers with all the lands and country of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars * and the lands of Belleville †: the town and castle of Saintes, and all the lands and territory of the county of Saintonge on each side the river Charente, with the town and fortress of la Rochelle, their appurtenances and appendages; the city and castle of Agen, and the country of Agenois: the city, town, castle, and all the lands of Perigord, with the whole country of Perigueux: the city and castle of Limoges and country of Limousin: the city and castle of Cahors and country of Cahorsin: the city, castle and country of Tarbes; the territory of the country of Bigorre: the country and lands of Gaure: the city and castle of Angoulême, with all the country of Angoumois: the city and castle of Rodais, and the county and country of Rouergue: and if there should be any lords in the duchy of Guienne (such as the count de Foix, the count de Armagnac, the count de l'Isle, the viscount de Carmain, the count de Perigord, the viscount de Limorges or others), that hold any lands within the boundaries of the above-mentioned places, they shall be bounden to do us homage, and all other services and duties due on account of their lands and places in the same manner as they formerly have performed them: and we shall re-enter upon all that we, or any other kings of England have possessed, as well as upon these places whence we formerly had received nothing.

"The viscounty of Montreuil-sur-mer has been also promised to be given up to us in the same manner as in former times, and all whatsoever we or any other king of England possessed there: and whereas there have arisen disputes relative to the division of this territory, our

* Thouars,—an ancient city on a hill, and on the river Thoue, sixteen leagues from Poitiers.

† Belleville. There are two villages in Poitou of this name,—one near Niort, the other near les Sables d'Olonne.

brother of France has promised, that he will declare it to be ours as speedily as possible after his return to France.

"Item, it is also promised that the county of Ponthieu shall be delivered over to us entire, save and except that if any part of it should have been alienated by the kings of England who reigned before us, and were formerly possessors of it and its appurtenances, to others than the kings of France, neither our aforesaid brother, nor his successors, shall be bounden to surrender them: and if the said alienations have been made to any former kings of France, immediately, without passing through a third person, and our aforesaid brother be in possession of them, he shall render them wholly up to us: excepting that if the kings of France have had them from us in exchange for other lands, we will deliver up such lands so exchanged: but if any of the kings of England at former times should have alienated or disposed of any parts to others than to the kings of France, and it should afterwards have come into the hands of our aforesaid brother, he shall not be obliged to surrender them: and if the parts aforesaid owe homage to us, or our successors, he shall grant them to others, who will pay us that homage; but, if they do not owe homage, he shall then give them to a tenant that shall do us suit and service, within the year ensuing upon our departure from Calais.

"Item, the castle and town of Calais; the castle, town, and lordship of Merle; the towns, castles, and lordships of Sangate, Couloigne, Ham, Walles, and Oye, with the lands, woods, marshes, rivers, rents, lordships, advowsons of churches, and all other appurtenances and places lying within the limits and bounds following; that is to say, from Calais to the course of the river before Gravelines, and also by the course of the river which falls into the great lake of Guines, as far as Fretun, and from thence by the valley round the mountain of Chalk, inclosing that mountain, and as far as the sea, including Sangate and all its appurtenances.

"Item, the king of England shall also possess the castle, town, and the whole county of Guines, with all its castles, towns, fortresses, woods, lands, men, homages, lordships, forests, rights, as completely as the last count of Guines, lately deceased, held it during his life: and the churches and good men, being within the boundaries of the said county and other places above mentioned, shall obey him in the same manner as they did our aforesaid brother, the count of Guines, for that time. All these things comprehended in the present article, and in the preceding one of Merle and Calais, we shall hold in demesne, excepting the inheritances and possessions of the churches, which shall remain wholly to the said churches, wherever they may be situated; and also except the inheritances of the other people of the countries of Merle and Calais, as far as the value of one hundred pounds a-year in land, according to the current coin of the country; which inheritances shall remain to them of the abovesaid value and under; but the habitations and inheritances in the town of Calais, and their appurtenances, shall remain in demesne to us, for us to order and do as we please with them: and also all the possessions of the householders and inhabitants of the county and town of Guines shall remain to them, and shall be restored fully, save and except what is said and declared relative to the bounds and frontiers above mentioned, in the article of Calais.

"Item, the king of England shall have possession of all islands adjoining to the lands or places above mentioned, together with all other islands he was possessed of at the time of this treaty.

"And it has also been discussed, that our aforesaid brother and his eldest son should renounce all right and sovereignty which they may have over the above-mentioned places, and that we should possess them as a neighbour, without any vassalage or dependence on our said brother, or on the kingdom of France; and that our brother aforesaid shall give up to us in perpetuity all right and dominion which he may have over the places before mentioned.

"And it has also been discussed, that in like manner we and our said son shall expressly renounce all those things that are not to be given up and surrendered to us by the said treaty, more especially the name of king of France, and all right and title to that kingdom, and to the homage, sovereignty, and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the county of Touraine, and the counties of Anjou and Maine; and to the sovereignty and homage of the county of Flanders; and to the sovereignty and homage of the duchy of Brittany (excepting the right of the count de Montfort, and what claim he may have on that duchy and country of Brittany, which we reserve, and by express words put out of our treaty; saving, however, that when

we and our aforesaid brother shall come to Calais, we will so manage the business, by the advice of able counsellors and other deputies, that we will establish peace and concord between the count de Montford and our cousin sir Charles de Blois, who claims and challenges the inheritance of Brittany): and we renounce whatever claims we made, or may have made, of any sort whatever, except those things above-mentioned which are to be given to us and our heirs; and we give up and cease from making any claims on all other things, but those which are to be yielded to us.

"Upon this subject, after many altercations had taken place, ending in a mutual agreement that these renunciations, transportations, cessions and aforesaid surrenderings should be made as soon as our said brother shall have given up to us, or to our people especially deputed for that purpose, the city and castle of Poitiers, with all the territory of Poitou, together with the fief of Thouars and of Belleville: the city and castle of Agen, with all the territory of the Agenois; the city and castle of Perigord, with the territory of Perigueux; the city and castle of Cahors, with the territory of Cahorsin; the city and castle of Rodais, with the territory of Rouergue; the city and castle of Saintes, with the territory of Saintonge; the city and castle of Limoges, with all the territory of Limousin; and that which we or other kings of England have held in the town of Montreuil-sur-mer, with its appurtenances. Item, the whole county of Ponthieu, save and except the contents of the article contained in the said treaty which makes mention of the said county. Item, the castle and town of Calais; the castle, town and lordship of Sangate, Colloigne, Ham, Walles, Oye, with the lands, rivers, marshes, rents, woods, lordships and other things mentioned in the article respecting them. Item, the castle, town and entire county of Guines, with all the lands, castles, towns, fortresses, places, men, homages, woods, lordships, forests and rights, according to the tenor of the article which in the treaty makes fuller mention of them, and with the islands adjacent to the said lands, countries and places before mentioned, together with those other islands which we are now in the possession of (that is to say, at the date of this article and of the peace.) We, and our brother the king of France, have promised by faith and oath to each other to preserve and keep this treaty and maintain the peace, and to do nothing against it; and we are bounden, us and our said brother the king of France, and our eldest sons before mentioned, by obligation and promise and by faith and oath to each other pledged, to make certain renunciations one to the other according to the form and tenor of the aforesaid article of peace.

"Item, it is agreed, that the king of France and his eldest son the regent, for them and for their heirs for ever, shall as soon as possible, and without any double dealing, at the latest within the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, deliver up and give to the king of England, his heirs and successors, and convey to them the honours, royalties, services, homages, allegiances, vassalages, fiefs, obediences, acknowledgments, oaths, rights, seizures, and all manner of jurisdictions, both criminal and civil, appeals, securities, lordships and sovereignties which appertained, now appertain, or may hereafter appertain to the kings or to the crown of France, or to any other person on account of the king or for the aforesaid crown of France, in whatever time it may have been, in the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, islands, countries and places before named, or in any one of them, their appurtenances and appendages, wherever they may be, whether held by princes, dukes, counts, viscounts, archbishops, bishops, abbots or other prelates of the church, barons, knights, nobles or others whomsoever, without reserve to themselves, their heirs and successors, or to the crown of France, or to any other person whatever: nor shall they challenge or demand, at any future period, any thing of the above from the king of England, his heirs or successors, or from any one of his vassals or subjects aforesaid, in any one of the places or countries before mentioned, in behalf of the king or crown of France. Thus, therefore, all the before-named persons, and their heirs and successors, shall be liege men and subjects of the king of England, his heirs and successors for ever; and they shall hold and keep all persons, cities, counties, lands, islands, castles and places before-mentioned, with all their appurtenances and appendages, and shall remain fully and peaceably for ever in their lordship, sovereignty, obedience, loyalty and subjection, as the preceding kings of France had and kept them in former times: and the aforesaid king of England, his heirs and successors, shall and will maintain, peaceably and

perpetually, all the countries before-named in full freedom and liberty for ever, as sovereign and liege lord, and neighbour to the king of France and said kingdom of France, without acknowledging any sovereignty or paying any obedience, homage, jurisdiction or subjection, and in time to come without doing any service or acknowledgment to the king or crown of France for the cities, counties, castles, lands, territories, islands, places and persons before-named, or for any one of them.

"Item, it is agreed, that the king of France and his eldest son shall expressly renounce the said jurisdictions and sovereignties, and all those things which by this present treaty ought to belong to the king of England; and in like manner, the king of England and his eldest son shall renounce all those things which by this present treaty are not to be granted to the king of England, and all those claims he made on the king of France, and particularly the title, right, and arms, and the challenge he made of the crown and kingdom of France; the homage, sovereignty, and domain of the duchy of Normandy, of the county of Touraine, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders, and all other claims which the king of England made at the time of the aforesaid challenge, and might make in times to come upon the said realm of France, through any reason whatever, except those things which by the present treaty are granted to the king of England and his heirs: and they will convey, surrender, and yield, one king to the other, in perpetuity, all the right which each has or may have on all those things and places which by the present treaty are to remain or to be granted to each of them; and with regard to the time and place when these renunciations are to be made, the two kings will consult each other, and order it when they shall be at Calais together.

"And because also our said brother of France and his eldest son, in order to maintain and keep the said articles of peace and agreement aforesaid, have expressly renounced the jurisdictions and sovereignties comprised in the said articles to all rights which they had or might have had on all the above-mentioned things which our said brother has granted, delivered, and abandoned to us, and in those other things which henceforward ought to appertain and belong to us by the said treaty of peace. We, among these said things, renounce expressly all those which are not to be granted to us, for ourselves and our heirs, and all those claims which we made or might make on our said brother of France, and especially to the title and right to the crown of France and the sovereignty of that kingdom; and to the homage, sovereignty, and domain of the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine: and to the sovereignty and homage of the county and territory of Flanders; and all other claims which we made, or might have made, on our said brother, for whatever cause there might be, save and except that which by this present treaty is to remain to us and our heirs: and we yield, abandon, and give up to him, and he to us, mutually to each other, in the securest way we can, all the rights which each of us may have, or may have had in all those things, which by the said treaty are to be respectively granted to each of us: reserving to the churches and to churchmen that which appertains or may appertain to them; and all that which has been occupied or detained of their property, on account of the wars, shall be made good and restored to them. The towns, fortresses, and all dwellings of the inhabitants, shall retain and enjoy such liberties and franchises as before they came into our hands; and, if required, they shall be confirmed by our said brother of France, if not contrary to what has been already agreed on.

"And with regard to ourselves, we submit all things belonging to us, our heirs and successors, to the jurisdiction and coercion of the church of Rome, and are willing and desirous that our holy father the pope should confirm all these things by giving monitions and gentle mandates for the accomplishment of them against ourselves, our heirs and successors, our commonalty, colleges, universities, or any particular persons whatsoever, and by giving general sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, which we may incur by ourselves or by them, by this act, when we shall, either by ourselves or others, infringe the peace, by taking or occupying any town or castle, city or fortress, or in anything else, by giving advice, aid, or assistance, public or private, against the said peace: from which sentences they cannot be absolved until they shall have made full satisfaction to all those who by this act should have sustained or might sustain any damage. And with

this we desire and consent, that by our holy father the pope (in order that the same may more firmly be kept, maintained, and observed for ever) all the agreements, confederations, alliances, and conventions, under whatever name they may be, in case they become prejudicial or inimical to the said peace in the present moment or hereafter (supposing they were closed under penalties and by oaths, and confirmed by our holy father the pope or others,) should be broken and annulled as contrary to the public welfare, to the good of the peace, unprofitable to all Christendom, and displeasing to God: and that all oaths, in such a case made, shall be reported to our holy father the pope, that it may be decreed by him that no one should be bounden to keep such oaths or conventions; and if, in fact, any one attempted to act contrary, they shall from this moment be broken and annulled, and of no weight: nevertheless we shall punish such by corporal punishment and confiscations, as violators of the peace, if the case should require it, or it should appear reasonable: and if we should encourage or suffer anything to be done hurtful to the peace (which God forbid!) we are willing to be counted as liars and disloyal, and also to suffer in this case such blame and disrepute, as a sacred king ought to undergo for such conduct: and we swear upon the body of JESUS CHRIST to conclude, maintain, and keep the aforesaid treaty, and neither by ourselves nor others to depart from it for any cause or reason whatsoever. And in order that these premises may be concluded and maintained, we bind ourselves, our heirs, our property, and the property of our heirs, over to our said brother the king of France, and to his heirs, and swear by the holy Evangelists, bodily touched by us, that we will complete, conclude, and preserve (according to the articles aforesaid) all the preceding conditions by us promised and agreed to, as is before mentioned. And we will, that in case our brother, or his deputies at the place and time, and in the manner before stated, do his duty, that from that time our present letters, and whatever is comprehended in them, should have as much force, effect, and vigour as any of our other letters shall have that have been promised and granted by us, as has been already said; saving, however, and reserving for us, our heirs and successors, that the letters above incorporated shall have no effect, nor be of any prejudice or damage until our said brother and nephew shall have performed, sent, and given the above renunciations in the manner before specified; and therefore they shall not avail themselves of them against us, our heirs and successors, in any manner but in the case above mentioned.

"In testimony of which, we have caused our seal to be put to these present letters, given at Calais this twentieth day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord one thousand three hundred and sixty."

When this private charter (which is called letter of renunciation, as well from one king as the other) was written, engrossed and sealed, it was read and published generally in the council chamber, when the two above-named kings were present with their counsellors. It appeared to each to be handsome, good, well dictated and well ordered; and then again the two said kings and their two said eldest sons, swore upon the holy Evangelists, bodily touched by them, and upon the sacred body of JESUS CHRIST, to conclude, keep and maintain, and not to infringe any of the articles included in it.

Afterwards, by the advice and deliberation of the king of France and his council, and towards the end of the conference, the king of England was requested to make out and give a general commission to all those who for the time, and under shadow of the war, held towns, castles and forts in the kingdom of France, that they may have knowledge of what had passed, with orders to give them up and quit them. The king of England, who was sincerely desirous of maintaining a good understanding and peace between himself and the king of France, his brother, as he had before sworn and promised, readily acceded to this request, which he thought reasonable. He ordered his people to make it out in the clearest manner they could, to the satisfaction of the king of France and his council. The most able of the counsellors of the two kings aforesaid, united, and then was drawn up, written and engrossed by the advice of each other, a commission, the tenor of which is underneath.

"Edward, by the grace of GOD, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all our captains, governors of towns and castles, adherents and allies, being in parts of France, as well in Picardy, in Burgundy, in Anjou, in Berry, in Normandy, in Brittany, in Auvergne,

in Champagne, or Maine, in Touraine, and within the boundaries and limits of France, greeting. As peace and concord is now established between us, our allies and adherents on the one part, and our dear brother the king of France his allies and adherents on the other part, in regard to all quarrels or discords which we may have had in times past; and having sworn upon the body of JESUS CHRIST, as well our dear eldest son and others our children, and those of our blood, as likewise many prelates, barons and knights, and the principal men of our kingdom; and also our said brother, and our nephew the duke of Normandy, and our other nephews his children, with many barons, knights and prelates of the said kingdom of France, to maintain and firmly keep the peace: and as it may fall out or happen that some warriors from our kingdom, or other of our subjects, may endeavour to do or undertake things contrary to the said peace by taking or detaining forts, towns, cities and castles, or in pillaging and arresting persons, and taking from them their goods, merchandise or other things, acting against the said peace (the which will highly displease us, and we cannot nor will not suffer it, nor pass it over under any sort of dissembling); We, willing to remedy these aforesaid things with all our power, wish, desire and ordain, by the deliberation of our council, that none of our subjects or allies, whatever their state or condition may be, do, or endeavour to do, any thing contrary to the said peace, by pillaging, taking, or detaining forts, persons or goods of any sort in the kingdom of France, or belonging to our said brother, his subjects, allies or adherents whomsoever. And in case there should be found any one that acts contrary to this said peace, and who does not cease from so doing, nor renders back the damages he may have committed, within the space of one month from the time he shall be required so to do by any of our officers, sergeants or public persons, for this act alone, without other suit or condemnation, he shall be reputed banished from our realm and from our protection, as well as from the kingdom and territories of our said brother; all his goods confiscated and subjected to our governance; and if he should be found in our kingdom, we command and expressly will, that punishment should be inflicted on him, as a rebel and traitor to us according to the customary punishment for leze majesté, without any pardon, grace or remission: and we will that the same be done to our subjects, of whatever condition they may be, who, in our kingdom on either side of the sea, shall seize, occupy or detain any forts whatever contrary to the will of those to whom they belong; or who shall burn or ransom towns or persons, and shall pillage or be guilty of robberies, or who shall stir up wars within our realm against our subjects.

We therefore order, command and expressly enjoin all our seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, captains of castles or others our officers, under pain of incurring our high displeasure, and of losing their offices, that they proclaim, or cause to be proclaimed, these presents in the most public places of their districts, bailiwicks, provostships and castlewicks; and that no one, after having seen and heard this proclamation, remain in any fort which belongs to the kingdom of France, except according to the tenor of the treaty of peace, under pain of being considered as an enemy to us and to our aforesaid brother the king of France; and that they, in all the aforesaid points, conform to, preserve and make to be strictly observed in every particular. And be it known to all, that if they fail, or are negligent, in addition to the punishment aforesaid, we will make them pay the losses to all those who through their fault or neglect may have been aggrieved, or suffered any loss; and with this we will punish them in such a manner that they shall be an example to all others: in testimony whereof, we have had these letters patent drawn up, given at Calais the 24th day of October, in the year of grace and of our Lord 1360."

CHAPTER CCXIII.—THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE TWO KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, WHEN AT CALAIS, RESPECTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY AND SOME LANDS OF THE LATE GODFREY DE HARCOURT.—KING JOHN SETS OUT FROM CALAIS AND RETURNS HOME IN FREEDOM.

When all these letters had been drawn up, and the different commissions delivered, which were mutually done by the advice and to the satisfaction of each other, there was some conversation respecting sir Charles de Blois and sir John de Montfort, and the state of Brittany, for each of them claimed it as their right of inheritance: and though there was a conference holden, how these matters could be settled, nothing was definitively done; for, as I have since been informed, the king of England and his party had no great desire of agreeing to it. They presumed, that henceforward, all men at arms attached to them would be obliged to surrender every fort and strong place which they at present held and possessed in the kingdom of France, and that they would retire to whatever parts they chose: it was therefore much better and more profitable that these warriors and pillagers should retire into the duchy of Brittany, which is one of the richest and best foraging countries in the world, than that they should come to England, which might be pillaged and robbed by them.

This consideration made the English shortly break up the conference respecting Brittany. It was a pity, and ill done that it so happened; for, if the two kings had been in earnest, peace would have been established, by the advice of their counsellors, between the parties, and each would have held what should have been given him. Sir Charles de Blois would have recovered his children, who were prisoners in England, and probably have lived longer than he did. As nothing was done at this conference, the wars in Normandy were more bitterly carried on than before the peace we have just spoken of (as you will hear in the continuance of this history), and even between the knights and barons of Brittany who had supported different interests.

The duke of Lancaster (who was a valiant and discreet knight, full of devices, and who too strongly loved the count de Montfort and his advancement) then addressed himself to the king of France, in the presence of the king of England and the greater part of the counsellors: "Sire, the truces of Brittany, which were made and agreed to before Rennes, will not expire before the first of the ensuing month of May; then, or within that time, the king our Lord will send, by the advice of his council, persons from him, and from his son-in-law the young duke, sir John de Montfort, to you in France, and they shall have power and authority to explain and declare those rights the said sir John claims from the inheritance of his father in the duchy of Brittany, and accept them in such manner as you, your counsellors and ours assembled together, shall ordain; for greater safety, it is proper the truces should be prolonged until the feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing." All this was agreed to, as the duke of Lancaster had proposed, and then the lords conversed on different matters.

King John, who had a great desire to return to France (as was natural), testified most heartily to the king of England every proof of that affection which he had for him and for his nephew the prince of Wales: the king of England made an equal return: and, for a stronger confirmation of their friendship, the two kings (who by the articles called each other Brother) gave to four knights of each party eight thousand francs, French money of revenue; that is to say, two thousand to each. And because the lands of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, in Coutantin, came to the king of England from sir Godfrey de Harcourt by the sale the said sir Godfrey had made of them to the king, as has been before related in this history, and that the said lands were not included in the articles of peace, it was necessary for those who should hold the said lands to do homage and service to the king of France: the king of England, therefore, had reserved and given it to sir John Chandos, who had done him and his children many notable services; and the king of France, through his great affection and love, confirmed and sealed it, at the entreaty of the king of England, to the said sir John Chandos, as his right and lawful inheritance. It is a very fair estate, and worth full sixteen hundred francs of yearly rent.

In addition to these things, many other letters and alliances were made, of which I cannot relate the particulars; for, during the fifteen days or thereabouts, that the two kings, their children and their counsellors, were at Calais, there were every day conferences, and new ordinances made, strepgthening and confirming the peace; and, moreover, other deeds were drawn up, without annulling or changing the former ones; and they were all made to one date, as more sure and certain, of which I have seen copies in the chanceries of the two kings.

When every thing relative to the peace had been so concluded and settled, that no one could think of any means to strengthen or amend it, and that nothing could be devised to add to the strong alliance between the two kings and their children, which bound them, and by which they had sworn to maintain the peace from being infringed, which was indeed kept, as you will hereafter see in reading this book; and that those who were to be the hostages for the redemption of the king of France were arrived at Calais, whom the king of England had sworn to guard in peace in England, until the six hundred thousand francs * were paid to the deputies of the king of England, that king gave to the king of France a most magnificent and grand supper in the castle of Calais: it was well arranged; and the children of the king, and the duke of Lancaster with the greatest barons of England, waited bare-headed. After this supper, the two noble kings took final leave of each other in a most gracious and affectionate manner, and the king of France returned to his hôtel.

On the morrow, which was the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, the king of France set out from Calais, with all those of his party who were to accompany him †. The king of France went on foot, in pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne. The prince of Wales and his two brothers, Lionel and Edmund, accompanied him: and in this manner they arrived, before dinner, at Boulogne, where they were received with great joy. The duke of Normandy was there waiting for them, when all these aforesaid lords went on foot to the church of our Lady of Boulogne, where they made their offerings most devoutly, and afterwards returned to the abbey at Boulogne, which had been prepared for the reception of the king of France and the princes of England. They remained there that day, and on the following night returned to the king their father. All these lords crossed the sea together with the hostages from France: it was the vigil of All-Saints, in the year 1360. It is proper that I should name the nobles of France who went to England as hostages for the king of France. First, sir Philip, duke of Orleans, son of the late king Philip of France; his two nephews, the dukes of Anjou and Berry: after them the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, sir John d'Estampes, Guy de Blois, for his brother the count Louis de Blois: the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count dauphin of Auvergne; sir Enguerrant, lord of Coucy; sir John de Ligny; the count de Porcien, the count de Breme, the lord of Montmorency, the lord of Roye, the lord of Preaux, the lord d'Estouteville, the lord de Cleritez, the lord de St. Venant, the lord de la Tour d'Auvergne, and many others, but I cannot name them all ‡. There were also from the good city of Paris, from Rouen, Rheims,

* This seems a mistake; for in the fourteenth article of the peace of Bretigny in 1360, in Rymer, particular mention is made of the value of the crown, two of which shall be worth an English noble.

14th article.—"It is agreed that the king of France shall pay to the king of England three millions of *crowns of gold, two of which shall be of the value of an English noble.*

"And there shall be paid to the said king of England, or his deputies, six hundred thousand crowns at Calais, in fourteenths, from the time the king of France shall be at Calais.

"And within the next year ensuing, there shall be paid four hundred thousand crowns of the above value, in the city of London.

"And from thenceforward, every following year, four hundred thousand crowns, like to the above, shall be paid in the said city, until such time as the aforesaid three millions shall be paid."

According to Cotgrave, a noble in his time was worth fifteen shillings.

† Froissart seems to have been mistaken as to the day king John left Calais, when he says it was the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, the 27th October; for in an ancient state of Brittany, by Nicholas Vignier, page 383, there is a letter from king John, dated Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 26, 1360.

‡ In the fifteenth article, in Rymer, they are mentioned as underneath:

Monsieur Louis, comte d'Anjou; M. Jean, comte de Poitiers; le duc d'Orleans; le duc de Bourbon; le comte de Blois, ou son frere; le comte d'Alençon, ou M. Pierre d'Alençon son frere; le comte de St. Pol; le comte de Harcourt; le comte de Portien; le comte de Valentinois; le comte de Breme; le comte de Vaudemont; le comte de Forez; le vicompte de Beaumont; le sire de Couci; le sire de Fresles; le sire de Preaus; le sire de St. Venant; le sire de Gauntrines; le dauphin d'Auvergne; le sire de Hangest; le sire de Montmorency; monsire Guillaume de Craon; monsire Louis de Harcourt; monsire Jean de Ligny.

Bourges in Berry, Tours in Touraine, Lyon upon the Rhône, Sens in Burgundy, Orleans, Troyes in Champagne, Amiens, Beauvais, Arras, Tournay, Caen in Normandy, St. Omer. L'Isle, Douay, from each city two or four burgesses, who all crossed the sea, and shortly arrived in London *.

The king of England commanded all his officers, under pain of incurring his displeasure, to behave courteously to all these lords and their attendants, and to preserve peace between them and his subjects, as they were under his special care. The king's orders were strictly obeyed in every respect; and the hostages were allowed to enjoy themselves, without any danger or molestation, in the city of London and its neighbourhood. The lords followed the chase or hawking, according to their pleasure, and rode out as they pleased to visit the ladies without any constraint, for the king was right courteous and amiable.

We will now speak a little of the king of France on his arrival at Boulogne, after he had quitted Calais.

CHAPTER CCXIV.—COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED ON BOTH SIDES TO SEE THE GARRISONS IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE EVACUATED.—DIFFERENT BODIES OF ARMED MEN OVERRUN THE KINGDOM, AND DO MUCH MISCHIEF.

The king of France did not remain long at Boulogne, but set out soon after All-saints, and went to Montreuil and Hesdin: he continued his journey until he came to Amiens; and wherever he passed he was most magnificently and honourably received. After he had remained at Amiens until Christmas was passed, he set out for Paris, when he was solemnly and reverently met by all the clergy of Paris, and conducted to the Palace †, where he dismounted, as did sir Philip his son, and all the nobles who accompanied him. The dinner was grandly magnificent, and the tables well covered; but I can never tell how warmly the king of France was received on his return to his kingdom, by all sorts of people, for he was much wished for. They made him rich gifts and presents, and the prelates and barons of the realm feasted and entertained him as became his condition; and the king gave them a most gracious reception.

Soon after king John was returned to France, the commissioners appointed by the king of England crossed the sea, to take possession of the lands, countries, counties, bailiwicks, cities, towns and castles, that were to be given up to him, according to the articles of the peace. But this was not so soon accomplished; for many of the nobles in Languedoc at first absolutely refused to obey them, or to surrender themselves to the king of England, though the king of France had acquitted them of their fidelity and homage to him: for they thought it highly contrary and adverse to their interests to be obliged to obey the English. The count de la Marche, the count de Perigord, the count de Comminges, the viscount de Châtillon, the viscount de Carmaing, the lord of Pincornet, in particular, with many others in the distant countries, wondered much that the king of France should force them from his jurisdiction. Others said, it was not in his power thus to free them; and it was not his right so to do; for, as they were Gascons, they had very old charters and privileges from the noble Charlemagne (who was king of France), which placed them under the jurisdiction of his court, and of no other. On which account, these lords would not at first yield obedience to the commissioners; but the king of France, who wished to uphold and maintain what he had sworn and sealed, sent thither his dear cousin sir James de Bourbon, who appeased the greater part of these nobles; and those who were bounden became liege men to the king of England; such as the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and many others,

* Châlons, Chartres, Toulouse, Compiegne, are mentioned, in addition to those of Froissart, in the treaty in Rymer.

† Palace.—I believe the king of France's palace at that time was the hôtel de Nesle. I find, by Villaret's history, that he was lodged there after his coronation at Rheims.

This hôtel was built on the banks of the Seine, where the hôtel de Nevers was afterwards constructed, and nearly upon the site which the Collège Mazarin and the hôtel de Conti now occupy.

This hôtel must be distinguished from another hôtel de Nesle, which was built at the same time. This second hôtel de Nesle was situated on the spot where the hôtel de Soissons was built, and which was demolished 1747.

who at the entreaties of the king of France and of sir James de Bourbon, obeyed, but very unwillingly.

On the other hand, it was very displeasing to the barons, knights and inhabitants of the towns on the sea-coast, and in the country of Poitou, the Rochellois and all Saintonge, that they should be given up to the English: in particular those in the town of La Rochelle would not consent to it; they made frequent excuses, and would not, for upwards of a year, suffer any Englishman to enter their town. The letters were very affecting which they wrote to the king of France, beseeching him, by the love of God, that he would never liberate them from their fidelity, nor separate them from his government and place them in the hands of strangers; for they would prefer being taxed every year one half of what they were worth, rather than be in the hands of the English. The king of France (who knew their good will and loyalty, and had frequently received their excuses) felt great pity for them; he wrote, therefore, very affectionate letters, and sent to inform them, that it was necessary they should obey, or otherwise the peace would be infringed, which would be too prejudicial to the kingdom of France. When the inhabitants of La Rochelle received these letters, and saw the situation they were in, that neither excuses, prayers nor entreaties, were of any avail, they obeyed; but it was sore against their inclinations. The principal persons of the town said, "We will honour and obey the English, but our hearts shall never change."

Thus had the king of England seisin and possession of the duchy of Aquitaine, the counties of Poitou and Guignes, and of all those lands which he was to have beyond the sea, that is to say in the kingdom of France, which were given to him by the articles of the peace. This year sir John Chandos crossed the sea, as regent and lieutenant of the king of England, to take possession of all the lands aforesaid, and receive the faith, fidelity and homage of the counts, viscounts, barons, knights, towns and castles: he instituted everywhere seneschals, bailiffs and officers, according to his will, and fixed his residence at Niort.

Sir John kept a noble and great establishment; and he had the means of doing it; for the king of England, who loved him much, wished it should be so. He was certainly worthy of it; for he was a sweet-tempered knight, courteous, benign, amiable, liberal, courageous, prudent and loyal in all affairs, and bore himself valiantly on every occasion: there was none more beloved and esteemed by the knights and ladies of his time.

Whilst the commissioners and deputies of the king of England were taking seisin and possession of the aforesaid lands, according to the articles of peace, other commissioners and deputies were on the frontiers of France with commissioners from that king, ordering all men at arms, who were garrisoned in the different castles and forts of France, to evacuate and surrender them to the king of France, under pain of confiscation and death. There were some knights and squires attached to England who obeyed, and surrendered, or made their companions surrender such forts as they held: but there were others who would not obey, saying that they had made war in the name of the king of Navarre. There were also some from different countries, who were great captains and pillagers, that would not, on any account, leave the country; such as Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons and bad Frenchmen, who had been impoverished by the war: these persons persevered in their wickedness, and did afterwards much mischief to the kingdom.

When the captains of the forts had handsomely delivered them up, with all they contained, they marched off, and when in the plain, they dismissed their people: but those who had been so long accustomed to pillage, knowing well that their return home would not be advantageous for them, but that they might perhaps suffer for the bad actions they had committed, assembled together, and chose new leaders from the worst disposed among them. They then rode on, one party following the other, and made their first stand in Burgundy and Champagne, where they formed large squadrons and companies, which were called the Late-comers, because as yet they had but little pillaged that part of the kingdom of France. They suddenly came before and took the fort of Joinville *, with great wealth in it, which the whole country round had brought thither, confiding in the strength of the place. When these troops found such riches as were valued at a hundred thousand

* Joinville,—an ancient town in Champagne, on the Marne, diocese of Châlons.

francs, they divided it amongst them as far as it would go, and held the castle for a time, from whence they scoured all the country of Champagne, the bishoprics of Verdun, Toul and Langres; but, when they had plundered sufficiently, they departed, and sold the castle of Joinville to the inhabitants of the country for one thousand francs *.

They then entered Burgundy, where they reposed and refreshed themselves until they were all collected, and did many bad and villanous actions; for they had among them some knights and squires of that country, who advised and conducted them. They remained some time in the neighbourhood of Besançon, Dijon and Beaune, despoiling everywhere, for none went out to oppose them. They also took the good town of Guerchey † in the Beaunois, which they sacked, and remained for a time near Vergy ‡, on account of the fertility of that country. Their numbers were perpetually increasing; for those who quitted the castles and towns on their being surrendered, and who were disbanded by their captains, came into those parts; so that by Lent they amounted to at least sixteen thousand combatants.

When they found their numbers so great, they appointed many captains, whom all obeyed implicitly. I am able to name some of their greatest leaders; and first a knight from Gascony, called sir Seguin de Batefol, who had under his command two thousand combatants. There were also Tallebert Tallabaton, Guy du Pin, Espiote, le petit Mechin, Battailler, Hannequin François, le Bourg § de l'Espare, Nandoz de Bauguerant, le Bourgcamus, le Bourg de Breteuil, la Nuyt, Arbrethoury the Scot, Bourdonnelle the German, Bernard de la Salle, Robert Briquet, Carnelle, Aimenon d'Ortige, Garsiot du Châtel, Gironet du Paux, l'Ortingo de la Salle, and many others.

These leaders, about the middle of Lent, resolved that they would advance with their forces towards Avignon, and pay a visit to the pope and cardinals. They therefore traversed the country of Burgundy and Mascon, making for the rich and fertile country of Foretz, and for Lyons situate on the Rhône. When the king of France was informed in what manner these freebooting troops overran and pillaged his kingdom, he was mightily enraged. It was stated, by special orders of the council, to his majesty, that unless these bands were repressed, they would multiply so much and do such mischief, to judge from what they had already done, that the kingdom of France would suffer equally as during the war with the English. The council, therefore, advised the king to send a sufficient force to fight them. The king in consequence wrote especial letters to his cousin the lord James de Bourbon ‖ (who was at that time in the town of Montpelier, and had lately put sir John Chandos in full possession of the cities, lands, towns and castles of the duchy of Guienne, as has been before mentioned), ordering him to put himself at the head of the force that was to be sent against these freebooters, and to take a sufficient number of men at arms to give them combat.

When the lord James de Bourbon received these orders, he set off immediately for the city of Agen ¶, without stopping anywhere, and sent off letters and messengers to the nobles, knights, and squires, requiring, in the king's name, their instant attendance. Every one most willingly obeyed his orders, and followed him to the city of Lyons; for he was eager to fight with these wicked people. The lord James of Bourbon was much beloved throughout the kingdom of France, and all most cheerfully obeyed his orders. Knights and squires, therefore, came to him from all quarters; from Auvergne, from Limousin, Provence, Savoy and Dauphiné. On the other hand, many attended him from the duchy of Burgundy, whom the young duke of Burgundy had sent to him.

* Lord Berners says, for 20,000 francs.—Ed.

† A village in Champagne, near Joigny.

‡ Vergy,—a village of Burgundy, bailiwick of Nuits.

§ See note, p. 297.

‖ Lord James de Bourbon, Count de la Marche received from king John, to whom he was always faithful, the county of Ponthieu and the dignity of constable. He was famous in three battles: first in that of Crecy, where he was wounded; next in that of Poitiers, when he was taken prisoner; and lastly in that of Brignano, where he conquered. But soon after, a company of disbanded soldiers ravaging Champagne and the Lyonnois, lord James was sent against them, when, being overpowered by numbers, he and his son Peter were mortally wounded, and died three days afterwards at Lyons, 6th April, 1382.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies.*

I suspect, however, there is some mistake, and that Brignano means Brignais, where he was mortally wounded.

¶ Agen is a considerable city in Guienne, the capital of the Agenois, twenty-eight leagues from Toulouse, and thirty-six from Bordeaux.

This army began its march, making no halt at Lyons, but advanced into the county of Mascon. The lord James entered the county of Foretz, which was dependent on his sister in right of her children, for the count de Foretz was lately dead, and was governed by Reginald de Foretz in the interim, who was brother to the late count. He received the lord James and his company with great joy, and feasted them in the best manner he was able. The two nephews of the lord James de Bourbon were at home: he presented them to him, who received them very graciously, and ordered them to be posted near his person, that they might aid to defend their country.

The free companies were advancing towards this neighbourhood; for those who were at Châlons * upon the Saône and near to Turnus †, and in that fertile country, having heard that the French were assembling an army to fight with them, their captains called a council, to determine what steps they should take. They made a muster of their troops, and found they amounted, one with another, to sixteen thousand combatants. They then resolved to go and meet the French, who were so desirous of it, and to offer them battle, in such situations only as would be for their advantage, but upon no other terms. "If fortune," said they, "should be favourable to us, we may all be rich, and at our ease for a long time, as well by the valuable prisoners we shall make, as from the fear we excite; for no more troops will be hardy enough to come against us: but, if we lose the battle, we shall have hard blows for our pay." This resolution was adopted: they broke up their camp, and marched towards the mountains, in order to penetrate into the county of Foretz: they came to the river Loire, and, in their road, to a good town called Charlieu ‡, in the bailiwick of Mascon, which they surrounded and attacked. They exerted themselves to take it by assault, which employed them a whole day, but they could do nothing, for it was well defended and guarded by the gentlemen of the country, who had flung themselves into the town; otherwise it would have been won. They then marched off, and revenged themselves on the estates of the lord of Beaujeu, which were near, and where they did very considerable mischief, and entered the diocese of Lyons.

As they advanced, they took all the smaller forts, and lodged themselves in them, and did much damage wherever they passed. They took a castle and a lord and lady in it; which castle was called Brignais §, and is situate on the Rhône, three leagues from Lyons. There they halted and took up their quarters, for they were informed that the French army was drawn out in the plain in order of battle.

CHAPTER CCXV.—THE LORD JAMES DE BOURBON AND HIS ARMY ARE DEFEATED BY THESE FREEBOOTING COMPANIES.—THE POPE ORDERS A CROISADE TO BE PROCLAIMED, AFTER THEY HAVE TAKEN THE PONT DU ST. ESPRIT, AND FINDS MEANS TO GET RID OF THEM.

The men at arms, assembled under the lord James de Bourbon, were in the city of Lyons upon the Rhône, when they heard that these companies were approaching in great strength, and had taken by assault the town and castle of Brignais, as well as several others, and were pillaging and ruining the whole country. This was very unpleasant news to the lord James, who had taken the management of the estates of the county of Foretz for his nephews, as well as to all the other chiefs. They immediately took the field, and were a numerous body of men at arms, knights, and squires. They sent out their scouts for intelligence respecting these companies, to know where they were, that they might find them.

I must now mention the grand trick which these free companies played. They were encamped upon a high mountain ||, on the summit of which there was a plain that could not

* Châlons,—an ancient town in Burgundy, twenty-nine leagues from Lyons.

† Tournus,—an ancient town of Burgundy, on the Saône, in the road from Lyons to Dijon.

‡ Charlieu,—a town of the Lyonnois.

§ Brignais,—In all my old editions, and in lord Berners' translation, it is Brunay: but Denys Sauvage is certainly right to alter it to Brignais.

|| "A high mountain."—Denys Sauvage has written a long note to say, that he had visited this spot in 1558, and that it ought not to be called a *high* mountain, for it was but a hillock. This Froissart himself allows in the following lines, where the scouts call it a "tertre." D. Sauvage says, the place corresponds to the description, and that different weapons have been found in the adjoining grounds.

be seen: in this place they had posted the greater part of their army, and permitted the French scouts to come so near, they could have taken them if they had chosen it, but they were allowed to return unhurt*. They informed the lord James de Bourbon, the count d'Uscz, the lord Reginald de Foretz, and those lords who had sent them, all they had observed and heard, adding, "We have seen the companies drawn up in array upon a hillock, and, according to our understanding, well formed; but, having attentively considered them, they cannot be more than five or six thousand men, and seem marvellously ill-armed."

When lord James de Bourbon heard this, he said to the archpriest, "You told me they amounted to at least sixteen thousand combatants, and you now hear the contrary." "My lord," answered he, "I still think they are not less in number: if it should be otherwise, we may thank God for it, and it is so much the better for us: you will therefore determine what you will do." "In the name of God," said the lord James, "we will go and fight them." The lord James ordered all the banners and pennons to halt immediately, and formed his battalions in good order to begin the combat, for they saw their enemies before them. He then created many new knights: the first was his eldest son Peter, who displayed his banner; his nephew, the young count de Foretz, did the same; the lord of Tournon, the lord de Molinier, and the lord de Groslée, in Dauphiné. Among the nobility, there were, sir Louis and sir Robert de Beaujeu, sir Louis de Châlons, sir Hugh de Vienne, the count d'Usez, and many other worthy knights and squires, eager to advance to the combat, both for their own honour and to destroy these freebooters, who were wasting the country without right or reason. The archpriest, whose name was Arnaut de Cervole, was ordered to take the command of the first battalion. He willingly obeyed; for he was an expert and hardy knight, and had under his command about sixteen hundred combatants.

The freebooters, from their situation on the hill, saw but too clearly all these arrangements of the French, who could not see what they were about, nor approach them without danger and loss; for there were at least a thousand cart-loads of flints ready to be thrown against the first assailants by that body of men who appeared so ill-armed to the scouts. I must mention, that the only way these French men at arms, who were so desirous to fight the companions at any rate, could approach them was to ascend sideways the hill on which they had placed themselves. When they, therefore, attempted this, those who were on the hill began to throw down on them the stones and flints, of which they had made so large a provision that they had only to stoop and pick them up; and, having full time to aim them well, they wounded and killed many, so that others were afraid to push forward. This advanced battalion was so severely treated, it was not of any good use afterwards. The other battalions marched to its succour, under the lord James de Bourbon, his son and his nephews, with their banners, and many other respectable gentlemen, who rushed on to their own destruction, so that it was a pity they had not formed better plans, or listened to wiser counsel. The archpriest and some other knights had truly said, they were going to fight with these companions at a disadvantage, with certain loss, considering the situation they had chosen for themselves. They advised waiting until they should have been dislodged from the strong-hold where they had posted themselves, that then they would have a better chance of success, but they were never listened to. Thus then, when the lord James de Bourbon and the other lords, with banners and pennons flying, approached and ascended sideways this hill, the weaker and less completely accoutred of the freebooters were enabled to harass them; for they flung upon them so rapidly and vigorously stones and flints, that the boldest and best armed were in dread of them. When they had thus for some time kept them in check, their grand battalion, fresh and untouched, advanced by a secret road round the hill, and being in close order like a brush, with their lances cut down to six feet

* Lord Berners, who here agrees with D. Sauvage, has these words: "Now shall I shewe you the great malice of these companyons who were lodged on a mountayne, and there they had such a place that they could nat be discryed nor auewed; and specially the chief of them, who were beste harnessed: for the residewe (who were worste harneysed) arenged alonge on the hylle side, and suffered the frenche currours to aproche nere to them, and to retourne agayne withoute any damage." The stratagem practised is here plainly described, but is scarcely intelligible in Mr. Johnes's version.—Ed.

or thereabouts, with loud cries, and a thorough good will, fell upon the French army. In this first attack, very many were unhorsed, and many gallant deeds performed; but the freebooters fought so hardily, it was marvellous to think of it, and the French army was forced to retreat. That good and valiant knight the archpriest fought excellently well: but he was so overpowered by numbers that, after being grievously wounded, he was made prisoner, as well as several knights and squires of his company. Why should I make a longer talk of this affair? in fact, the French had the worse of the day: lord James de Bourbon and the lord Peter his son were very badly wounded: the young count de Foretz was slain: sir Reginald de Foretz his uncle, the count d'Usez, the lord Robert de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, and upwards of one hundred knights, were made prisoners. It was with great difficulty the lord James de Bourbon and his son the lord Peter were brought back to Lyons. This battle of Brignais was fought on the Friday after Easter, in the year of our Lord 1361.

All the bordering countries were thrown into the greatest confusion, when they heard that the army had been discomfited; and there was no one so bold, who had even the strongest castle, that did not tremble; for the wisest among them immediately supposed the greatest mischiefs would ensue and multiply, if God did not directly bring some remedy. The inhabitants of Lyons were confounded when they first heard that victory had declared for these freebooting companies. They, however, received in the kindest manner all those who returned from the battle, and were much hurt at what had befallen the lord James de Bourbon and his son the lord Peter. The ladies, both young and old, visited them in the kindest manner; for they were much beloved in the city of Lyons. The lord James departed this life the third day after the battle, and his son did not long survive him. They were much pitied and regretted. The king of France was greatly affected at the death of the lord James de Bourbon; but as it was not now to be amended, he was obliged to bear his mourning as well as he could.

We will now return to these freebooters, who, having resolved to keep themselves united, were rejoiced at the fortunate issue of this battle. They had been great gainers, as well by what they had seized on the spot as from the ransoms of their wealthy prisoners. These companies had the whole country under their disposal, for no one now ventured to attack them. Soon after the battle at Brignais, they entered and overspread the county of Foretz, which they completely sacked and ruined, except the fortresses; and because they were in such large bodies that no small extent of country could maintain them, they divided themselves into two parties; sir Seguin de Bastefol commanded the smallest, which, however, consisted of about three thousand fighting men. He advanced towards Ance*, near to Lyons, where he fixed his quarters. He then strongly fortified and rebuilt parts of it, and kept his troops in its neighbourhood, which is one of the richest countries in the world. He overran and ransomed at his ease all the countries above and below the Saône, such as the county of Mâcon, the archbishopric of Lyons, the territories of the lord of Beaujeu, and the whole country as far as Marsilly les Nonnains†, and the county of Nevers.

The other division of these free companies under the command of Nandoz de Baugerant, Espiote, Carnelle, Robert Briquet, Ortingo and Bernard de la Salle, Lannuyt, le Bourgeamus‡,

* Ance,—an ancient town of the Lyonnois, situated near the Saône, diocese and election of Lyons, about a league from Villefranche.

† Marsilly les Nonnains. I cannot find in the Gazetteer this name. There is Marcilly-sur-Saone, a village in Burgundy, near Auxonne, which is, I suppose, the same.

‡ *Bourg*, in the dictionaries of the old French language, seems to mean *bastard* or *illegitimate*.

Burgi, in Du Cange's Glossary, is as follows, "Calepino ex Tit. C. de fund. rei privatæ. 'Qui collegio, vel curiæ, vel burgis cæterisque corporibus servierit. An inde, an non potius à burggravius per contractionem *Bourgs*, appellati sunt castellani, et prefecti castrorum, per arcium, apud Froissartem,' tom. ii. cap. 34. 'Si etoient de sa route les capitaines des autres chateaux, comme le *bourg* Calart, le *bourg* Anglois, le *bourg* de Champagne, et Raymond de Force, &c.

"*Burgi*, adde, 'A genuina vocis Gallicæ *bourg* notione longe aberrari mihi videtur, cum ex Froissarte exponitur de Castellano sur burgi præfecto. *Bourg* enim eo loci, quemadmodum et in aliis ejusdem ævi historicis, spurium, nothum sonat, Gall. *batard*; quod apprime docet Berry in Hist. Chronol. Carol. VII. ad an. 1432, ubi quem *bourg* dicit, paulo infra appellat *bastard*: sic et ad an. 1430, *le bourg de Masquaren*. *Bourc* in Litt. Remiss. an. 1411 ex reg. 165. Chartoph. reg. ch. 219. Icelui Pierre appellast le suppliant arlot, tacain, bourc; qui vaut autant à dire en languaige du Pais de par de la, garçon, truant, bastart. *Bort*, eodem sensu usurpant Hispani. Vide in hac voce.'"

le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg de l'Esparre, and many others of the same sort and with the same intentions, advanced towards Avignon, saying they would go and visit the pope and the cardinals, in order to have some of their money; otherwise they should be well vexed. They waited in that neighbourhood to receive the amount of their ransoms for the prisoners taken at Brignais, as well as to see if the peace that had been made between the two kings was likely to be lasting. In their route to Avignon, they took towns, castles, and forts; for nothing could stand before them. The whole country was in alarm; for in those parts they had not had any war, and the guards did not know how to defend or keep their strongholds against such men at arms.

These companions got information, that at the Pont du St. Esprit*, seven leagues from Avignon, there was very great wealth; and that all the riches of the country thereabouts had been carried thither, as to a place of safety, trusting to the strength of its castle. They therefore consulted together, and agreed that if they could get possession of this town of St. Esprit, it would be of the greatest advantage to them; for they then would be masters of the Rhône as well as of Avignon. After they had well digested their plan, Guyot du Pin and the little Mechin (as I have heard it related) mounted their horses, and, with their companies, rode one whole night to the extent of fifteen leagues. They arrived by break of day at the town of St. Esprit, which they took, and all those of both sexes which were therein. It was a pitiful sight; for they murdered many a discreet man, and violated many a virgin. They gained immense riches, and provision sufficient to last them a whole year. They could from this town escape easily, in an hour's time and without danger, into the kingdom of France, and in another hour into the empire. They collected their companies together, and kept advancing towards Avignon, at which the pope and cardinals were much alarmed. These companions had chosen, at the Pont du St. Esprit, a captain to command the whole of their forces, who was commonly styled the friend† of God, and enemy of all the world.

There were at that time in France, besides these companies, many other pillagers, English, Gascons, and Germans, who were desirous of living there‡, and who maintained many garrisons in fortresses. Although the commissaries from the king of England had ordered them to evacuate these castles, and to leave the country, they had not obeyed, which was very displeasing to the king of France, as well as to his council.

But when many of them learnt (for they had possession of different places in France) that their brethren had overthrown the lord James de Bourbon with two thousand knights and squires, had taken a great many prisoners, and had very lately surprised and conquered the town of St. Esprit, where they had found immense riches, and that they had expectations of gaining Avignon, where they would have the pope and cardinals at their mercy, as well as all Provence, each was eager to join them, in the hopes of gain and doing more mischief. This was the reason why many warriors left their forts and castles, and advanced before their companions, expecting greater pillage.

When pope Innocent VI. and the Roman college saw themselves thus threatened by these accursed people, they were exceedingly alarmed, and ordered a croisade to be published against these wicked Christians, who were doing everything in their power to destroy Christianity (like the Vandals§ of old, without right or reason) by ruining all the countries

* Pont du St. Esprit,—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, diocese and receipt of Uzes; so called from one of the most beautiful bridges in Europe built over the Rhône, in the road from Montpelier to Paris.

It is probable that the town of Pont St. Esprit was taken twice; for a chronicle, written in the reign of king John, assures us positively, 'que les compagnons qui etoient sortis de la France, et qui se faisoient appeler la grande compagnie,' took possession of the town and castle of St. Esprit on Innocents' day, 1360.—*Chronique, MSS. du Roi Jean, Bibliot. du Roi*, No. 9652.

† "Friend." Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that instead of *ami* it was *ennemi* in all the editions; but that he had corrected it from the two abridgments. He is certainly right as to the printed editions of Verard and Eustace, as well as in lord Berners' translation and Barnes's History of Edward III.; but it is *ami* in my two MSS.

‡ Lord Berners uses these words, "*who sayd they must nedes lyue*," which fully express the feelings and condition of these disbanded soldiers.—Ed.

§ "Vandals." Denys Sauvage has *Bandes*, and says it is so in all the editions, but that he thinks it should be Vandals. It is *Vandes* in all my printed editions, as well as MSS. [Lord Berners' version is, "And than ordeyned a croysey agaynst these yuell-christen people who dyde their payne to distroy chrystendome as other *bandes* had done before without tytell of any reason." May not this have reference to the expedition of the archpriest mentioned before, instead of to the Vandals?—Ed.

whither they resorted; by robbing, wherever they could find anything; by violating women, both young and old, without pity; and by killing men, women, and children, without mercy, who had done no ill to them; for he was reckoned the bravest, and most honoured, who could boast of the most villanous actions.

The pope and the cardinals had therefore a croisade publicly preached. They absolved from every crime and sin* all those who should take the cross, and voluntarily give themselves up to destroy these wretches. The cardinals elected the lord Peter de Monstier, cardinal d'Arras, by some called cardinal d'Ostia, to be the chief of this croisade; who, upon his nomination, immediately left Avignon, and went to Carpentras, seven leagues distant, where he fixed his quarters. He retained all soldiers, and others, who were desirous of saving their souls, and of gaining the foresaid pardons: but he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart and go into Lombardy; others returned to their own countries, and some joined these wicked companies, which were daily increasing. They divided themselves into several companies, over each of which they nominated captains, and took up their quarters in different places. Thus they harassed the pope, the cardinals, and the merchants in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and did a great deal of mischief until the summer was far advanced of the year 1361.

It happened that the pope and cardinals cast their eyes upon a very accomplished knight and good warrior; that is to say, upon the marquis de Montferrat †, who for a long time had been engaged in war against the lords of Milan, and was at this time so employed. They sent to him to come to Avignon, where he was received with much honour by the pope and cardinals.

A treaty was then entered into with him. He agreed, for a considerable sum of money, to free the territories of the pope and the neighbourhood of those freebooting companies, and to lead them with him into Lombardy. The marquis negotiated, therefore, with the captains of these companies ‡, and managed so well, that by means of sixty thousand florins which he divided among them, and the high pay he promised them, they consented to follow him into Lombardy; but they also insisted on receiving pardon and absolution from all crimes and sin. Every article was fulfilled, and the money paid: they gave up the town of St. Esprit, quitted the territory of Avignon, and marched away with the marquis of Montferrat.

King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced, when they found themselves delivered from these people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy: sir Seguin de Batefol, who kept his garrison at Ance, would not surrender it for any treaty or promise they made him: however, France was, in many places, more at peace than it had been.

When the greater part of these companies had quitted the country, and had marched with the marquis de Montferrat into Piedmont, the marquis managed his affairs well against the lords of Milan. He conquered many towns, castles, and forts, and gained much territory from them. He had also many skirmishes and attacks, which turned out to his profit as well as honour; and these companies, within the year, gave him a superiority in the war, and were in a great measure the cause that the lords Galeas and Bernabo Visconti §, who were

* A pœnâ et culpâ.—*Lord Berners.*

† The marquis de Montferrat. John Palæologus, 16th markgrave of Montferrat, 1338, died 1371, reigned 33 years.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies.*

‡ "Captains of these companies." Barnes says, that the principal leader was sir John Hawkwood; but the following quotation from the life of sir John Hawkwood, published in the 6th volume of the Bibliot. Typog. Britan. page 6, shows it was not so.

"The company of English adventurers who now entered into the service of the marquis of Montferrat, 1363, is said, by Muratori, vol. xii. p. 207, to have been commanded by one *Albaret.*

"Upon the conclusion of the peace between the marquis of Montferrat and Galeazzo, the few English who remained with the former went and joined their countrymen in Tuscany, and soon after formed a body under Hawkwood."

There must be a mistake respecting the date of 1363, for Froissart, as well as Denys Sauvage, fixes it positively 1361.

§ In the year 1354, Matthew II., Bernabo and Galeas II., all three sons of Stephen Visconti, brother of John, succeeded their uncle in the state of Milan, and divided it into equal portions, except Milan and Genoa, which the two last individually held. Matthew dying without male children, the 26th September, 1355, his two brothers inherited his portion, except Bologna, which they suffered Visconti d'Olegio to carry from them. They obtained the same year, from the emperor Charles IV. the vicegerency of Lombardy. Their union defended them against a powerful league, formed by the Florentines, the marquises of Este, of Mantua, and of Montferrat. In 1359, Galeas, assisted by his brother Bernabo, made the conquest of Pavia, in the month of November, after a long siege. In 1371, Bernabo acquired, from Feltrin de Gonzague, the city of Reggio. Galeas died 1378, aged 59 years. Muratori gives a very bad character of him.

See more of the house of Visconti, in l'Art de Vérifier les Dates, whence the above is taken.

sovereigns of Milan, and who since reigned there in great prosperity, came to a proper understanding with him.

About this time sir Seguin de Batefol, who had retained his garrison at Ance upon the river Saone, took by escalade a good city in Auvergne, called Brioude, and which is situated on the river Allier. He maintained himself there for upwards of a year, and fortified it so strongly that he was not afraid of an attack: from this place he overran all the country as far as Clermont*, Tilhac, Puy†, Case Dieu‡, Montferrant§, Riom‖, la Nonnette¶, Ussoire**, Oudalle††, and the lands of the count Dauphin, who was at that time a hostage in England, and committed the greatest damages. When he had very much impoverished the whole country, he marched away, according to an agreement, carrying off with him great riches. Sir Seguin de Batefol‡‡ returned into Gascony, whence he had originally come. Of this sir Seguin I know no more, except that by accident I heard it related that he died in an extraordinary manner. God pardon him for all his misdeeds!

CHAPTER CCXVI.—THE DEATHS OF THE DUKES OF LANCASTER AND OF BURGUNDY, WHICH LAST CAUSES NEW DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES CROSSES THE SEA TO AQUITAINE.

At this period died in England the good duke of Lancaster§§, whose Christian name was Henry. The king and all his barons, knights, and squires, were much afflicted, and wished it had not been so. He left two daughters, the lady Maude and the lady Blanche. The eldest was married to the earl of Hainault of the name of William, son of the lord Lewis of Bavaria and Margaret of Hainault. The youngest was married to the lord John, earl of Richmond, son of the king of England, who was afterwards duke of Lancaster, in right of his wife, and by the death of Henry duke of Lancaster.

In this season also died the young duke Philip of Burgundy‖‖, earl of Burgundy, of Artois and of Boulogne, palatine of Brie and Champagne. He married the daughter of Louis earl of Flanders, by one of the daughters of John duke of Brabant, to whom fell the earldom of Burgundy, by the near relationship of Margaret his mother, who did homage and fealty for it to the king of France. The lord John of Boulogne, earl of Auvergne, came, by the same means, into possession of the earldom of Boulogne, and was homager to the king of France. King John also, from his proximity, took possession of and retained the duchy of Burgundy, and all rights over Champagne and Brie, which was highly displeasing to the king of Navarre; but he could not help himself; for he claimed Champagne and Brie, as being the

* Clermont, or Clermont-Ferrard, capital of Auvergne.

† Puy,—a village in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont.

‡ Case Dieu, Q. an abbey, diocese of Auch.

§ Montferrant,—a town in Auvergne, near Clermont.

‖ Rion, Riom,—a city of Auvergne, near Clermont.

¶ La Nonnette,—a town of Auvergne, election of Issoire.

** Ussoire, Ussou,—a town of Auvergne, four leagues from Brioude.

†† Oudalle, I cannot find, nor Tilhac.

‡‡ "Sir Seguin de Batefol." Mezeray calls him Simon Batefol. Villaret calls him gentilhomme navarrois, and says that he died from some poisoned oranges, which Charles le Mauvais, king of Navarre, had served at dinner, in order to get rid of him. He was desirous of engaging sir Seguin de Batefol to make fresh disturbances in France, contrary to the promise he had made king John, on surrendering Brioude; but he asked too large a sum; and, having possession of Charles's secret, he thus poisoned him that it might not be divulged.—*Histoire de France, par Villaret*, tom. v. p. 258.

§§ "Henry duke of Lancaster, who died of the plague of 1360, was buried on the south side of the high altar of the collegiate church of Leicester, founded by his father (not by him, as in Dugdale), and on the next niche to him lay a lady, by likelihood his wife."—*Gough's Sep. Mon.*

"He left issue by his wife Isabel, daughter of Henry lord Beaumont, two daughters, his heiresses. Maude first married to Ralph, son and heir to Ralph Lord Stafford, and afterwards to William duke of Zealand; and Blanche (by virtue of a special dispensation from the pope, in regard to their near alliance) to John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, fourth son to Edward III. and afterwards duke of Lancaster.—*Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. 1, p. 789.

Maude came to England soon after her father's death, and died, supposed by poison.—*Knyghton.*

‖‖ Philip duke of Burgundy succeeded to the earldoms of Boulogne and Auvergne at the age of fifteen by the death of his mother, 29th September, 1360. Towards the latter end of November, 1361, he died at Rouvre, and was buried at Citeaux. He lived but a short time, and was very much regretted, as he promised well. The duchy of Burgundy passed to the king of France, not by virtue of the law of appanages, but as being nearest heir to duke Philip. The earldom of Burgundy, by the same right, passed to Margaret, who married Philip, fourth son of John king of France, who was created duke of Burgundy by letters patent, 6th Sept. 1363.—*L'Art de verifier les Dates.*

nearest heir: his reasons were not listened to, for king John hated him much, and declared that he should never possess a foot of ground in Champagne nor in Brie*.

About this time, the king of France had formed a resolution to go to Avignon, and visit the pope and cardinals, and, in his road, to amuse himself by inspecting the duchy of Burgundy, which had lately fallen in to him. The king, therefore, ordered preparations to be made, and set out from Paris about St. John's day 1362, having left his eldest son Charles duke of Normandy, regent and governor of the kingdom during his absence. The king took with him the lord John of Artois, his cousin, whom he much loved; the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Dampmartin, Boucicault marshal of France, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France, and several others. He travelled slowly and with much expense, making some stay in all the cities and towns of Burgundy, so that he did not arrive at Villeneuve†, until about Michaelmas. It was there that his hôtel was prepared, as well for himself as for his attendants. He was most magnificently received and feasted by the pope and the college at Avignon: the king, pope, and cardinals, visited each other often. The king remained at Villeneuve during the whole time‡.

About Christmas pope Innocent VI. departed this life: and the cardinals were in great discord about the election of another, for each was desirous of that honour; more particularly the cardinals of Boulogne and Perigord, who were the greatest in the college. Their dissensions kept the conclave a long time shut up. The conclave had ordered and arranged everything according to the desires of the two before-mentioned cardinals, but in such a manner that neither of them could succeed to the papacy: upon which they both agreed, that none of their brethren should wear the papal crown, and elected the abbot de St. Victor§ of Marseilles, who was a holy and learned man, of good morals, and who had laboured hard for the church in Lombardy and other places. The two cardinals sent to inform him of his elevation, and to desire he would come to Avignon: which he did as soon as possible, and received this gift with joy. He was called Urban V., and reigned with great prosperity: he augmented much the power of the church, and did great good to Rome and other parts.

Soon after this election, the king of France heard that the lord Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, was on his road to Avignon, having crossed the sea: upon which he resolved to wait for him, as he was anxious to see one of whom so many handsome things had been related, for having made war upon the Saracens. Lately, the new king of Cyprus, had taken the strong city of Satàlie|| from the enemies of God, and had slain, without any exceptions, all the inhabitants of both sexes whom he had found there.

There was, during this winter, a full parliament holden in England, respecting regulations

* In place of this paragraph lord Berners has the following:—"The lord James of Burbone abode styll pursuynge the treaty bytwene the lorde John of Mountforde and the lord Charles of Bloys for the right of the dachy of Bretayne acordyng to the treaty begon at Calais as ye have herd before. And for lacke of concludyng thereof great warres and yuels fell after in the countri of Bretayne as ye shall here in this hystorie."—Ed.

† Villeneuve d'Avignon,—a town of lower Languedoc, on the Rhône, opposite to Avignon.

‡ Villaret seems to think Froissart has made a mistake respecting this visit o the king, and that it was to prevent the marriage of Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of king Edward III. with the widow of the late duke of Burgundy, by means of the pope.

"Since his (the king's) return from London, he made only one journey to the court of Avignon, where he did not arrive until after the death of Innocent VI." This opinion will not agree with what Froissart says of the entertainments and feasts he received from the pope. John must have made two journeys, at a short distance from one another. The contrary, however, is proved by the letters of this king, preserved in the fourth volume des Ordonnances. Froissart will have, without doubt, confounded this journey with the one made before his imprisonment. —*Hist. de France*, vol. v. p. 270, note.

In the Grands Chroniques de St. Denis, vol. ii. feuillet 273. "In the month of August, 1362, the king of France set out to visit the pope, Innocent, at Avignon, who was then alive, and that same year, the 22nd Dec., he died."

"King John entered Avignon St. Catherine's day, the 22nd November. Pope Urban received him very honourably in consistory, and retained him to dinner."

There must be some mistake in these dates.

§ "Abbot de St. Victor." Urban V. William Grimoald, abbot de St. Germain d'Auxerre, then abbot of St. Victor de Marseille, was elected pope, 28th September, 1362, at the age of 53 years.; he died 19th December, 1370.

|| City of Satàlie,—is the Attalea of the ancients, situated in Pamphilia, a province which at this day makes part of Caramania.

Antalia, or Satàlie,—at the bottom of the gulf of Satàlie.—*D'Anville's map, Géographie Moderne.*

Peter de Lusignan had succeeded his father Hugh. He did not arrive at Avignon until the 29th March, 1362, the Wednesday of the holy week.

Valdemar, king of Denmark, was there at the same time, who came to place his person and kingdom under the protection of the holy see.—*Villaret, Hist. de France.*

Peter I. succeeded his father Hugh, as king of Cyprus, in 1361. January 18, 1372, he was assassinated by two lords whom he had abused. He disgraced the glories and fame of his early life by his debaucheries and cruelties in his latter days.—*Art de verifier les Dates.*

for the country, but more especially to form establishments for the king's sons They considered that the prince of Wales kept a noble and grand state, as he might well do; for he was valiant, powerful, and rich, and had besides a large inheritance in Aquitaine, where provisions and everything else abounded. They therefore remonstrated with him, and told him from the king his father, that it would be proper for him to reside in his duchy, which would furnish him withal to keep as grand an establishment as he pleased. The barons and knights of Aquitaine were also desirous of his residing among them, and had before intreated the king to allow him so to do; for although the lord John Chandos was very agreeable and kind to them, they still loved better to have their own natural lord and sovereign than any other. The prince readily assented to this, and made every preparation becoming his own and his wife's rank*. When all was ready, they took leave of the king, the queen and their brothers; set sail from England, and were landed, with their attendants, at La Rochelle.

But we will for a while leave this prince, and talk of some other regulations which were made at this time in England. It was enacted by the king and his council, that the lord Lionel, the king's second son, and who had borne the title of earl of Ulster, should from thenceforward bear that of duke of Clarence; and the lord John, who was called earl of Richmond, was created duke of Lancaster, which estate came to him by his wife, the lady Blanche, as heiress to the good duke of Lancaster, her father. It was also taken into consideration by the king and his council, that the lord Edmund, the king's youngest son, who was called earl of Cambridge, should be well provided for, and, if it were possible, that he should be united in marriage with the daughter of the earl of Flanders, at that time a widow. However, that matter, though proposed, was not fully entered upon; for it would be necessary to go cautiously to work about it; besides, the lady herself was sufficiently young.

About this time, the lady Isabella of France, mother of the king, died. She was daughter of Philip the Fair. The king ordered a most magnificent and pompous funeral for her, at the Friar Minors†; at which all the prelates and barons of England, as well as the lords of France who were hostages for the performance of the articles of peace, attended.

This happened before the prince and princess of Wales left England; soon after which they set out, and arrived at La Rochelle, where they were received with great joy, and remained four whole days. As soon as the lord John Chandos (who had governed the duchy of Aquitaine a considerable time) was informed that the prince was coming, he set out from Niort‡, where he resided, and came to La Rochelle with a handsome attendance of knights and squires, where they feasted most handsomely the prince, princess, and their suite. The prince was conducted from thence, with great honour and rejoicings, to the city of Poitiers. The barons and knights of Poitou and Saintonge, who at that time resided there, came and did homage and fealty to him.

The prince rode from city to city, and from town to town, receiving everywhere due homage and fealty. He at last came to Bordeaux, where he resided a considerable time, and the princess with him. The earls, viscounts, barons, knights, and lords of Gascony, came thither to pay their respects to him: all of whom he received in so gracious and pleasing a manner, that every one was contented. Even the count de Foix came to visit him, whom the prince and princess received most honourably, and treated him magnificently. A peace was at this time concluded between him and the count d'Armagnac, with whom there had been a continual warfare for a very considerable time. The lord John Chandos was soon after appointed constable of all Guienne, and sir Guiscard d'Angle marshal. The prince thus provided for the knights of his own country and his household, particularly those he loved most, with these noble and handsome offices, which were at his disposal in the duchy of Aquitaine. He nominated to all his stewartries and baliwicks knights from England, who kept up greater state and magnificence than the inhabitants of the country could have wished: but things did not go according to their desires. We will now leave the prince and the princess of Wales, to speak of king John of France, who at this time was at Villeneuve d'Avignon.

* "His wife's rank." The prince of Wales married this year the lady Joan, daughter of Edmund Plantagenet earl of Kent, commonly called the fair countess of Kent. She was a widow, and of the blood royal of England. She was first married to the earl of Salisbury, and divorced from him, then she was married to sir Thomas Holland.—*Fabian.*

† Friar Minors,—commonly called the Grey Friars, now a parish church called Christ Church.—*Grafton.*

‡ Niort, a city in Poitou, diocese of La Rochelle.

CHAPTER CCXVII.—THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF CYPRUS UNDERTAKE AND SWEAR TO PERFORM A CROISADE AGAINST THE INFIDELS.—THE KING OF CYPRUS MAKES EARNEST SOLICITATIONS FOR ASSISTANCE TO MANY KINGS AND PRINCES IN DIVERS PLACES OF CHRISTENDOM.

About Candlemas*, 1362, the king of Cyprus came to Avignon: at which event the whole court was much rejoiced, and many cardinals went out to meet him, and to conduct him to the palace of pope Urban, who received him very graciously, as did the king of France, who was present. When they had remained together some time, and had had wines and spices served to them, the two kings took leave of the pope, and each went to his hôtel.

During this time, there was a public combat before the king of France, at Villeneuve, from pledges given and received, between two valiant and noble knights, whose names were sir Aymon de Pommiers and sir Foulques d'Archiac. When they had fought well and valorously for a length of time, the king of France appeased them, and made up their quarrel.

The two kings remained the whole Lent at Avignon, or thereabout. They often visited the pope, who received them with joy. During these frequent visits, the king of Cyprus remonstrated with the pope, the king of France, and the cardinals present, how noble and praiseworthy a thing it would be for Christendom, to open a holy passage beyond sea, and to fall upon the enemies of the true faith. The king of France listened eagerly to this discourse, and proposed that for himself he would willingly undertake such an enterprise, if he should live three years only, for two reasons: one was, that king Philip, his father, had formerly made a vow to do the same; the other was, to draw out of his kingdom all those men at arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls. These reasons, however, the king of France kept to himself, without mentioning them to any one, until Holy Friday, when the pope preached in his chapel before the kings of France and Cyprus, and the College of Cardinals. After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him. The pope immediately and benignantly complied with his request, and crossed in like manner the lord Talleyrand cardinal de Perigord, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the earl of Tancarville, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut, and many knights there present. The king of Cyprus was highly pleased, and returned fervent thanks to the Lord for having inspired their hearts.

Thus, as you have heard, the king of France, and those barons and knights that were with him, put the red cross upon their outward robes. The holy father gave it his benediction, and ordered it to be preached in many places: not, however, throughout all Christendom, for a reason I will give. The king of Cyprus (who had come thither with the intention of forming this croisade, having promised himself much pleasure in visiting the emperor and all the great barons of the empire, the king of England, and the chief princes of Christendom, which he did, as this history hereafter will show you), offered to the holy father and to the king of France his personal services, his wealth, and his eloquence, wherever he should arrive or make any stay, in remonstrating and arguing the grace and devotion of this expedition, in order to excite all those princes and lords to join in it who before had not had much religion. This said king was so much honoured, as it was but just he should be, that, from the eloquence and warmth with which he would display the value of this expedition to the different princes, he would gain more hearts than all the preachments. The pope assented to this proposal, which was then resolved on.

Soon after Easter, 1363, the king of Cyprus left Avignon, saying he was going to visit the emperor and the lords of the empire, and then return by Brabant, Flanders, and

* "Candlemas." Denys Sauvage says, in a note on the margin, that Froissart forgets in this place to begin the year the first of January.

"By an edict given by Charles IX. at Roussillon Château in Dauphiné, 1564, he fixed the beginning of the year 1565 at the first of January; whereas formerly the year commenced at Easter. It appears to me that its commencement ought to be the 21st December, or rather the 21st of March."—*Essais Historiques sur Paris*, tome iii. p. 328.

Hainault, to the kingdom of France. He took leave of the pope and the king of France, who on every occasion showed him marked attentions; the pope gave to him and to his attendants presents of jewels and benedictions*. Soon after the departure of the king of Cyprus, the king of France took leave of the pope, and went towards the city of Montpellier, in order to visit Languedoc, where he had not been for a long time.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus, and to the journey which he made. After many days' travel in Germany, he came to a city called Prague, and found there the emperor of Germany, the lord Charles of Bohemia†, who received him magnificently, as did all the lords of the empire who were with him. The king of Cyprus remained in Prague and in its environs three weeks, and greatly exerted himself in exhorting all the Germans to assist in this holy expedition. The emperor defrayed his expenses during the stay he made, and for his journeys in Germany. The king of Cyprus went next to the duchy of Juliers, where the duke received him with much feasting and rejoicings. From the duchy he went to Brabant, where the duke and duchess received him magnificently in the good town of Brussels. He was there entertained with grand dinners, suppers, tournaments, and other sports, in which he knew well how to play his part; and, at his departure, they made him many presents of rich jewels.

When he left Brussels, he went to Flanders, to visit earl Lewis, who received and feasted him grandly. He found at Bruges the king of Denmark, who had come thither to see him. They were magnificently treated at Bruges; insomuch that the two kings were very well pleased with earl Lewis, and with the knights and barons of his country. The king of Cyprus thus passed his summer, since he had left Avignon, in his journey through the empire and along its frontiers, exhorting all to undertake this expedition against the Saracens. This gave much pleasure to many of the great lords, who were desirous that it should be accomplished; but many others excused themselves from taking part in it

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CHAPTER CCXVIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND DETAINS THE HOSTAGES AS PRISONERS.—THE KING OF CYPRUS USES GREAT INTREATIES WITH THE KINGS OF NAVARRE AND ENGLAND AND THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO INDUCE THEM TO UNDERTAKE THIS CROISADE AGAINST THE SARACENS.

About this time, the king of England showed much favour to four dukes, viz. the duke of Orleans, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Bourbon. These lords had returned to Calais, whence they had liberty to make excursions whither they chose for three days; but they were to return on the fourth day by sun-set. The king had granted this favour with the good intent of their being nearer to make solicitations to their friends, and that they might hasten their ransoms, which they were eager to do. During the time the four above-mentioned lords were at Calais, they sent many and pressing messages to the king of France, and to the duke of Normandy his eldest son, who had nominated them as hostages, to remonstrate with them on the subject of their ransoms, which they had sworn and promised to attend to at the time they went to England, otherwise they would have undertaken it themselves, threatening no longer to consider themselves as prisoners. But although these lords were, as you know, very near relations to the king of France, their solicitors and messengers were not listened to, nor themselves ransomed, which was very displeasing to them, more particularly to the duke of Anjou, who declared he would himself find a remedy, happen what would.

At this moment, the kingdom and the councils of the king and duke of Normandy were hardly pressed, as well on account of the croisade which the king had undertaken, as for the war with the king of Navarre, who was harassing the realm of France, and who had recalled some of the captains and companions from Lombardy, in order the better to carry on his designs. This was the principal reason why they could not immediately attend to the

* Many fayre gyfts and ieawels and *pardons*.—*Lord Berners*.

† Lord Charles of Bohemia,—Charles IV. emperor of Germany. He published the famous Golden Bull, that has ever since regulated all the elections of emperors of Germany.

ransoms of the four dukes, nor give satisfactory answers by their messengers, when they came to France.

We will now return to the king of Cyprus. When he had visited the empire and other countries, as you have heard, he returned to France, where he was magnificently received by the king and the great lords of his court. Several councils were held on the subject of this croisade, to discover in what manner it could turn out to the honour of the king of France or to the good of his realm. The wisest were of opinion, that seeing the kingdom so much harassed, robbed, and ruined, by the companies and thieves that invaded it from all parts, this expedition ought not to take place until the kingdom were in a better state, or till peace were made with the king of Navarre. However, notwithstanding the good sense of this advice, the king would not listen to it, nor allow his ardour for this croisade to be cooled. He confirmed his engagement to the king of Cyprus, and promised to be at Marseilles in March the ensuing year (which would be 1364), and that then he would without delay cross the sea, and order purveyances to all who were willing to do the same.

Upon this, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king of France, finding that he had sufficient time to return to his own country and make his preparations. He considered with himself, if he should not do well to pay a visit to his cousin the king of Navarre, and endeavour, if possible, to make a peace between him and the king of France. He therefore set out from Paris with a grand equipage, and took the road to Rouen; where, when he was arrived, he was most handsomely received by his cousin the lord John d'Alençon, archbishop of Rouen, who entertained him very agreeably for three days. On the fourth he departed, taking the road to Caen, and continued his route to Cherbourg, where he found the king of Navarre, the lord Louis * his brother, and a very small company with them.

These two lords of Navarre received the king of Cyprus graciously and honourably, feasted him grandly, as they had the means, and knew well how to use them. Whilst he was there, he endeavoured to begin a treaty between them and the king of France, and talked to them frequently and eloquently upon this subject; for he was a man of excellent understanding, master of many languages, and much beloved. The two brothers made very handsome replies to him, but excused themselves by saying, it was not their fault if they were not good friends with the king and realm of France; for their great desire was to be so, but the king must give back their inheritance which he held from them wrongfully. The king of Cyprus would willingly have brought this business to a conclusion, for the king of Navarre would have left it to him, had not their differences been too great.

When the king of Cyprus had remained at Cherbourg about fifteen days, having been entertained by the king of Navarre and his brother suitably to his rank, he took leave of them, saying he should not rest until he had been in England, and exhorted king Edward and his children to put on the cross. He departed from Cherbourg, and arrived at Caen; thence he crossed the sea at Pont de l'Arche †; and entered Ponthieu; having passed the Somme at Abbeville ‡, he came to Rue §, to Montreuil ||, and to Calais, where he found the three dukes of Orleans, Berry and Bourbon: for the duke of Anjou had returned to France, but by what means or in what condition I know not ¶.

* "Lord Louis." Charles had two brothers, Philip and Louis; but which is here meant, I know not. Denys Sauvage says it was Philip, my MSS. Louis.

† Pont de l'Arche,—a town of Normandy, on the Seine, diocese of Evreux.

‡ Abbeville,—a considerable town in Lower Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

§ Rue, a small town in Picardy.

|| Montreuil,—a town in Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

¶ See Rymer, anno 1363, for different letters from king John whilst at Avignon, and other matters respecting the ransoms of these princes of the blood. It appears that they were all promised their freedom, on possession being given to the officers named by king Edward of certain lands and castles belonging to each of them, dated at Westminster, 26th May 1363. The duke of Anjou and other hostages broke their parole and escaped. In the Fœdera 1364, there are various remonstrances made by Edward on this subject.

Stowe says, in his Chronicle, that the duke of Anjou, by breaking his word and oath to return to England as one of the hostages for king John, and thus deceiving him, was the cause of his majesty's death, through grief.

Carte says, "Their negotiations not succeeding, the duke of Anjou made use of that indulgence to escape into France: the king, his father, blamed him exceedingly, and, to repair his son's faults, resolved to go himself to England, and, by a personal treaty with Edward, remove the obstructions which had hitherto prevented the full execution of the treaty of Bretigny. His ministers tried, in vain, to dissuade him from this resolution; for he told them, that though good faith were banished out of the rest of the world, it ought still to be found in the words of princes, and as the performance of the articles of that treaty was the condition of his, he would at any rate see them executed."

These three dukes, prisoners, though they were in the town of Calais, received the king of Cyprus very joyfully, and the king behaved with equal politeness to them. They continued together for twelve days. When the king of Cyprus had a favourable wind, he crossed the Straits, and arrived at Dover. He remained there two days to recover himself, whilst they unloaded his vessel and disembarked his horses. The king then continued his route by easy day-journeys, until he arrived at the good city of London. He was honourably received on his arrival, as well by the barons of France, who were there as hostages, as by the English lords, who had rode out to meet him; for king Edward had ordered some of his knights, viz. the earl of Hereford *, sir Walter Manny, the lord Despencer †, the lord Ralph de Ferrers ‡, sir Richard Pembridge §, sir Richard Stafford ‖, and others to meet him, who accompanied and conducted him to the lodgings which were prepared for him in the city of London.

It would take me a day were I to attempt relating to you the grand dinners, suppers, and other feasts and entertainments that were made, and the magnificent presents, gifts and jewels which were given, especially by queen Philippa, to the accomplished king of Cyprus. In truth, he was deserving of them, for he had come a long way and at a great expense, to visit them, to exhort the king to put on the red cross, and assist in regaining countries now occupied by the enemies of God. But the king of England politely and wisely excused himself, by saying: "Certainly, my good cousin, I have every inclination to undertake this expedition; but I am growing too old, and shall leave it to my children. I make no doubt, that when it shall have been begun, you will not be alone, but will be followed most willingly by my knights and squires." "Sir," replied the king of Cyprus, "what you say satisfies me. I verily believe they will come, in order to serve God, and do good to themselves; but you must grant them permission so to do; for the knights of your country are eager in such expeditions." "Yes," answered the king of England; "I will never oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee." The king of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from king Edward, in respect to this croisade; but, as long as he remained, he was politely and honourably feasted with a variety of grand suppers.

About this time king David ¶ of Scotland had some affairs to transact with king Edward that made it necessary for him to come to England; so that when he heard the king of Cyprus was there, he hastened his journey, in order to meet him, and made such dispatch that he arrived in London before he had left it. The two kings were much rejoiced to meet, and congratulated each other upon it. The king of England gave them two grand entertainments in his palace of Westminster. At the last of these, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the king and queen of England, who made him very magnificent presents: king Edward gave him also a ship called the Catharine, which was very beautiful and well built. The king of England had had her constructed, by his orders, to make the voyage to Jerusalem. She was valued at twelve thousand francs, and lay in the harbour of Sandwich.

The king of Cyprus was much pleased with this gift, and returned many thanks for it. He made no long stay after this in England, but returned to the king of France. The king

* The earl of Hereford,—son of William Bohun, earl of Northampton, succeeded to the title and estates of Hereford, on the death of his uncle, Humphry de Bohun, in 1361. He was afterwards nominated ambassador to the duke of Milan, respecting the marriage of his daughter Violante to the duke of Clarence, and died shortly after.

† Lord Despencer,—grandson of Edward that was executed at Hereford. He enjoyed much favour under Edward III. and was buried at Tewkesbury.

‡ "Lord Ralph de Ferrers." I cannot find in Dugdale's Baronage any of this family that bore the name of Ralph. There is Rauf de Ferriers, banneret, in Ashmole, which I suppose must be the same.

§ Sir Richard Pembridge,—was fifty-third knight of the garter. He died 1375, and his tomb is in Hereford cathedral. The only account I can find of him is in Mr. Gough's first volume of Sepulchral Monuments, to which I refer.

‖ Sir Richard Stafford,—was son to sir Richard Stafford, brother to Ralph, earl of Stafford. He served in Edward III.'s wars in Gascony, and was summoned to parliament among the barons, from 44th Edward III. until 4th Richard II. inclusive.

¶ "King David." It appears, by Rymer, from the passport granted him by king Edward, the 20th February, 1364, that David Bruce's journey into England was to pay his devotions at the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham. The same religious motives might have made him so eager to converse with the king of Cyprus on the subject of the croisade.—His passport was to continue in force until the ensuing Michaelmas.

His new queen, Margaret Logie, had at the same time a passport, to pay her devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury.

of England, however, defrayed all his and his attendants' expenses during the time he remained, as well as the cost of his journeys in coming and returning. I do not know how it was, nor for what reason, but he left the ship in the harbour of Sandwich; for, two years afterwards, I saw it there at anchor.

The king of Cyprus left England *, and crossed the sea to Boulogne. Having learnt on the road, that the king of France, the duke of Normandy, the lord Philip, youngest son to king John, and the council of state, were to be in the good town of Amiens, the king of Cyprus took that road, and found the king of France just arrived, with part of his council. He was kindly received by them, and related to them the greater part of his travels, which they listened to with pleasure. When he had been there some time, he said that as yet he had done but little, until he should have seen the prince of Wales; and that, if it pleased God, he would go visit him, as well as the barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, before he returned home. The king of France made no objection to this, but earnestly entreated, that when he set out on his return home, he would take his departure from France, to which the king of Cyprus readily assented. He therefore left Amiens, taking the road to Beauvais, passed the Seine at Pontoise, and continued his route to Poitiers.

At this time, the prince was at Angoulême, where there were shortly to be grand entertainments and justs by forty knights and as many squires, in honour of the princess, who had lately been brought to bed of a handsome son, called Edward †, after his father. As soon as the prince was informed of the arrival of the king of Cyprus at Poitiers, he sent by special command, sir John Chandos, attended by many knights and squires of his household, to meet him. They accompanied him, with great joy and respect, to the prince, who received him most kindly and honourably. We will now leave the king of Cyprus for a while, and return to the king of France, to relate what were the reasons why he and his council had come to Amiens.

CHAPTER CCXIX.—KING JOHN RETURNS, OF HIS OWN FREE WILL, TO ENGLAND, AND DIES THERE.

I WAS informed, and indeed truly, that king John had a wish to go to England, to visit his brother king Edward and the queen his sister, and for this effect had summoned part of his council.—They could not make him change his mind, though they gave freely their opinions on the subject: and many of the prelates and barons of France told him, he would do a very foolish thing, if he again put himself in the power of the king of England. But the king answered, that he had found so much loyalty and honour in his brother the king of England, the queen, and his nephews their children, that he could not sufficiently praise them: he did not in the least doubt but that they would be courteous, polite, and loyal, and friends to him in all situations. He was also anxious to go to England, in order to make excuses for his son, the duke of Anjou, who had returned to France. On hearing this, not

* Barnes, in his history of Edward III. says, that the king of Denmark and the duke of Bavaria accompanied him to England, and that their passports were dated 6th December.

In Rymer, there is a passport for Waldemar, king of Denmark, dated the 1st of February, 1364, to continue to the ensuing Michaelmas, for himself and three hundred horsemen, &c., but not one word is said of the king of Cyprus, nor of the duke of Bavaria.

"Anno reg. 31, 1357.—Henry Picard, vintner, mayor of London, in one day did sumptuously feast Edward king of England, John king of France, the king of Cyprus (then newly arrived in England), David king of Scots, Edward prince of Wales, with many noblemen and others: and after, the said Henry Picard kept his hall against all comers whosoever that were willing to play at dice and hazard. In like manner, the lady Margaret, his wife, did also keep her chamber to the same intent. The king of Cyprus, playing with Henry Picard in his hall, did win of him fifty marks; but Henry being very skilful in that art, altering his hand, did after win of the said king the same fifty marks and fifty marks more; which when the said king began to take in ill part, although he dissembled the same, Henry said unto him, 'My lord and king, be not aggrieved: I covet not your gold, but your play; for I have not bid you hither that I might grieve you, but that amongst other things I might try your play;' and gave him his money again, plentifully bestowing his own amongst the retinue. Besides, he gave many rich gifts to the king and other nobles and knights, who dined with him, to the great glory of the citizens of London in those days."—*Stowe's Chronicle.*

† "By her (the princess) he had two sons, namely, Edward the eldest, born at Angoulême in February, 1365 (Leland saith 1364), who died in Gascoigne at seven years of age,"—and Richard, who was afterwards king of England.—*Ashmole's Garter*, p. 676.

one of the council had a word more to say, since his majesty had thus ordered and settled it. He again appointed his son, the duke of Normandy, regent of France during his absence. He promised his youngest son, the lord Philip, that on his return from the journey he was about to make *, he would create him duke of Burgundy, and that he should inherit the lands of that duchy.

When all things were prepared according to his orders, and his purveyances sent to Boulogne, he departed from the city of Amiens, and, having begun his journey, continued it until he came to Hesdin, where he remained to pass his Christmas.—The earl, Louis of Flanders, who was much attached to him, came there to visit his majesty; and they continued together, about three or four days. On Innocent's day, he left Hesdin, rode forwards to Boulogne, where he took up his quarters in the abbey, and remained there until he had a favourable wind. He was accompanied, when he crossed the sea, by the following nobles of his realm, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Eu, the earl of Dampmartin, the grand prior of France, the lord Boucicaut, marshal of France, sir Tristan de Maguelles, sir Peter and sir John de Villiers, sir John d'Anville, sir Nicholas Bracque, and several great knights. When their vessels were laden, and the mariners had a wind to their wishes, they informed the king, who embarked on board his vessel about midnight, as did his attendants on board of theirs. Having set their sails for the coast of England, they arrived at Dover about vespers. It was on the day preceding the vigil of the feast of the Three Kings, called the Epiphany †.

News was brought to the king of England (who at that time was with his queen at Eltham, a very magnificent palace which the king had, seven miles from London), that the king of France had landed at Dover. He immediately ordered many knights of his household to go and congratulate the king on his arrival; the lord Bartholomew Burghersh ‡, sir Richard Pembridge §, sir Allan Boxhall ||, and several others. They took leave of king Edward, and rode towards Dover, where they found the king of France, who had remained there since his arrival. They attended and conducted him with every mark of respect and honour, as they well knew how to do. Among other compliments, they told him the king their lord was much rejoiced at his coming, which the king of France readily believed.

On the morrow morning, the king and his attendants were on horseback early, and rode to Canterbury, where they dined. On entering the cathedral, the king paid his devotions to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and presented to it a rich jewel of great value. The king of France remained two days in the city of Canterbury. The third day he set out, taking the road to London, and rode on until he came to Eltham, where the king of England was, with a number of lords, ready to receive him. It was on a Sunday, in the afternoon, that he arrived: there were, therefore, between this time and supper, many grand dances and carols. The young lord de Coucy ¶ was there, who took pains to shine in his dancing and singing whenever it was his turn. He was in great favour with both the French and English; for whatever he chose to do he did well and with grace.

I can never relate how very honourably and magnificently the king and queen of England received king John. On leaving Eltham, he went to London; and, as he came near, he was met by the citizens dressed out in their proper companies, who greeted and welcomed him with much reverence, and attended him with large bands of minstrels, unto the palace of the

* That on his return, &c. King John's passport is in Rymer, dated 10th December, 1363. There is also in that excellent collection, the patent of the creation of Philip duke of Burgundy, which is dated Germigny-sur-Marne, 6th September, 1363.—*Carte*, vol. ii.

There are two Germignys, Germigny l'Evêque and Germigny sous Colome, villages of Brie, in the diocese and election of Meaux.

† This, according to a marginal note of Denys Sauvage, makes it 1364, beginning the year the 1st of January.

‡ Lord Burghersh,—knight of the Garter. See *Dugdale's Baronage*.

§ Sir Richard Pembridge. See p. 306, note.

|| Sir Allan Boxhall,—fifty-second knight of the Garter. See *Ashmole*.

Walsing. Ypodigma, p. 136, saith; "Hoc anno Reb. Haule scutifer fuit occisus in ecclesia Westmon. tempore majoris missæ per quosdam regis satellites quorsum ductor extitit Alanus de Buxhalle, miles per ante non ignobilis, sed hoc facto postea semper infamis;" for which he was by name excommunicated.

Anno 1378, sir Ralph de Ferrars was excommunicated with him for the same offence.

¶ "Lord de Coucy." Enguerrand de Coucy, son of Enguerrand de Coucy and Catherine, daughter of Leopold, first duke of Swabia (the present Imperial family). He married Isabella, eldest daughter of Edward the Third.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies*.

Savoy, which had been prepared for them. The princes of the blood royal that remained, a his hostages, in England, were also lodged in the same palace; namely, his brother the duke of Orleans, his son the duke of Berry, his cousin the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Alençon, Guy de Blois, the earl of St. Pol, and many more.

The king passed there part of the winter very gaily with his countrymen. The king of England visited him often; as did his children, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Edmund his youngest son. There were several times great feastings between them, in dinners, suppers and other entertainments, at this hôtel of the Savoy, and at the palace of Westminster, which is not far off, whither the king went in a private manner, whenever he chose it, by the means of the river Thames. They both frequently regretted the loss of the lord James de Bourbon, and said that it was a very unfortunate business; for no one deserved better his rank among nobles.

We will now leave the king of France for a short time, and speak of the king of Cyprus, who had come to Angoulême to visit his cousin the prince of Wales. He was most graciously received by his royal highness, and by all the barons, knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge who were then with the prince, such as the viscount de Thouars, the young lord of Pons, the lord of Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle; and, among the English, by sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton *, sir Nêle Loring †, sir Richard de Pontchardon ‡, sir Simon de Basselles §, and several others, as well of that country as from England. The king of Cyprus was magnificently entertained by the prince, princess, and the barons and knights above-mentioned. He staid there upwards of a month; and then sir John Chandos accompanied him, for his amusement, into different parts of Poitou and Saintonge, and showed him the good town of La Rochelle, where there was a grand feast made for him. When he had seen everything, he returned to Angoulême, to assist at the noble tournament which the prince held, where there were plenty of knights and squires. Soon after this feast, the king of Cyprus took his leave of the prince and of the knights of the country, but not before he had related to them the principal reason of his visit, and for what cause he had put on the red cross which he wore: how the pope had blessed this expedition, which was deserving of every praise; and how the king of France through devotion, as well as many other great lords, had put it on, and had sworn to its execution.

The prince and the knights made him a courteous answer, saying, that in truth it was an expedition in which every man of worth or honour was interested; and that, if it pleased God, and the passage were open, he would not be alone, but would be followed by all those who were desirous to advance themselves. The king of Cyprus was well pleased with this speech and took his departure; but sir John Chandos attended him, until he had quitted the principality. It appears to me, that he went back into France, and took the road towards Paris, in the hopes of finding the king of France returned home: but it was not so; for he was still at the palace of the Savoy, confined to his bed by sickness, of which he grew worse every day, to the great uneasiness of the king of England and his queen, as the most learned physicians had declared him to be in much danger.

The duke of Normandy was informed of all this at Paris, where he resided, having the regency of the realm; for the lord de Boucicaut had crossed the sea, to convey the news of this illness to him. The king of Navarre also heard of the progress of this disorder, which gave him no displeasure, for he hoped, if the king of France died, to carry on his war more to his satisfaction: he sent letters, therefore, to the captal de Buch ||, who at that time was

* "Sir Thomas Felton," of Lutcham in Norfolk, forty-ninth knight of the Garter. He was grand seneschal and commandant de Guienne for Richard II. He was killed in opposing Henry Transtamare, before the battle of Najara. Sir Thomas Hoo, knight of the Garter, married his daughter.—*Anstis' MS. Collections.*

† "Sir Nêle Loring," twentieth knight of the Garter. See his life in Ashmole. He was chamberlain to the Black Prince. He died the 9th Richard II. and was buried at Dunstable.—*Anstis' MS. Collections.*

‡ "Sir Richard de Pontchardon." I cannot find anything about him.

§ "Sir Simon de Basselles," probably Basset, but I cannot say more.

|| "Captal de Buch," fifth knight of the Garter. M. Anstis, in his second volume, says, "It was sir John de Greilly, of royal lineage, and the most renowned commander at that time, whose unalterable loyalty to the crown of England was such, that he chose to die a prisoner at Paris, 1397, rather than deviate from it."

"Buch is a small promontory lying along the coast from Bayonne to Medoc," &c.—See *Anstis.*

with his brother-in-law the earl of Foix *, to desire that he would come to him in Normandy, and that he would exalt him in dignities above all other lords and knights.

The captal, who was fond of arms, and cousin to the king of Navarre, complied with his request. He left the earl of Foix, taking his road through the principality of Aquitaine, where he solicited several knights and squires to go with him; but he succeeded with only a few. Neither the English, Gascons, nor Poitevins were willing to take up arms for the king of Navarre, against the crown of France; for they considered the treaties and alliances entered into and sworn by the king of England, their sovereign lord, with the king of France at Calais, so sacred and strong, they would not by any means infringe or break them. During the time the captal de Buch was journeying towards the king of Navarre, John king of France departed this life in England. The king, queen, the princes of the blood, and all the nobles of England were exceedingly concerned at it, from the great love and affection he had shown to them since the conclusion of the peace.

His brother, the duke of Orleans, and his son, the duke of Berry, were in great affliction at his death, and sent in haste to inform the duke of Normandy of the melancholy event; who, when he was certain it was true, was much affected by it, as he had reason to be; but, considering that everything which is created must in the course of nature have an end, and that he could not remedy this loss, he bore it as patiently as he was able. Finding himself thus successor to the inheritance of the kingdom of France, and being well informed that the king of Navarre was daily reinforcing his garrisons in the county of Evreux, and that he was engaging men at arms to carry on the war, he resolved to provide himself with an able council, and to oppose this evil by every means in his power.

CHAPTER CCXX.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE MAKES WISE PREPARATIONS AGAINST THE KING OF NAVARRE, IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE DEATH OF KING JOHN HIS FATHER, AND BEFORE HIS CORONATION.

At this period, there was a knight of Brittany, who had always borne arms in favour of the French, called sir Bertrand du Guesclin†. His worth and fame were but little known except among the knights of Brittany, who were his neighbours in that country, where he had resided and carried on the war in favour of the lord Charles of Blois. This sir Bertrand was always much esteemed by them as a valiant knight, and well-beloved by his brethren at arms: he was already in the good graces of the duke of Normandy, on account of the great acts of valour that he had heard related of him.

It happened that the duke of Normandy, soon after the death of the king his father, had very strong suspicions of the king of Navarre: he therefore gave orders to the lord of Boucicaut, saying, "Set out from hence as speedily as you can, with as many friends as possible, and ride towards Normandy, where you will meet sir Bertrand du Guesclin: I shall then desire that you both fall on the king of Navarre, and retake Mantes; by which means we shall be masters of the river Seine." The lord de Boucicaut answered, "Sir, this I will most willingly perform‡."

He then quitted Paris, taking with him a great number of knights and squires. He followed the road towards Normandy, through St. Germain-en-Laye, and gave those to understand who accompanied him that he was going to attack the castle of Roulleboise§, which was detained by certain persons called free companions, who did every mischief possible. Roulleboise has a very good and strong castle upon the river Seine, about a league distant from Mantes, and was at that time filled and garrisoned by these companies and their men at arms, who carried on the war for their own benefit, and attacked the friends of the

* "Earl of Foix." Gaston II. succeeded his father, 1344. His sister Blanca was married to John de Greilly.

† "Bertrand du Guesclin." For more of him, see his memoirs in the third and fourth volumes of Les Mémoires Historiques, and also in Hist. de la Bretagne, &c.

‡ It does not appear from the memoirs of Bertrand du Guesclin, re-published in the third and fourth volumes of Les Mémoires Historiques, that the maréchal de Boucicaut had any thing to do with the taking of Mantes, &c. as his name never once occurs. Nor are the chronicles agreed as to the exact date when this happened.—See Note 19, Mém. Hist.

§ Roulleboise,—a village in Normandy, on the Seine.

kings of France and of Navarre without distinction. They had a captain of the name of Wautaire Austarde*, a native of Brussels, whom they implicitly obeyed. He paid them according to a certain fixed proportion of wages, and was an expert soldier of great courage. He and his people had pillaged the country all around; so that no one dared travel from Paris to Mantes, nor from Mantes to Rouen or Pontoise, for fear of them; for they attacked both French and Navarrois, pressing especially the people of Mantes very hard.

Bertrand du Guesclin. From a wood-cut in a rare gothic folio, printed at Lyons, 1490, preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris; and called the "Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin."

When the lord de Boucicaut left Paris, though he made it to be understood he was going to that part of the country, nevertheless he missed taking the right road to Roulleboise. He waited therefore for sir Bertrand du Guesclin and his army, who a short time before had made an excursion to Evreux†, and held a parley with the inhabitants of that city; but instead of opening their gates to him, they severely attacked him with stones, &c.: he retreated, and made for the marshal, who had halted for him in a road not far from Roulleboise. Upon mustering their forces, they found they were full five hundred men at arms. These two captains had a long conference together, upon the best means of subsisting themselves, and what would be the surest method of gaining the town of Mantes, their principal object. They determined that the lord de Boucicaut, with one hundred of his knights only, should ride to Mantes, and feign themselves to be much frightened, crying out that the garrison of Roulleboise was in pursuit of them, and begging that they would give them admittance. If they consented, they were to seize the gates, and sir Bertrand would directly

* "Wautaire Austarde.' Barnes calls him Vantair Austart.

† Evreux,—an ancient city of Normandy. Its bishop is suffragan to the archbishop of Rouen.

follow with the remainder of the army: they would then be masters of the place. Should this plan fail, they did not see by what other means they could gain it. The council being dissolved, the lords kept the secret among themselves. The lord de Boucicaut set out, according to their plan, and took the road to Mantes: sir Bertrand went with the rest of the troops another road, but placed himself and men in ambush not far from the town.

When the lord de Boucicaut was near to Mantes, he and his troops separated, like to people that had been beaten and were pursued. The marshal, attended only by ten others (followed, however, by the rest at a small distance), came to the barricadoes of the town, and cried out, "Hollo! good people of Mantes, open your gates, I beg of you, and let us come in; for the thieves of Roulleboise have discomfited us, and are now at our heels." "Who are you?" asked those whom he had addressed. "I am, gentlemen, the lord de Boucicaut, marshal of France, whom the duke of Normandy had sent against Roulleboise: but those rogues there have beaten us, and made us fly, whether willing or not; and they will capture me and my people unless you open your gates to us." The people of Mantes, thinking he had said nothing but truth, replied: "Sir, we know well that those in Roulleboise are our enemies as well as yours, and that it is indifferent to them on which party they make war: on the other hand, the duke of Normandy hates us, on account of our attachment to the king of Navarre our lord: we are therefore in great doubt, if we shall not be betrayed by you, who are marshal of France." "By my faith, gentlemen, that shall never be; for I am come into this country solely to destroy the garrison of Roulleboise." At these words they opened their gates. The lord de Boucicaut entered, with some of his companions; but he was followed so slowly by the remainder, that the people of Mantes had not time to shut their gates upon sir Bertrand's men, who came in with the last of the lord de Boucicaut's party: for though the lord de Boucicaut went with his men directly to an hôtel, where they disarmed themselves, in order the better to blind the inhabitants, sir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, "St. Yves Guesclin! death to the Navarrois." They entered, pillaged the houses of whatever they found, and made prisoners of whom they pleased: they also murdered several.

Soon after they had possession of Mantes, a detachment of Bretons advanced to Meulan, a league distant, and very cunningly entered it. They said they were men at arms whom sir William de Graville had sent thither, and that as many or more had remained at Mantes. The people of Meulan believed the truth of this the more readily because they came by the road from Mantes, and because they could not have crossed the river but by the bridge of Mantes. Thinking what they had told them must be true, they opened their gates, which were instantly seized by the Bretons, who entered, crying out, "St. Yves Guesclin!" and began to lay about them with their arms. When the inhabitants found themselves thus deceived, and that there were no hopes of redress, they fled and saved themselves as well as they could.

Thus were Mantes and Meulan taken, to the great joy of the duke of Normandy. The king of Navarre was in a furious rage when he was informed of it: he directly reinforced all his towns and castles with troops and well-tried officers: for he was much chagrined at losing Mantes and Meulan, as they were to him convenient entrances into France.

This same week, the captal de Buch arrived at Cherbourg with four hundred men at arms. The king of Navarre was well pleased thereat, and received him most graciously. In his complaints against the duke of Normandy, he was very sore upon his losses of the towns of Mantes and Meulan, which, he said, had been taken from him by stealth. The captal replied: "My lord, if it please God, we will go and meet your enemies, and exert ourselves so effectually that, God willing, you shall speedily have again possession of these, as well as many other towns and castles. It is said that the king of France will very soon go to Rheims, for his coronation: we will therefore at that time begin our attack on his country." The king of Navarre, being much rejoiced at the arrival of the captal de Buch, said he should send him on an excursion into France. The king sought for men at arms wherever he could get them, or where there was any likelihood of obtaining them.

There was at that time in Normandy, an English knight who formerly had borne arms for the king of Navarre: his name was sir John Jouel; a very able and expert man in his profession. He commanded about two or three hundred lances. The king of Navarre sent to

intreat him to serve under him, together with his men; which sir John Jouel* consented to, and waited on him to place himself under his orders.

The duke of Normandy was informed that the king of Navarre was collecting large bodies of men at arms, and that the captal de Buch was to be the commander of them. He therefore formed his resolutions, and wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to order him and his Bretons to make a stand against the Navarrois, and that he would speedily send him sufficient reinforcements to offer battle to the troops of the king of Navarre. At the same time, he ordered the lord de Boucicaut to remain at Mantes and Meulan. Sir Bertrand and his Bretons departed, and took up their quarters near to Vernon. In a few days afterward, the duke of Normandy sent to him some noble men at arms; such as the earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord Louis de Châlons, the archpriest, the master of the cross-bowmen, and many other knights and squires.

About this time, several knights of Gascony came to serve under the duke of Normandy: among whom were the lord d'Albret, sir Aymon de Pommiers, the souldich de l'Estrade†, sir Petiton de Courton, and several more. The duke of Normandy felt himself much obliged to them for coming to his assistance, and begged of them to go into Normandy to oppose his enemies. The above-named lords willingly obeyed, and, having put their men in proper array, marched towards Normandy, except the lord d'Albret, who remained with the duke; but his troops went on the expedition.

At this period a knight, called Beaumont de Laval, came from the French frontiers of Brittany, and advanced towards Evreux, with about forty lances under him. A young knight, sir Guy de Graville, happened to be in that town at the time, who no sooner heard of the alarm than he hastened to arm himself, ordering all the garrison to do the same: they were soon mounted, and in pursuit after them. But sir Beaumont had already succeeded in his enterprise. However, by the fleetness of his horse, sir Guy de Graville came near enough to cry out, "Beaumont, you must not go off thus: the men of Evreux must speak to you, for they wish to be better acquainted with you." When sir Beaumont thus heard himself called upon, he turned his horse about, lowered his lance, and made straight for sir Guy. These two knights met each other with such force, that their lances were shivered on their shields; but they were so firm in their seats that neither was unhorsed, as they passed each other. On their return, they drew their swords; and, at the same time, both their companies began to fight so furiously, that in the course of the rencounter many were unhorsed on each side. The Bretons acquitted themselves most loyally; but in the end they could not maintain their ground, for numbers increased upon them every moment, so that they were all killed or made prisoners: none escaped. Sir Beaumont de Laval was taken by sir Guy de Graville, and brought as his prisoner to the castle of Evreux, whither all the other prisoners were conducted. Thus ended this adventure; for which sir Guy was much praised, and beloved by the king of Navarre and the citizens of Evreux.

CHAPTER CCXXI.—THE KING OF CYPRUS RETURNS TO PARIS.—THE FUNERAL OF KING JOHN AT ST. DENIS.—THE CAPTAL DE BUCH MAKES AN ATTACK ON SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.

The king of Cyprus, who was now returned from Aquitaine to France, went to meet the king, who had before borne the title of duke of Normandy. His two brothers, the duke of Anjou, and the lord Philip, since duke of Burgundy, were with the duke waiting for the corpse of their father, which was on the road from England. The king of Cyprus very cordially condoled with them on the subject of their loss, and was himself much affected by the death of the king of France, because his expedition would be retarded by it: he clothed himself in black for his mourning‡.

* "Sir John Jouel." Barnes calls him sir John Jones; but he quotes no authority for this change from all the chronicles and memoirs of the times.

† "The souldich de l'Estrade." He was afterwards created a knight of the Garter. See *Anstis's Garter*, vol. ii. p. 157. He calls him sir Sandich de Trane.

‡ And the kyng of Cypre holpe them to complayne the dethe of the kyng, and was marueyously displeased therwith, bycause of the hyndringe of his vyage of the croyse; and so he clothed hymself with the *vesture of doloure*.—Ed.

When the body of the king of France, which had been embalmed and put into a coffin, approached near to Paris, attended by the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Dampmartin, and the grand prior of France, the duke of Normandy, his brothers, the king of Cyprus, and the greater part of the clergy of Paris, went on foot beyond St. Denis, to meet it. On being brought thither, it was buried with great solemnity; and the archbishop of Sens said mass on the day of interment. After the service was over, and dinner ended, (which was very magnificent), the great lords and prelates returned to Paris. There were then held many councils on the state of the kingdom, which could not any longer do well without a king; and it was determined by the prelates and nobles, that they should immediately go for Rheims. The duke of Normandy (for such was still his title) wrote to his uncle, Winceslaus

Portrait of Charles V., surnamed the Wise.—From a Print in Mezeray's Hist. de France.

duke of Brabant* and Luxemburgh, and also to his cousin the earl of Flanders†, to request their attendance at his coronation, which was fixed for Trinity-day next ensuing‡.

Whilst these things were going forward, and the nobles were making preparations for the coronation, the French and Navarrois were advancing towards each other in Normandy: the captal de Buch was already in the city of Evreux, collecting his men at arms and soldiers from every place he could get them. We will speak of him and of sir Bertrand du Guesclin,

* Winceslaus duke of Brabant, son of the emperor Charles IV.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies.*

† Earl of Flanders,—Lewis II. the last earl of Flanders. He was stabbed in a quarrel by John, son of the king of France, at Boulogne, 1382.—*Anderson.*

‡ As the account of the funeral of king John is very different in the superb edition of Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis, in my possession, I translate it.

"This Tuesday, the 1st day of May, 1364, the body of king John, who had died at London, as has been related, was brought to the abbey of St. Anthony, near Paris. It remained there until the Sunday following, that preparations might be made for the funeral. On that day, the 5th of May, it was transported from thence to the church of Notre-Dame, attended by processions on foot from all the churches of Paris, and by three of the king's sons, namely, Charles duke of Normandy, Lewis duke of Anjou, and Philip duke of Terouenne: the king of Cyprus was also there.

"The body was carried by the members of his parliament, as had been the usage with other kings, because they represent the person of the king in matters of justice, which is the fairest jewel in his crown, and by which he reigns. On the Monday morning solemn mass was sung in the church of Notre-Dame; and, soon afterward, the body was carried to St. Denis in the same manner as it had been brought from the abbey of St. Anthony. The three princes and the king of Cyprus followed on foot, as far as the gate of St. Landri*, where they mounted their horses, and accompanied the body to the town of St. Denis, where, on their arrival, they dismounted, and, as before, followed the body on foot to the church.

"On Tuesday, the 7th day of May, the obsequies of the late king were performed in the church of St. Denis, and the body was interred on the left hand of the high altar.

"Shortly after mass, king Charles, the eldest son of the late king, went into the meadow, and there received the homages of the peers of France and other great barons. He then went to dinner, and remained at St. Denis that and the following day. On the Thursday, king Charles left that town, to prepare for his coronation, which was fixed for the Trinity Sunday following."

* There was formerly a gate called Port St. Landri, near to St. Germain-l'Auxerrois. It was built up in the year 1558.—*M. Sauval, Antiquités de Paris.*

as well as of a famous battle which was fought the Thursday preceding Trinity Sunday, the day the duke was to be crowned king of France (as indeed he was) in the cathedral of the city of Rheims.

When the lord John de Greilly, known by the appellation of the captal de Buch, had completed his numbers of archers and foot-soldiers in the city of Evreux, he made his final arrangements, and appointed as governor of it a knight called the lord Michael d'Orgery. He sent to Conches* the lord Guy de Graville, to defend that place as a sort of frontier. He then marched with all his men at arms and archers; for he had heard that the French were abroad, but was not certain in what quarter.

He took the field, very desirous of finding them; and, having mustered his army, he found he had seven hundred lances, and full three hundred archers, with five hundred other serviceable men. There were among them several good knights and squires, especially a banneret of the kingdom of Navarre, named the lord Saulx; but the greatest and most expert, with the largest company of men at arms and archers in his train, was an English knight, called sir John Jouel. There were also the lord Peter de Saque-ville, the lord William de Gaville, the lord Bertrand du Franc, Basque de Marneil, and many others, who were eager to meet sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to give him battle. They marched towards Passy† and Pont de l'Arche, thinking the French would pass the Seine there, if in truth they had not already crossed it.

It chanced that, as on the Whitsun-Wednesday, the captal and his companions were riding through a wood, he met a herald, whose name was Faucon‡, and who had that morning left the French army. As soon as the captal saw him, he recognized him, for he was one of the king of England's heralds, and asked him from whence he came, and if he could give them any intelligence of the French army. "Yes, that I can, in God's name, my lord," replied he; "for I only left them this day: they are seeking after you, and are very anxious to meet with you." "Where are they?" asked the captal, "on this or on the other side of Pont de l'Arche?" "In the Lord's name," answered Faucon, "they have passed Pont de l'Arche and Vernon, and are, as I believe, at this moment very near to Passy." "Tell me, I pray thee," said the captal, "what sort of people they are, and who are their captains?" "In God's name," replied Faucon, "they are full fifteen hundred combatants, and all good men at arms. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin is there, who has the largest company of Bretons: there are the earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, the lord Lewis de Châlons, the lord of Beaujeu, the lord Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows, the archpriest, the lord Odoart de Renty. Some lords from Gascony, your own countrymen, are likewise among them, with the men at arms of the lord d'Albret; as also the lord Aymon de Pommiers and the lord Souldich de la Trane."

When the captal heard the names of these Gascons, he was marvellously astonished, and turned red with anger: recovering his speech, he said, "Faucon, Faucon, is it indeed true what thou hast just told me of these Gascon lords being in the French army? and the men attached to the lord d'Albret?" "Yes, in good faith, it is really as I have said," answered the herald. "And where is the lord d'Albret himself?" asked the captal. "In God's name," answered Faucon, "he is at Paris, with the regent-duke of Normandy, who is making

* Conches,—a market-town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

† Passy,—a town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

‡ Faucon was the title, not the name of this herald. Noble, in his History of the College of Arms, says under the title Falcon: "This heraldship was anciently written Faucon. The falcon was a badge of Edward III., who had an officer of that name; but whether king, herald, or pursuivant, authors are not agreed. Richard II. had Falcon king at arms: in the reign of Edward IV. the office was fallen to that of herald." Both Lord Berners and D. Sauvage call him "king Faucon."—Ed.

Lord Berners' version is so spirited that we are induced to subjoin it:—"So it happened that the Friday in the whytson weke the captall and his company rode out of a wode, and by auenture they met a haraude of armes called *kynge Faucon*, and the same mornynge he was departed fro the Frenche hoost. As sone as the captall se hym he knewe hym well, and made him great chere, for he was perteynyng to the kyng of England. Then he demaunded of hym fro whens he came, and if he knewe any tidynge of the Frenchmen. 'Sir,' quoth he, 'in the name of God, I knowe well where they be; I departed fro them to-day; they seke you as well as ye do them.' 'Where be they,' quoth the captall; 'beyond the bridge of Tharche, or a this sydo?' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'they be passed the bridge at Vernon; and, as I beleue, they are nowe about Passy.' 'What nombre be they,' quoth the captall, 'and what capitens haue they? I pray you shewe me.' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'they are well a xvc fightyng men, and there is sir Bertrand of Clesquy (Guesclin) who hath the grettest company of Bretons; also there is therle of Aucer, the vycount of Beaumont, the lorde Loys of Chalon, the lorde of Beauieu, the master of the cros-bowes, tharchpreest, the lorde Edward of Remy;

preparations for going to Rheims, to be crowned; for it is commonly reported that that ceremony is to take place on Sunday next." The captal then put his hand to his head, and cried out in anger: "By the head of St. Anthony, Gascons against Gascons will make mischief enough."

Then Faucon spoke concerning Prie (a herald whom the archpriest had sent thither), and said to the captal, "My lord, there is a herald hard by waiting for me, whom the archpriest has sent to you, and who, as I understand from the herald, would willingly speak to you." The captal made answer, saying, "Ha, Faucon, Faucon, tell this French herald, that he need not come nearer; and let him say to the archpriest, that I do not wish to have any parley with him." Sir John Jouel, upon this, stepped forward, and said, "Why, my lord, will you not see the archpriest? perhaps he may give us some information that we may profit by." The captal replied, "John, John, it will not be so; for the archpriest is so great a deceiver, that if he were to come among us, telling his tales and his nonsense, he would examine and judge of our strength and numbers, which would turn out probably to our disadvantage: therefore I do not wish to hear of any parleys." Faucon, king at arms, upon this, returned to the herald Prie, who was waiting for him at the end of the hedge, and made such good and sensible excuses for the captal that the herald was perfectly satisfied, went back to the archpriest, and related to him all that Faucon had told him.

By the reports of the two heralds, both armies were acquainted with each other's situation. They therefore made such dispositions, as would speedily force them to meet. When the captal had heard from Faucon the numbers the French army consisted of, he immediately despatched messengers to the captains who were in the city of Evreux, with orders for them to send him as many recruits and young gallants* to his assistance as they could possibly collect: they were to meet him at Cocherel†; for, supposing that he should find the French in that neighbourhood, he had determined to fight them wherever he should meet them. When the messengers came to Evreux, the lord Michael d'Orgery had it publicly cried, and strictly ordered all those who were horsemen to join the captal. Upon this, there immediately set out one hundred and twenty young companions from that town.

On the Wednesday the captal de Buch took up his quarters, about two o'clock, on a mountain, and encamped his army. The French, who were wishing to meet them, marched straight forwards until they came to a river, called Yton, in that country, which runs towards Evreux, having its source near Conches, and encamped themselves at their ease, this same Wednesday, in a handsome meadow, through which this river runs. On the morrow, the Navarrois decamped, and sent their scouts out, to examine whether they could learn any news of the French. The French also sent out their scouts on the same errand. Before they had gone two leagues, each brought back to his army such intelligence as could be depended upon.

The Navarrois, conducted by Faucon, marched straight by the way he had come, and, by four o'clock in the morning, found themselves in the plains of Cocherel, with the French in front of them, who were already drawing up their army in battle-aray. There were a great many banners and pennons flying; and they seemed to be in number more than half as many again as

and of Gascone, there is the company of the lorde Dalbret, and the lorde Aymon of Punyers, the lorde of Saldyche and of Lestrad;' and when the captall herd those Gascons named, he mareueyled gretly, and blussed for displeasure, and sayd, 'Faucon, is this true ye saye, that these lordes of Gascone are there, and the lorde Dalbret's company?' 'Sir,' quoth the harald, 'ye without fail.' 'And where is the lorde Dalbret himselff?' quoth the captall. 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'he is at Parys with the regent-duke of Normandy, who sparelleth himselfe to go to Reynes, for it is sayd that on Sonday next comyng he shulde be crowned kyng.' Than the captall layd his hand on his own heed and said in great displeasure, 'By Saint Antones *cap* Gascon against Gascon.' 'Sir,' quoth Faucon, 'here by taryeth for me a harald of tharchpreest, sent to speke with you fro hym; and as I understand by the harald, tharchpreest wolde speke with you.' Than the captall sayd, 'A Faucon, say to the Frenche harald he node not to go any farther; let hym shewe to tharchpreest that I wyll not speke with hym.' Than sir Johan Jouell stept forthe and sayd, 'Sir, why wyll ye nat speke with hym, peraventure, it is for our profyte.' Than the captall sayd, 'Nay, I warrant you it is not for our profyte, for tharchpreest is so great a brauler, that if he come to us, he wyll but iangle, and in the meantyme ymagen our strengthe, and anewe our nombre, the which, peraventure, shall come more to our preiudice than aduantage—therefore I haue no hast to speke with hym.' Than Faucon the haraud went to thother haraud and excused the captall so wysely, that he was well content, and than he went to tharchpreest and shewed him all as Faucon had sayd."—Ed.

* "Young gallants." In all the originals, it is "jeunes armerets," which D. Sauvage thinks should be banncrets, but I do not see why. In Du Cange, armeret is a gallant, and thus I have translated it.

† Cocherel,—a village in Normandy, diocese of Evreux.

themselves. The Navarrois directly halted on the outside of a small wood. The captains assembled together, and began to form their men in order of battle.

They first formed three battalions well and handsomely on foot, sending their baggage and attendants into the wood. Sir John Jouel commanded the first battalion of English, which consisted of men at arms and archers. The captal de Buch had the second battalion, which, one with another, was about four hundred combatants. With the captal, there were the lord of Saulx in Navarre, a young knight who had a banner, the lord William de Gaville, and the lord Peter de Saque-ville. The third battalion had three knights; the lord Basque de Marneil*, the lord Bertrand de Franc and the lord Sauseloppins, and were in the whole about four hundred men under arms.

When they had formed their battalions, they marched them not far distant from each other, taking advantage of the mountain which was on their right, between them and the wood, posting their front upon this mountain facing their enemies, and fixing, by orders of the captal, his banner in the midst of a large thorn bush. He commanded sixty men to remain there, to guard and defend it. They had so placed it to serve as a standard for them to rally round, if by chance of war they should be dispersed or separated; and they strictly ordered, that no one should, on any pretence, descend the mountain; but if their enemies wished to fight, they must come to seek them.

CHAPTER CCXXII.—THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE FRENCH UNDER SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, AND THE NAVARROIS UNDER THE CAPTAL DE BUCH, AT COCHEREL, IN NORMANDY.—THE CAPTAL IS MADE PRISONER, AND VICTORY DECLARES FOR THE FRENCH.

Thus drawn out and formed were the English and Navarrois, who remained, as I have said, upon the mountain. The French, in the mean time, arranged themselves into three battalions also, and a rear-guard.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin commanded the first battalion, which was composed of all his Bretons, and they were fronted opposite to the battalion of the captal. The earl of Auxerre had the second battalion. There were with him, as his advisers, the viscount de Beaumont, and the lord Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows. There were also in that battalion French, Picards, and Normans, and sir Odoart de Renty, sir Enguerrant de Hesdin, sir Louis de Havenquerque, with several other good knights and squires. The third battalion consisted of Burgundians, commanded by the archpriest: with him were the lord de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, the lord John de Vienne, the lord Guy de Felay, the lord Hugh de Vienne, and many more. This battalion was to oppose Basque de Marneil and his company. The other battalion, which was to serve as a rear-guard, was entirely composed of Gascons; and they were commanded by the lord Edmund de Pommiers, the lord Souldich de la Trane, the lord Perdiccas d'Albret, and the lord Petiton de Courton.

These captains had a grand consultation. They considered the arrangement of the captal, and that his people had fixed his banner in a bush, with part of his men guarding it, as if it were to serve as a standard: they therefore said, "It is absolutely necessary, when the combat shall begin, that we march directly for this banner of the captal, and that we exert ourselves as much as possible to gain it; for, if we be successful, our enemies will be much disheartened, and incur great danger of being conquered. These Gascons thought also of another plan which was of great service to them, and was the cause of their gaining the day. As soon as the French had formed their line, the principal Gascon chiefs withdrew together, and consulted for a long time how they could best act; for they saw that their enemies, from their position, had greatly the advantage over them. One of them made a proposal, which was cheerfully listened to: "My lords, we well know that the captal is as hardy a knight as can be found upon earth; and, as long as he shall be able to keep with his men and fight, he will be too much for us. I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers to do nothing but to follow and attack the captal,

* "Lord Basque de Marneil." In the memoirs of Bertrand, he is called Bascon de Manuel, and the baron de Marceuil.

whilst we are making for his banner, his men will be thrown into some confusion: and then our thirty, by their own strength and that of their horses, will be able to push through the crowd, and advance so near the captal, that they may seize him and carry him off between them to some place of safety, where they will remain until the end of the battle; for, if he can be taken by such means as this, the day will be ours, as his army will be panic-struck *."

The Gascon knights immediately assented to this plan, saying it was well thought of, and should be followed. They chose from their battalion thirty of the most enterprising men at arms, and mounted them upon the strongest and most active horses they had with them. They then marched into the plain, well instructed what they were to do. The army remained where it was, on foot, in order of battle.

When the French had thus drawn up their forces, and each knew what he was to do, the chiefs held a consultation, and long debated what war-cry they should use, and whose banner or pennon they should fix on as a rallying point. They for a long time determined to cry, "Notre Dame Auxerre!" and to make the earl of Auxerre their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it, excusing himself by saying: "My lords, I return you many thanks for the good opinion you have of me, and for the honour you offer me; but at this moment I cannot accept of such an office, for I am too young to undertake so honourable a charge. This is the first pitched battle I was ever at: for which reason I must beg of you to make another choice. We have here many very able and enterprising knights, such as my lord Bertrand du Guesclin, my lord the archpriest, my lord the grand master of the cross-bows, my lord Lewis de Châlons, my lord Edmund de Pommiers, and sir Odoart de Renty, who have been in many hard engagements, and know much better than I do what in such cases is proper to be done. I must, therefore, intreat you to excuse me from accepting your honourable offer."

The chiefs, after looking at each other, said: "Earl of Auxerre, you are the highest by birth, and of the largest property and estates of any of us: you have therefore the right of being our chief." "Certainly, my lords," replied the earl of Auxerre, "what you say is very pleasing to me; but this day I will only rank as one of your companions; and, whether I live or die, I will hazard the adventure among you; but, as to the command, I am determined not to accept it." They again looked at each other, in order to see whom they should fix on for their chief. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was unanimously thought on, and considered as the best knight of the whole company, one who had been engaged in the greatest number of battles, and who was the best informed in military affairs. It was therefore resolved they should cry, "Notre Dame Guesclin!" and that the whole arrangement of that day should be as sir Bertrand would order it. Every thing, therefore, being settled, each lord retired to his banner or pennon. They found that their enemies were still upon the hill, and had not quitted their strong situation (not having a desire or thought of so doing), which very much vexed the French, seeing that they had greatly the advantage where they were, and that the sun was beginning to be high, which was the more to their disadvantage, for it was at that season very hot. This delay was what the most able and expert knights dreaded; for they were as yet fasting, and had not brought with them any wine or victuals worth mentioning, except some of the lords, who had small flagons of wine that were soon emptied, and none had been procured or thought of in the morning, as they imagined the engagement would begin on their arrival: but this, as it appeared, was not the case. The English and Navarrois deceived them thus by subtlety, and it was a late hour before they engaged.

When the French lords perceived their situation, they assembled in council, to know what would be the best for them to do, and whether they should march to attack them or not. In this council, all were not of the same opinion. Some wished to fight, whatever might be the consequences; for, they said, it would be shameful for them to make any difficulties about it. But others, better advised, said, that if they should begin the combat, situated as they were so much to their disadvantage, they would be in the greatest danger, and out

* The editors of the Mémoires Historiques doubt very much this fact, in a note to the Mémoires de Guesclin, and think Froissart must have heard it from a Gascon.

of five men they should certainly lose three. In short, they could not agree to fight in their present position.

During this time, the Navarrois saw them very plainly, and how they were formed: they said to each other, "Look at them: they will very soon come to us, for they have a good will so to do." There were among them some knights and squires of Normandy, that had been made prisoners by the English and Navarrois, who had been allowed perfect liberty to go and ride about wherever they pleased, upon the faith of their word of honour, provided they did not bear arms in favour of the French. They rode towards the French army, and, in conversation, said to the French lords: "My lords, consider what you are about; for, should this day pass without an engagement, your enemies will to-morrow receive a very large reinforcement; as it is reported among them, that the lord Louis de Navarre is on his road to join them with at least four hundred lances."

This intelligence much inclined the French to attack the Navarrois at all events: they were made ready for it two or three different times: but the wiser advice got the better. Those lords said, "Let us wait a little longer, and see what they will do; for they are so proud and presumptuous that they are as eager to fight us as we are to meet them." Many of them were very ill and faint, from the great heat, as it was now about noon; they had fasted all the morning, and had been under arms: they were therefore much heated by the sun, which affected them doubly through their armour. They said, therefore, "If we attempt to fight them by ascending the hill in our present state, we shall most certainly be beaten; but if we retreat to our quarters, through the necessity of the case, by to-morrow morning we shall form a better plan." Thus had they different opinions on what was to be done.

When the knights of France (to whose honour the command of this army was intrusted) saw the English and Navarrois were not inclined to quit their stronghold, and that it was now mid-day; having heard the information which the French prisoners who had visited their army had given, and having considered that the greater part of their men were exceedingly hurt and faint, through the heat; they met together, by the advice of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whose orders they obeyed, and held another council. "My lords," said he, "we perceive that our enemies are very eager to fight us, and have a great wish for it; but, however violent they may be, they will not descend from their strong position, unless by a plan which I shall propose to you. We will make dispositions, as if for a retreat, not intending to fight this day, (our men, indeed, are severely afflicted by the great heat); and order our servants, baggage, horses, &c. to cross the bridge and river, and retire to our quarters: we will, at the same time, keep close to them, watching attentively the enemy's motions. If they really wish to fight us, they will descend the hill, and follow us into the plain. As soon as we shall perceive their motions, if they act as I think they will, we shall be ready armed to wheel about, and thus shall have them more to our advantage." This proposal was approved of by all, and considered as the best that could have been offered. Each lord, therefore, returned to his people, under his banner or pennon. The trumpets sounded as for a retreat, and every knight and squire ordered his servants to cross the river with their baggage. This the greater part did, and afterward the men at arms followed, but very slowly. When sir John Jouel (who was an expert and valiant knight, and eager to engage with the French) saw the manner of their retreat, he said to the captal, "My lord, my lord, let us now descend boldly: do you not see how the French are running away?"—"Ha," replied the captal, "they are only doing so out of malice, and to draw us down."

Sir John Jouel upon this advanced forward (for he was very desirous of fighting), crying out, "St. George!" and said to his battalion, "March: those that love me let them follow me, for I am going to engage." He then drew his sword, and, with it in his hand, marched at the head of his battalion. He and his company were almost down the hill before the captal moved: but when he found this to be so, and that sir John Jouel meant to fight without him, he considered it as a great presumption, and said to those around them, "Come, let us descend the hill speedily, for sir John Jouel shall not fight without me." The company of the captal advanced forwards, with him at their head, his sword in his hand,

When the French, who had been watching them all the time, saw them descend and enter the plain, they were mightily rejoiced, and said, "See now, what we have been waiting for all this day has come to pass!" They then faced about, with a thorough good will to meet their enemies, crying out, "Notre Dame Guesclin!" They dressed their banners in front of the Navarrois, and began to form under them from all parts and on foot. On the side of the Navarrois, sir John Jouel advanced, sword in hand, most valiantly, and drew up his battalion opposite to that of the Bretons, which was commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and performed many gallant deeds of arms; for he was a bold knight; but he found there one that was too able a match for him. The knights and squires then spread themselves over the plain and began to fight with all sorts of weapons, just as they could lay hands upon them; and each party met the other with great courage.

The English and Navarrois shouted out, "St. George!" the French, "Notre Dame Guesclin!" In this battle, there were many good knights on the side of the French: sir Bertrand de Guesclin, the young earl of Auxerre, the viscount de Beaumont, sir Baudoin d'Ennequin, grand master of the cross-bows, the lord Louis de Châlons, lord Anthony the young lord de Beaujeu, who raised his banner for the first time, the lord Anthony de Kanerley, sir Odoart de Renty, sir Enguerrand de Hêdin. In like manner, in the battalion of Gascons, who were drawn up by themselves, there combated most valiantly, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Perdiccas d'Albret, the souldich de la Trane, sir Petiton de Courton, and several others of the same sort. This battalion was formed opposite to that of the captal, which consisted of Gascons also, and they were very desirous of meeting. There were many hard blows given, and many valorous deeds of arms performed on each side; for no one should wilfully lie *.

It may be asked, "What became of the archpriest, who was an excellent knight, and had the command of a battalion, that I have not hitherto made any mention of him? I will tell the truth. As soon as the archpriest saw the enemies drawn up, and that the battle was going to begin in earnest, he quitted his company, but said to his people, and particularly to his banner-bearer; "I order and command you, under pain of my greatest displeasure, that you remain where you are, and wait the event of the battle. I set out directly from from hence, not meaning to return; for I can neither bear arms nor fight against some of the knights that are with the enemy. If any one should inquire after me, this is the answer that you will give him." He then set out, accompanied by a single squire, re-crossed the river, and left the others to make the best of it. They did not notice his absence, as they saw his banner, and thought he was among them, until the business was over. I will now speak of this battle, and how it was stiffly maintained. At the commencement of the conflict, when sir John Jouel had descended the hill, he was followed by all as closely as they could, and even by the captal and his company, who thought they should have gained the day; but it turned out otherwise. When they perceived that the French had wheeled about in good order, they immediately found they had been deceived. However, like determined men, they were not panic-struck at the discovery, but were resolved to recover it by their gallantry in the combat.

They retreated a little, then assembled together, and after that they opened the ranks to give room to their archers, who were in their rear, to make use of their bows. When the archers were advanced in front, they extended themselves, and began to exert themselves handsomely in shooting; but the French were so strongly armed and shielded against their arrows, they were but little hurt by them, if at all, and for this did not fight the less valiantly, but intermixed themselves with the English and Navarrois, as did the English with them, equally eager in the combat. There was much hacking and cutting of each other, with lances and battle-axes, seizing each other by main strength and wrestling. They took and ransomed prisoners from each alternately, and were so much intermixed together, that they engaged man to man, and behaved with a degree of valour scarcely to be credited

* These words "for no one should wilfully lie," in their present position, do not seem at all necessary. It appears probable that they originally belonged to the next paragraph, where they are natural and proper. The word "for" does not occur in D. Sauvage, the sentence being quite unconnected with the preceding; but as his arrangement, with this exception, is the same as Mr. Johnes's, we have not ventured to alter the text.—Ed.

but by eye-witnesses. You may easily imagine that, in such a crowd and so situated, numbers were thrown down, wounded and killed: for neither side spared the other. The French had need not to sleep on their bridles; for they had opposed to them men of ability and determined enterprise. Each, therefore, loyally agreed, not only to defend himself and his post vigorously, but to take every advantage that should offer: if they had not done so, they must have been defeated. In truth, I must say, that the Bretons and Gascons were good men, and performed many gallant feats of arms.

I wish now to speak of the thirty who had been selected to attack the captal. They had been excellently mounted, on the best horses of the army, and attentive to nothing but their orders (as, being so charged, they were bound to do): they advanced in a close body towards the captal, who was using his battle-axe manfully, and gave such deadly strokes with it that none dared approach him. They pushed through the crowd by the strength of their horses, as well as by the help of some Gascons who had accompanied them.

These thirty men, who, as you have seen, were so well mounted, and who knew well what they were to do, neither looking to the risk nor danger, made up directly to the captal and surrounded him. They all fell upon him, and carried him off by dint of force, quitting the spot directly. This created great confusion, and all the battalions drew thitherward; for the captal's men were like to madmen, shouting out, "Rescue, rescue the captal!" All this, nevertheless, was of no service or help to them; for, in fact, the captal was carried off in the manner I have related, and placed in safety. However, at the moment this happened, it was not truly known which side had the best of the battle. In this grand bustle and confusion, whilst the Navarrois and English, like madmen, were following the captal, who had been captured before their eyes, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Petiton de Courton, the souldich de la Trane, and the company of the lord d'Albret, determined unanimously to make for the banner of the captal, which was fixed in a bush, and which served as a standard for the Navarrois.

The attack and defence were equally sharp and vigorous; for it was guarded by good men: particularly by sir Bascon de Marneil and sir Geoffry de Roussillon: many were wounded, killed, unhorsed, and rescued. The Navarrois, at last, who were near this bush and about the banner, were broken in upon and forced to retreat. Sir Bascon de Marneil with several others were slain. Sir Geoffry de Roussillon was made prisoner by sir Aymon de Pommiers. The banner of the captal was immediately seized: and those who defended it were either killed, taken, or had retreated so far that there was no news of them. Whilst the banner of the captal was thus conquered, torn and dragged upon the ground by the Gascons, the Bretons, the French, the Picards, the Normans and Burgundians were most valiantly fighting in another part of the field; and well it behoved them so to do, for the Navarrois had made them retreat. Among the French, there was already killed the viscount de Beaumont; the more the pity, for he was a young knight well formed to do great things. His people, to their great sorrow, had carried him out of the battle, and guarded him, as I have heard related, by those of both sides. No one had ever seen a battle, with the like number of combatants, so well fought as this was; for they were all on foot, and combated hand to hand, intermixing with each other, and striving for victory with the arms they used, and, in particular, with those battle-axes which gave such astonishingly fatal blows.

Sir Petiton de Courton and the souldich de la Trane were sorely wounded, insomuch that they could do no service during the remainder of the day. Sir John Jouel, by whom the combat began, and who had most courageously attacked and fought the French, performed, that day, many very gallant feats of arms, and never deigned once to retreat. He had been engaged so far in the battle that he was grievously wounded in several parts of the head and body, and at last made prisoner by a squire of Brittany under sir Bertrand du Guesclin: he was then carried out of the crowd. At length, the French gained the field; but on their side there were killed the grand master of the cross-bows, sir Louis de Havenquerque, and many others. On the side of the Navarrois, the lord de Saulx and numbers of his people were slain. Sir John Jouel died in the course of the day. There were made prisoners, sir William de Graville, sir Peter de Sequainville, sir Geoffry de Roussillon, sir Bretrand du

Franc, and several more. Few of the Navarrois escaped being slain or taken. This battle was fought in Normandy, pretty near to Cocherel, on a Thursday, the 24th day of May, 1364*.

After this defeat, when all the dead were stripped, and those who had made prisoners had put them aside and attended to the wounded; when the greater part of the French, having repassed the bridge, were retiring bruised and weary, to their quarters; sir Guy de Graville, son of sir William de Graville, who had been made a prisoner, having in haste left Conches (a garrison town of the Navarrois), with fifty lancemen†, intending to join the captal, came on full speed to the field where the battle had been fought. Upon which, the French in the rear cried out, "Let us turn back, for here are more enemies." On hearing this, sir Aymon and his company, who had remained on the field, seeing these Navarrois advancing, fixed his pennon aloft in a bush, as a rallying-post for the French. When sir Guy saw this, and heard the shout of "Notre Dame Guesclin!" and that none of his party appeared, but plenty of dead bodies were lying around, he soon found that the Navarrois had been discomfited; he therefore quickly faced about, and returned the way he came. In the evening, the French examined those prisoners whom they had in their tents. The archpriest was much inquired about and spoken of, when it was found that he had not been in the engagement: his people made the best excuses for him they could. You must know that the thirty cavaliers who had carried off the captal, as you have heard, never halted until they had brought him safe to Vernon, and lodged him in the castle. On the morrow, the French decamped, and marched to the city of Rouen, where they left a part of their prisoners.

CHAPTER CCXXIII.—CHARLES V. SURNAMED THE WISE, IS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.—HIS BROTHER PHILIP IS INVESTED WITH THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY, AND SENT AGAINST THE FREE COMPANIES OF PILLAGERS.

On Trinity-day, 1364, king Charles, eldest son of the late king John of France, was crowned and consecrated king, in the great church of our Lady at Rheims, by the archbishop of that city; and with him his queen, the daughter of duke Peter of Bourbon. The king of Cyprus, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the lord Wenceslaus of Bohemia, duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, the earls of Eu, of Dampmartin, of Tancarville, of Vaudemont, and great numbers of other lords and prelates, were present at this ceremony. There were great entertainments and feasts at Rheims, during the time the king remained, which was five days: he then departed for Paris. It would take me a long time were I to relate all the fine shows and feasts the Parisians made for him at his entry. The lords after this, that is to say, the strangers who had come to his coronation, returned to their own countries. When the king of France was come back to Paris, he gave the investiture of the duchy of Burgundy to his youngest brother, who left Paris with a noble company, in order to take possession and receive the homage of the barons, knights, cities, castles and large towns in that duchy. After he had visited the whole country, he returned to Paris.

He brought with him the archpriest, who appeased the anger of the king, which he had incurred by not fighting at the battle of Cocherel, by the fair reasons he gave for not bearing arms against the captal‡. The captal had been brought a prisoner to Paris, and, through the intercession of the lord d'Albret, obtained his liberty on his parole. He also assisted the archpriest to excuse himself towards the king, as well as towards the French knights who

* "It is singular enough, that the date of so memorable a battle should not have been more certainly known. Historians place it the 23rd May, 1364. Du Châtelet reports ancient acts, which prove it to have been the 16th May.

"Froissart, in relating this battle, differs from our memoirs in several details," &c.—*Mémoires Historiques*, vol. iv.

† Lord Berners and D. Sauvage say fifty *spears*; when *individuals* are meant, the word *combattans*, fighting-men, is generally to be made use of by Froissart. Mr. Johnes' reason for translating "lances" *lancemen* in this instance is not apparent.—Ed.

‡ The archpriest, according to the life of Charles V. by the abbé de Choisy, had oftentimes changed sides: sometimes for the king of France, but oftener for the king of Navarre, because there was more licence allowed the soldiers of his army. After the peace, he pillaged various provinces of France. In his retreat from the emperor Charles IV. near Macon in Burgundy, he was assassinated by his own men. His death gave great joy to the people, whom he had robbed for ten years successively.—*Histoire de Charles V.*, p. 88.

had talked very scurvily of him, notwithstanding he had overthrown lately, in a part of Burgundy, beyond Dijon, four hundred pillagers; over whom Guillot du Pin, Taillebert, Taillebourdon and John de Chaufour were captains.

About this time, the king of France ordered sir Peter de Sequainville to be beheaded in the city of Rouen, for having taken the part of the Navarrois. Sir William de Graville would have undergone the same punishment, if his son, sir Guy, had not signified to the king of France, that whatever treatment his father suffered, he would do the like to sir Beaumont de Laval, a great lord of Brittany, whom he kept as his prisoner. Upon this, the family of sir Beaumont interceded with the king, and exerted themselves so effectually that they obtained the exchange of sir Beaumont for sir William de Graville *. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, at this time, gained the castle of Roulleboise, by presenting the governor of it, sir Vautaire Austard, with six thousand francs, who retired to Brabant, whence he had come. Many large companies of pillagers still kept possession of different forts in the countries of Caux, Normandy, Beauce, and Perche, whence they greatly harassed the kingdom of France: some under pretence of serving the king of Navarre; others, for themselves, robbed and destroyed the country without any claims of right or of reason.

Coronation of Charles V. and his Queen.—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

The king of France sent his brother, the duke of Burgundy, against these pillagers, who appointed his rendezvous in the city of Chartres. He then took the field, accompanied by sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lord de Boucicaut, the earl of Auxerre, the lord Louis de Châlons, the lord de Beaujeu, sir Aymon de Pommiers, the lord Raineval, Pierre de Villaines, surnamed le Bègue, the lord Nicholas de Ligne, grand master of the cross-bows, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand de Hêdin, and full five thousand combatants. When

* In the Mémoires Historiques, note 31, of Bertrand du Guesclin, it is said, that sir William de Graville was ransomed from sir Guy de Bayeux, who had taken him, for one thousand florins, and that the king was so much angered by it, against Bayeux and his children, they were forced to leave the kingdom: the king afterwards pardoned them. In the continuation, however, of this note, it is related nearly the same as Froissart tells us.

they found they mustered so strong, they divided themselves into three bodies; from which sir Bertrand took, at the most, one thousand fighting men, and marched for the country of Coutantin, towards the neighbourhood of Cherbourg, to guard the frontiers, and to prevent the Navarrois from doing any mischief to Normandy. The lord of Sancerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, and a crowd of knights and squires from Brittany and Normandy, accompanied sir Bertrand. Another division was under the command of the lord John de la Riviere; and with him were many knights and squires of France and Picardy, whom he sent towards Evreux. The duke had the largest division. He went and laid siege to the castle of Marcheville *, which was a very strong fortress, in possession of the Navarrois. He ordered many machines to be brought from Chartres, by which he flung into it stones and other things day and night, that much annoyed the garrison.

CHAPTER CCXXIV.—THE LORD LEWIS OF NAVARRE MAKES INCURSIONS INTO FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY PLANS SEVERAL EXPEDITIONS AGAINST HIM, BUT IS FORCED TO GO INTO BURGUNDY, TO DEFEND IT AGAINST THE EARL DE MONTBELLIARD.

WHILST these men at arms were harassing the Navarrois and enemies of the realm, in Beauce and in Normandy, the lord Lewis of Navarre (the lord Philip being dead) had taken upon himself the management of the war for his brother the king of Navarre, and had sent a challenge to the king of France, because the object of this war was personal to their family, being for a right of inheritance. He had therefore assembled men at arms ever since the battle of Cocherel, and was collecting them from every part he could get them. He had been so active himself, and by means of the captains of companies, of which great numbers still remained in France, that he had assembled upwards of twelve hundred lances. With him were sir Robert Knolles †, sir Robert Ceny ‡, and sir Robert Briquet de Carsnelle §. The men at arms, who were every day increasing, were quartered between the rivers Loire and Allier ||, and had overrun a part of the Bourbonnois and Auvergne, between Moulins ¶, St. Pierre le Moustier ** and St. Poursaint ††. From this body, whom the lord Lewis de Navarre commanded, a company of about three thousand were detached under the orders of Bertrand de la Salle and Ortingo. They crossed the Loire above Marcilly les Nonnains ‡‡, and pushed forward with so much haste, that by day-break, they came before La Charité §§, a large and well inclosed town upon the Loire.

This they immediately scaled without any opposition; and, having entered the town, took possession of that part of it; but as they were fearful lest the townspeople might have laid an ambuscade for them, they dared not advance further until it should be broad day.

During this delay, the inhabitants of the town embarked all their most valuable things in boats which were on the river Loire, and having also placed their wives and children in them, sailed off in safety towards the city of Nevers, which was five leagues distant. The English, Navarrois and Gascons, who had entered the town, upon day appearing, marched forwards, but found all the houses empty. Upon this, they called a council, to consider if they should keep possession of the town, and fortify it; for it would be very convenient for them, as a place of strength, to attack each side of the Loire. They sent to inform the lord Lewis de Navarre of their situation, who was at that time in Auvergne, and who immediately despatched to them sir Robert Briquet, with three hundred armed men. They

* Marcheville,—a town in Beauce, diocese of Chartres.

† Sir Robert Knolles was a great captain, and the maker of his own fortune. There is a doubt if he were or were not a knight of the Garter (No. 74). *See M. Anstis.* Having considered the different very great employments he held, &c., I am inclined to believe he was of the Garter.

‡ "Sir Robert Ceny,"—sir Robert Cheny. See his pedigree in M. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. His descendants were called to the house of Peers, 3rd Henry VII.

§ "Sir Robert Briquet de Carsnelle." I can find nothing about him.

|| Allier,—a river in Languedoc, which rises in the Gevaudan, near the village of Coudray, whence, flowing northwards, it traverses Auvergne and the Bourbonnois, and then, entering the Nivernois, falls into the Loire, about a league above Nevers.

¶ Moulins,—capital of the Bourbonnois, on the Allier.

** St. Pierre le Moustier,—a town of the Nivernois.

†† St. Poursaint,—a town of Auvergne.

‡‡ Marcilly les Nonnains,—a village in Berry, election of La Charité.

§§ La Charité,—a town in the Nivernois.

crossed the country without molestation, and entered the town of La Charité, by the bridge over the Loire. When they were thus assembled together, they were in such force, they began to make grievous war upon the kingdom of France.

We will return to the duke of Burgundy, whom we left besieging Marcheville. He had done so much by his machines and by his assaults, that the garrison surrendered upon having their lives and fortune spared. The duke sent the lord de Boucicaut, and the lord John de Vienne, marshal of Burgundy, to take possession of it. He gave the castle to a squire of Beauce, called William de Chartres, and forty men to guard it. The duke then led his army to the Castle of Camerolles, which he surrounded, for it is situated in the flat country.

It is time to say something of the lord John de la Riviere, who was besieging Acquigni, near to Passy, in the county of Evreux. He had under him two thousand good combatants; for he was so great a favourite with the king that he managed the finances according to his pleasure. This castle of Acquigni was garrisoned by English, Normans, French and Navarrois, who had fled thither after the battle of Cocherel. They defended themselves well, and were amply provided with artillery and provision. Notwithstanding this, matters were so well managed, that they surrendered upon having their lives and fortunes spared, and carried their property with them to Cherbourg, whither they retired. The lord John placed a new garrison in the castle, and marched towards the city of Evreux. Under his command, were sir Hugh de Châtillon, the lord of Sanny, the lord Louis de Sancerre, sir Matthew de Roye, the lord of Monfang, the lord of Eloy, the lord of Crequi, the lord of Campy, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand de Hêdin, and many other knights and squires of France.

In the meantime, the duke of Burgundy pressed so hard upon the garrison of Camerolles, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. All the foreign soldiers were pardoned; but some French pillagers, who had taken refuge there, were put to death. Some of the principal burgesses of Chartres came to the duke's camp, to entreat of him to give them the castle of Camerolles, as a recompense for the use of their machines; for it had done them much harm in former times. The duke consented to their request; and immediately they sent workmen, who levelled the castle with the ground.

The duke marched next to a castle called Drue, which is situated in the plains of Beauce, and was in the possession of pillagers. He took it by storm, and killed all that were found in it. He then halted before a castle called Preux, and surrounded it on all sides. He made many an assault, in hopes of carrying it; but at last the garrison surrendered on having their lives spared: they carried nothing with them; but all the French remained prisoners at the duke's will. The duke ordered the castle to be taken possession of by his marshals, and made a present of it to a knight of Beauce, called sir Peter du Bois, in order that he might sufficiently guard and repair it. The duke, and the greater part of his army, went after this to Chartres, to refresh themselves.

When he had been there five or six days, he set out to besiege the castle of Connie *, which had done so much mischief to all the country round, and pointed against it six large machines. During the time these sieges, assaults, and conquests were going forward in Beauce and Normandy, the lord Lewis de Navarre was overrunning Auvergne. He kept the field, and impoverished the whole country; for no one went forth against him. Those also who were at La Charité upon the Loire did in those parts just what they pleased.

On the other hand, the earl of Montbelliard, with some allies from Germany, had entered the duchy of Burgundy, near Besançon, and was despoiling it. On which account, the king of France ordered the duke of Burgundy to raise the siege of Connie, and come to Paris; for it was necessary that he should go into Burgundy.

The duke, on receiving this news, was very pensive; for he had publicly declared, that he would never depart from Connie until he had subjected it to his will. But those of his council made him understand, that since the king, who had sent him thither, ordered him to return, he might very well leave the place without disgrace. Those in Connie had no information whatever respecting this: they were, therefore, summoned by the marshals to surrender unconditionally, which they refused. They said, they were willing to surrender, on having their lives and fortunes spared. These terms were then agreed upon. The duke

* Connie,—a village in Beauce, election of Châteaudun.

gave the castle to a squire of Beauce, whose name was Philip d'Arcieres, who repaired it, and garrisoned it with good and trusty men.

The duke went to Chartres, and then gave up the command of the greater division of his army to the earl of Auxerre, Boucicaut, and the lord Louis de Sancerre. He set out for Paris, taking with him the lord Louis d'Alençon, the lord of Beaujeu, and the lord of Vienne. He ordered the Burgundians to march towards Burgundy as speedily as possible. But the duke himself went to meet the king, who was at that time at Vaux-la-Comtesse in Brie. He remained but one day there, and then set out for Troyes in Champagne; whence he took the road to Langres, sending everywhere for men at arms. The Burgundians were already collected, and drawn out as a frontier to their enemies: the archpriest, the lord of Château-Vilain, the lord of Vergey, the lord of Grancy, the lord of Soubournon, the lord of Rougemont, and a very rich man called John of Boulogne, the lord of Prises, sir Hugh de Vienne, the lord du Châtel, the bishop of Langres, and several more, who were all mightily rejoiced on the arrival of the lord duke. They immediately marched against their enemies, who were full fifteen hundred lances; but they retreated across the Rhine. Upon which, the Burgundians entered the county of Montbelliard, and burnt the greater part of it.

CHAPTER CCXXV.—KING CHARLES ORDERS THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO BESIEGE LA CHARITE.—HE WANTS IT TO SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY, THAT HE MAY SEND ASSISTANCE TO LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS, WHO IS CONTESTING THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY WITH THE EARL OF MONTFORT.

In the interim, the king of France sent his constable, the lord Moreau de Finnes, and two marshals, the lord de Boucicaut and John de Mauquerchi, lord of Blainville, accompanied by many knights and squires, to besiege La Charité upon the Loire. On their arrival, they attacked it on one side, and every day had skirmishes with the garrison of the place.

When the duke of Burgundy and the greater part of his troops, who had accompanied him into the county of Montbelliard, were returned to Paris, the king sent him, with upwards of a thousand lances, to La Charité. There were then at that siege three thousand knights and squires, of whom many went every day to skirmish with the garrison; when several were killed and wounded on both sides. At a sally which the garrison made, the lord Robert of Alençon, son of the earl of Alençon, who was killed at Crecy, and the lord Louis d'Auxerre, who was son of the earl of Auxerre, and brother to the earl of Auxerre, then present, were knighted, and displayed their banners. The inhabitants of La Charité were very hard pressed, and would willingly have surrendered upon terms; but the duke was resolved to have them unconditionally, and for that reason had guarded the river so that no provision could enter the town.

During this time, the lord Lewis de Navarre, who was destroying everything before him in the country of Auvergne, exerted himself much, and assembled a sufficient body of men to enable him to raise the siege of La Charité: he had collected two thousand combatants at the least, and had also sent into Brittany to request that sir Robert Knolles, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Cournay, and several other knights and squires, would hasten to his assistance. They would have complied cheerfully; but at the time they were engaged with the earl of Montfort, besieging the castle of Auray *, who had sworn he would not depart until it had submitted to his pleasure.

When the lord Lewis found he could not have their aid, he retreated, by the orders of his brother, towards Cherbourg. Upon which, the king of France, that the lord Charles de Blois might have more men at arms, commanded the duke of Burgundy to treat with the garrison for their surrendering the town and fort, on condition of not bearing arms for the king of Navarre during three years. The garrison complied with these terms, surrendered La Charité, took nothing with them, and marched out on foot: they passed through the kingdom of France under passports of the duke of Burgundy. The old inhabitants of La

* Auray,—a sea port in Brittany, diocese of Vannes. One of my MSS. says, it was founded by Arthur.

Charité now returned back to it, having been forced to reside in other places. The duke went to Paris.

After this, the king of France granted permission for his cousin, the lord Charles de Blois, to raise in his kingdom a thousand lances. He again wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who at the time was in Normandy, to march to the assistance of the lord Charles, against the earl of Montfort. These orders gave sir Bertrand great pleasure, for he had always considered the lord Charles as his natural lord. He set out, therefore, from Normandy, with all the troops that were under him, and marched through Tours, in his way to Brittany. The lord de Boucicaut went to guard Normandy in his place. Sir Bertrand continued his march until he came to Nantes, where he met the lord Charles de Blois and his lady. They received him very kindly, and thanked him much for coming to their assistance. They had then a long conference, upon what was to be done; for they were in the best parts of Brittany, which were much attached to the lord Charles de Blois, as their duke and lord, and willing to support him. They conferred also on the means of raising the siege of Auray, and fighting with the lord John de Montfort. Within a very short time, many barons and knights came thither from France and Normandy: among whom were the earl of Auxerre, the earl of Joigny, the lord de Franville, the lord de Prie, le Bègue de Villaines, and many other knights and squires, all of the right sort, and good men at arms.

News was brought to the lord John de Montfort, at that time besieging Auray, that the lord Charles de Blois was assembling large bodies of men; that a number of the lords of France had come to him, and were daily arriving, to assist him, in conjunction with those barons, knights and squires of Brittany, who had remained steady to his interest. As soon as lord John heard this, he made it known in the duchy of Aquitaine to the knights and squires of England who were there, and in particular to sir John Chandos, earnestly intreating them to come to his aid in the difficulties he was about to encounter: adding, that he expected Brittany would afford such a field of honour, that all knights and squires who were desirous of advancing their name ought most cheerfully to come thither.

When sir John Chandos saw himself thus affectionately intreated by the earl of Montfort, he spoke of it to the prince of Wales, to know how he should act. The prince said, he might go there without any blame, since the French had already taken part against the earl, in support of the lord Charles; and he advised him to accept the invitation. Sir John Chandos was much rejoiced at this, and made accordingly grand preparations. He asked several knights and squires of Aquitaine to accompany him; but few went except the English. However, he conducted full two hundred lances, and as many archers, and marching through Poitou and Saintonge, entered Brittany. He went straight to the siege of Auray, where he found the earl of Montfort, who was very happy at his arrival; as were sir Olivier de Clisson, sir Robert Knolles, and the other companions. It seemed to them, that now no evil could befal them, since sir John Chandos was in their company.

Many knights and squires crossed the sea in haste from England, eager to advance their fortunes, and to fight with the French. They came to the aid of the earl of Montfort, before Auray, who received them all with great joy. They were therefore in all, as well Bretons as English, when mustered, sixteen hundred men at arms, and from eight to nine hundred archers.

We will now return to the lord Clarles de Blois, who remained in the good city of Nantes, and made there his muster of knights and squires from all parts; for he had been informed that the earl of Montfort had been strongly reinforced by the English. He therefore intreated those barons, knights and squires whose homage he had received, to assist him in guarding his inheritance, and in defending him against his enemies.

Among the barons of Brittany who came to serve him, in obedience to his summons, were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Rieux, de Tournemine, d'Ancenis, de Malestroit, de Quentin, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, du Pont, and many others whom I cannot name. These lords and their companies were quartered in the city of Nantes, and in the villages around it. When they were mustered, they were estimated at two thousand five hundred lances, including those who had come from France. These lords did not wish to make any long stay, but advised the lord Charles to march against his enemies.

When the lord Charles was about to set out, and was taking leave of the lady his wife, she said to him, in the presence of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and some of the barons of Brittany: "My lord, you are going to defend your inheritance and mine (for that which is mine is yours*), which the lord John de Montfort had seized, and has kept for a long time most wrongfully, without any right, as God knows. The barons of Brittany, who are here present, know well that I am the rightful heiress of it. I therefore most earnestly beg and intreat of you, that you will not listen to any treaty, or composition, which may be offered, so that the whole body of the duchy may be ours." The lord Charles promised to comply with her request.

All the lords, knights, and barons, who were at Nantes departed, each having bid adieu to his lady, whom he considered as his duchess, they began their march, and took the road to Rennes†, where, on their arrival, they were quartered, and in its environs. They halted there to repose and refresh themselves, as well as to learn the numbers and countenance of their enemies, and to consider of the best place to offer battle, in case they should not be able to find a situation which might give them an advantage. Many fine speeches and harangues were made by the knights and squires of France and of Brittany, who had come to the succour of the lord Charles de Blois. Lord Charles was very courteous and polite, and perhaps would willingly have listened to terms of peace, and been contented with a part of Brittany, without much wrangling: but he was, in God's name, so hard pressed by the last words of the lady his wife, and the knights of his party, that he could neither draw back nor dissemble.

CHAPTER CCXXVI.—THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS ADVANCES AGAINST THE EARL OF MONTFORT IN ORDER OF BATTLE. SIR JOHN CHANDOS, AFTER HAVING DRAWN UP THE BATTALIONS OF THE EARL OF MONTFORT, PREVENTS THE TREATY FROM TAKING PLACE WHICH THE LORD DE BEAUMANOIR WAS NEGOTIATING BETWEEN THE TWO PRETENDERS TO THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY.

Between Vannes and Auray, where the earl of Montfort was encamped, there are eight country leagues; so that news was soon brought to him that the lord Charles was advancing, with the finest body of men at arms, the handsomest equipped and the best ordered that had ever left France. This intelligence gave great joy to the English who were there; for they were eager for the fight. These companions, therefore, immediately set about putting their armour in good repair, and re-furbishing their lances, daggers, battle-axes, coats of mail, helmets, skull-caps, visors, swords, and all sorts of weapons, as they well imagined they should soon have use for them.

The commanders of the army then waited on the earl of Montfort; first sir John Chandos (whose advice he meant in particular to follow,) sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Matthew Gournay‡. These knights and barons, having deliberated on their present situation, resolved that it would be most advantageous to quit their quarters early in the morning, and take the field. They might then consider on the best mode of acting against the enemy, when they should have had more exact information concerning them. Orders were therefore given, that the whole army should, on the following morning, be ready armed and in battle-array, as if they were immediately to begin the engagement.

This night passed quietly. On the morrow, which was a Saturday, the English and

* Johanna, countess of Penthièvre, born 1319, was made heiress of Brittany by her uncle, John III., who, to strengthen her title, gave her in marriage to Charles de Blois, lord of Guyse and Mayenne, nephew of Philip IV. king of France.

"When the earl of Montfort gained the dukedom and held it from the crown of France, he engaged to give Johanna lands that should yield her 20,000 francs yearly, besides Penthièvre and Limoges."—*Anderson.*

† "Rennes." I believe, with Denys Sauvage, it should be Vannes, consistently with what follows; but it is Rennes, in all my printed editions and MSS. and also in the Histoire de Bretagne.

‡ Sir Matthew de Gournay. See more of him in the second volume of Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, page 20. He died at the age of 96.

Bretons issued forth from their quarters, marching gaily in order of battle, to the rear of the castle of Auray, where they halted, and, having chosen a situation, declared they would wait there the coming of their enemies. Almost immediately after day-break, the lord Charles and his army appeared. They had marched on the Friday after dinner from Vannes, and had rested that night three small leagues distant from Auray. The troops of the lord Charles were in the best and handsomest order, and drawn up in the most brilliant manner that could be seen or imagined. They marched in such close order that one could not throw a tennis-ball among them, but it must have struck upon the points of some of their lances, so stiffly did they carry them. The English took great pleasure in looking at them.

The French halted in this order in front of their enemies, and took their ground on an extensive heath. Their marshals gave strict charge that no one should quit his ranks without orders, and that there should be no tilting, justs, or assaults. The men at arms, having halted, formed their line of battle, and made preparations for an immediate combat, as they expected nothing less, and were very desirous of it. The lord Charles de Blois, by the advice of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, (who was a great captain, and much praised and confided in by the Bretons,) formed his army again. He divided it into three battalions and a rear-guard. It seems to me, that sir Bertrand had the command of the first; and with him were numbers of knights and squires of Brittany. The earl of Auxerre had the second, with the earl of Joigny and many knights and squires from France. The third battalion was commanded by the lord Charles himself: under him were the principal lords of Brittany; among whom were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, d'Avaugour, Charles de Dinan, d'Ancenis, de Malestroit, and several others. In the rear-guard were, the lords de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, du Pont, and many good knights and squires. Each of these battalions was composed of a thousand men. The lord Charles de Blois entreated every one in the fairest manner, that they would loyally and discreetly assist him. He swore, upon his soul, and his hopes of Paradise, that it was for a just and right cause they were going to engage. He assured each, that, if they acquitted themselves well, he should feel himself ever obliged to them.

We must now speak of the dispositions of the English and Bretons, and in what manner they drew up their army. You first must understand that, though the earl of Montfort was the commander in chief, yet it was under the sole direction of sir John Chandos: for the king of England had thus settled it with the earl of Montfort. He had also ordered sir John Chandos to have especial regard to whatever concerned the interests of his son-in-law; for the earl of Montfort had received one of the king's daughters* in marriage. In obedience to such orders, sir John Chandos advanced before the knights and squires of Brittany who were about the person of the earl of Montfort, and having well considered the dispositions of the French in his own mind, thought so highly of them, he could not remain silent, but said: "As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honour of chivalry is there, most wisely and expertly drawn up." He then added aloud to those knights who were within hearing: "Gentlemen, it is time that we form our line of battle; for the enemy have set us the example." Those who heard him replied: "Sir, you say truly; and, as you are our commander, you will form us according to your wish; for there is none higher than yourself to look to, and you know much better than any one how to order such things."

Sir John Chandos formed three battalions and a rear-guard. He placed over the first, sir Robert Knolles, sir Walter Huet, and sir Richard Burley†. The second battalion was under the command of sir Olivier de Clisson‡, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and sir Matthew Gournay. The earl of Montfort had the third, which was to remain near his person. There were in each battalion five hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers. When he came to the rear-guard, he called sir Hugh Calverly to him, and said: "Sir Hugh, you will take

* The princess Mary.

† Sir Richard Burley,—was nephew of sir Simon Burley, knight of the Garter, who was beheaded early in Richard II.'s reign.—*Gough's Sep. Mon.* vol. i., p. 150.

‡ "Sir Olivier de Clisson." Dom Morice, in his Histoire de la Brétagne, says that this Olivier de Clisson was not the nephew of Walter de Clisson, who was killed, 1341, at the siege of Chateauceau, but seems to have been the "véritable seigneur de Clisson."—Vol. i. p. 148.

the command of the rear-guard of five hundred men, and keep on our wing, without moving one step, whatever may happen, unless you shall see an absolute necessity for it; such as our battalions giving way, or being by accident broken: in that case, you will hasten to succour those who are giving way, or who may be in disorder: and assure yourself, you cannot this day do a more meritorious service."

When sir Hugh heard sir John Chandos give him these orders, he was much hurt and angry with him, and said: "Sir John, sir John, give the command of this rear-guard to some other; for I do not wish to be troubled with it;" and then added, "Sir knight, for what manner of reason have you thus provided for me? and why am not I as fit and proper to take my post in the front-rank as others?"

Sir John discreetly answered: "Sir Hugh, I did not place you with the rear-guard because you were not as good a knight as any of us; for, in truth, I know that you are equally valiant with the best: but I ordered you to that post, because I know you are both bold and prudent, and that it is absolutely necessary for you or me to take that command. I therefore most earnestly entreat it of you; for, if you will do so, we shall all be the better for it; and you yourself will acquire great honour: in addition, I promise to comply with the first request you may make me." Notwithstanding this handsome speech of sir John Chandos, sir Hugh refused to comply, considering it as a great affront offered him, and entreated, through the love of God, with uplifted hands, that he would order some other to that command; for, in fact, he was anxious to enter the battle with the first. This conduct nearly brought tears to the eyes of sir John. He again addressed him, gently saying: "Sir Hugh, it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command: now, consider which can be most spared." Sir Hugh, having considered this last speech, was much confused, and replied: "Certainly, sir, I know full well that you would ask nothing from me which could turn out to my dishonour; and, since it is so, I will very cheerfully undertake it." Sir Hugh Calverly then took the command of the battalion called the rear-guard, entered the field in the rear, on the wing of the others, and formed his line.

It was on Saturday the 8th day of October, 1364, that these battalions were drawn up facing each other, in a handsome plain, near to Auray in Brittany. I must say, it was a fine thing to see and reflect on; for there were banners and pennons flying, with the richest armour on each side: the French were so handsomely and grandly drawn up, it was great pleasure to look at them.

Whilst either party was forming or dividing its battalions, the lord of Beaumanoir, a very great and rich baron of Brittany, was going to and from each army, with propositions for peace. Very willingly would he have laboured, if he had been able to ward off the perils that were on the point of happening. He was earnest in the business: and the English and Bretons on the side of Montfort, allowed him to pass and repass, to parley with sir John Chandos, and the earl of Montfort, because he had pledged his honour, as a prisoner, and therefore could not bear arms against them. This same Saturday, he brought many proposals, in hopes to make a peace; of which, however, none succeeded: he was occupied with one party or the other until noon. He nevertheless obtained, through his good sense, a truce between the two armies for this day and the following night, until the morrow at sun-rise. Each army retreated to their quarters, and refreshed themselves with what they had.

During the time the truce lasted, the governor of the castle of Auray came out of it, on Saturday night, and went peaceably to the army of the lord Charles de Blois, who graciously received him. The name of the governor was Henry de Hauternelle, a very expert warrior, who brought with him forty lances, good companions, well armed and well mounted, who had aided him in guarding that fortress. When the lord Charles saw the governor, he asked him, laughingly, the state of the castle. "In God's name," replied the squire, "and praise be to him, we are still sufficiently provided with everything for two or three months, should there be occasion." "Henry, Henry," answered lord Charles, "to-morrow by day-break, you shall be made free in every respect, either by a treaty of peace or by a battle." "My lord," replied the squire, "God grant us his assistance." "By my faith, Henry," said the lord Charles, "I have under my command two thousand men at arms, of as good stuff,

and as much inclined to acquit themselves well, as there are in the kingdom of France." "My lord," answered the squire, "this is a great advantage: you should therefore praise God, and thank him most gratefully: likewise sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and the barons of France and Brittany, who have come so courteously to your assistance." Thus the lord Charles amused himself in conversation with sir Henry, and with one or another, and passed the night much at his ease.

In the course of this evening, some English knights and squires earnestly begged of sir John Chandos that he would not listen to any overtures of peace between the earl of Montfort and lord Charles de Blois; for they had expended their whole fortune, and were so poor, that they hoped by means of a battle, either to lose their all or to set themselves up again. The knight assented to the request.

When Sunday morning came, each army made itself ready, and armed. Many masses were said in that of lord Charles, and the sacrament was administered to all who wished it. The same was done in the army of the earl of Montfort: and a little before sun-rise, each person posted himself in the same battle array as on the preceding day.

Shortly after, the lord de Beaumanoir, who had prepared different proposals of peace, and who would willingly have brought them to some agreement, had he been able, returned to the charge, and came galloping towards sir John Chandos, who left his battalion and the earl of Montfort, at the time with him, as soon as he perceived his intentions, and advanced into the plain to meet him. When the lord de Beaumanoir came up, he saluted him very humbly, and said: "I entreat of you, sir John Chandos, in the name of God, that we may bring these two lords to some agreement; for it is a great pity that so many good persons who are here should slaughter each other in support of their opinions." Sir John Chandos gave him a very different answer than he expected from what had passed on the preceding evening: "Lord de Beaumanoir, I would advise you not to make any more attempts at peace to-day; for our men declare that, if they can enclose you within their ranks, they will kill you. You will say to lord Charles de Blois, that happen what may, the lord John de Montfort is determined to risk the event of a combat. Have done, therefore, with all ideas of peace or agreements; for he will this day be duke of Brittany, or die in the field."

When the lord de Beaumanoir had received this answer from Chandos, he was mightily enraged, and replied: "Chandos, Chandos, that is not less the intention of my lord, who has as good a will to fight as the lord John de Montfort: his army are also of the same mind." At these words, he set off without saying anything more, and went to lord Charles and the barons of Brittany, who were waiting for him.

Sir John Chandos returned to the earl of Montfort, who asked, "How goes on the treaty? What does our adversary say?" "What does he say?" replied Chandos: "why, he sends word by the lord de Beaumanoir, who has this instant left me, that he will fight with you at all events, and remain duke of Brittany, or die in the field." This answer was made by sir John, in order to excite the courage of the earl of Montfort; and he continued saying, "Now consider what you will determine to do, whether to engage or not." "By St. George," answered the earl of Montfort, "engage I will, and God assist the right cause: order our banners to advance immediately."

With regard to the lord de Beaumanoir, he said to lord Charles de Blois: "My lord, my lord, by St. Ives I have heard the proudest speech from John Chandos that my ears have listened to for a long time: he has just assured me, that the earl of Montfort shall remain duke of Brittany, and will clearly show to you that you have not any right to it." These words brought the colour into lord Charles' cheeks; when he answered, "Let God settle the right, for he knows to whom it belongs;" and thus said all the barons of Brittany. He then ordered his banners and men at arms to march, in the name of God and St. Ives.

CHAPTER CCXXVII.—THE BATTLE OF AURAY, IN WHICH SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER.—CHARLES DE BLOIS IS SLAIN; AND JOHN DE MONTFORT IS VICTORIOUS.

A LITTLE before eight in the morning, the two armies advanced near to each other. It was a very fine sight, as I have heard those relate who saw it; for the French were in such close order that one could scarcely throw an apple among them, without its falling on a helmet or lance. Each man at arms carried his spear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, sharp, strong and well steeled, with a short handle, was at his side, or hung from his neck. They advanced thus handsomely a foot's pace, each lord in array and among his people, with his banner or pennon before him, well knowing what they were to do. On the other hand, the English were drawn up in the handsomest order.

The Bretons, under the command of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, posted themselves with his banner opposite to the battalion of sir Robert Knolles and sir Walter Huet. The Bretons of either party placed the banners of their two lords, who was each called duke, opposite to the other.

In this first onset, there were hard blows between the lancemen, and a sharp scuffle. True it is, that the English archers shot well at the commencement; but their arrows hurt not, as the French were too well armed and shielded from them. Upon this, they flung away their bows; and, being light and able men, they mixed with the men at arms of their party, and attacked those of the French who had battle-axes. Being men of address and courage, they immediately seized several of these axes, with which they afterwards fought valiantly and successfully. There were many gallant feats of arms performed; many a struggle, many a capture, and many a rescue. You must know, that whoever had the misfortune to fall, found great difficulty to rise again unless he was speedily succoured.

The battalion of lord Charles marched straight to that of lord John de Montfort, which was very strong and deep. In his company were, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Léon, Charles de Dinan, de Quintin, d'Ancenis, and de Rochfort, each with his banner displayed before him. The engagement between these two battalions was very severe and desperate, and well fought on both sides. That of the earl of Montfort was at first thrown into confusion; but sir Hugh Calverly, who was upon its wing with a good battalion of gallant men, perceiving them giving way and opening their ranks, drove the enemy back, and replaced everything by force of arms. This action was certainly of great use to them.

In another part of the plain, sir Olivier de Clisson, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Matthew Gournay, and several other valiant knights and squires, fought valorously with the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny, which was very numerous and deep, and crowded with several able men at arms. Many bold actions were performed on both sides: prisoners and rescues were frequent. The French and Bretons fought in earnest with their battle-axes. The lord Charles showed himself a marvellously good knight, eagerly seeking for and engaging his enemies. His adversary, the earl of Montfort, fought with equal gallantry: and each person spoke of them according to their deserts.

Sir John Chandos proved himself more able than his opponents: for he was at the same time bold and hardy, redoubted by his adversaries in battle, as well as wise and discreet in council, giving the clearest orders. He advised the earl in everything, and, in order to animate him and his people, said to them, "Do so and so: march to this side or to that." The young earl of Montfort believed all he said, and followed his advice.

In another part, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lords du Pont, de Tournemine, d'Avaugour, de Raix, de Lohéac, de Malestroit, de Prie, and many other able knights and squires of Brittany and Normandy, who were there on the side of the lord Charles, fought very determinedly, and did many handsome deeds of arms. The battle was so warmly contested that all the battalions were engaged, except the rear-guard of the English, which sir Hugh Calverly commanded. This battalion kept always on one wing, and never engaged with any, but was solely occupied in recovering and bringing back to their ranks those who were thrown into confusion.

Among other knights, sir Olivier de Clisson played his part handsomely, and did marvels

with his battle-axe, by which he opened and cut through the ranks, so that none dared to approach him. Once, indeed, his eagerness brought him into great peril; for he advanced so forward that he had the battalion of the earls of Auxerre and Joigny upon him, and had hard work to extricate himself. He received in this affair a stroke of a battle-axe, which struck off the visor of his helmet; and its point entered his eye, which he afterwards lost. He was not, however, for this, a less gallant knight during the whole of the day.

Battalions and banners rushed against each other, and sometimes were overthrown, and then up again. Among the knights, sir John Chandos shewed his ability, valorously fighting with his battle-axe: he gave such desperate blows, that all avoided him; for he was of great stature and strength, well made in all his limbs. He advanced to attack the battalion of the earl of Auxerre and the French. Many bold actions were performed; and, through the courage of himself and people, he drove this battalion before him, and threw it into such disorder that, in brief, it was discomfited. All their banners and pennons were thrown on the ground, torn and broken: their lords and captains were in the greatest danger; for they were not succoured by any, their people being fully engaged in fighting and defending themselves. To speak truly, when once an army is discomfited, those who are defeated are so much frightened, that if one fall, three follow his example, and to these three ten, and to ten thirty; and also, should ten run away, they will be followed by a hundred. Thus it was at the battle of Auray.

These lords shouted again and again their cries of war, as well as their banner-bearers, which some who heard them answered; but others were too much in the rear, and from the greatness of the crowd could not advance, so that the earl of Auxerre was desperately wounded, and taken, under the pennon of Sir John Chandos: he gave his pledge as a prisoner, as well as the earl of Joigny and the lord de Prie, a great banneret in Normandy. The other battalions fought very valiantly, and the Bretons made a good appearance still. It must however, to speak loyally of this battle, be allowed, that they did not keep their line nor array (as it seemed) like the English and Bretons on the side of Montfort. The wing commanded by sir Hugh Calverly was to them, in this battle, of the greatest advantage. When the English and Bretons of the Montfort party perceived the French to be in confusion, they were much rejoiced. Some of the French had their horses got ready, which they mounted, and began to fly as fast as they could.

Sir John Chandos then advanced with a part of his company, and made for the battalion of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, where many courageous deeds were doing; but it had been already broken, and several good knights and squires slain. Many a hard blow was given by the battle-axes, and many a helmet opened, so that several were wounded and killed. To say the truth, neither sir Bertrand nor his people were able to withstand the strength of their adversaries. Sir Bertrand was made prisoner by an English squire, under the pennon of sir John Chandos. In this conflict, sir John received the pledge as prisoner, from a baron of Brittany, called the lord of Raix, a wonderfully hardy knight. After this, the Bretons and their battalion being broken, were as good as defeated: the others being in disorder, took to flight, each in the best way he could to save himself, except some good knights and squires of Brittany, who would not quit their sovereign, the lord Charles de Blois, preferring death to reproach. They collected themselves together, and rallied round him, fighting valiantly. The lord Charles and his companions kept their ground a long time, by their valour in defending themselves: at last, however, it was of no avail, for they were defeated and put to the rout by numbers; for the whole strength of the English was drawing towards them. The banner of the lord Charles was conquered, cast to the ground, and the bearer of it slain: he himself was also killed facing his enemies, as well as a bastard of his called the lord John de Blois, with many other knights and squires of Brittany.

It appears to me, that orders had been given to the English army, that if they should gain the battle, and the lord Charles were found or made prisoner, no ransom should be taken for him, but that they should kill him. In a similar case, the French and Bretons had given the like orders respecting the lord John de Montfort; for in this day each party wished, by battle, to put an end to the war.

When a pursuit took place, great slaughter and many mischiefs happened, and several

good men were killed or made prisoners. The whole flower of chivalry, who had that day taken the side of lord Charles de Blois, were either prisoners or slain, particularly the bannerets of Brittany. Among the dead, lay the lord Charles de Dinan, the lords de Léon, d'Ancenis, d'Avaugour, de Lohéac, de Gargolle, de Malestroit, du Pont, and many whose names I cannot remember. There were made prisoners, the viscount de Rohan, sir Guy de Léon, the lords de Rochefort, de Raix, de Rieux, de Tournemine, sir Henry de Malestroit, sir Olivier de Mauny, the lords de Riville, de Franville, de Raineval, with several from Normandy, and many good knights and squires from France, with the earls of Auxerre and Joigny. In a word the defeat and loss were immense: numbers were slain in the field, as well as in the pursuit, which continued for eight good leagues, even as far as Vannes. A variety of accidents happened this day which had never come to my knowledge, and many a man was killed or made prisoner. Some fell into good hands, where they met with kind and civil masters.

This battle was fought near to Auray, in the year of our Lord 1364.

CHAPTER CCXXVIII.—THE CHIEFS ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF MONTFORT RETIRE AFTER THE VICTORY AT AURAY.—THE EARL'S CONDUCT, ON SEEING CHARLES DE BLOIS DEAD.—TRUCES GRANTED FOR BURYING THE SLAIN.—IN WHAT MANNER THE KING OF ENGLAND WAS INFORMED OF THE EVENT OF THIS BATTLE OF AURAY.

After the total defeat of lord Charles's army, when the field of battle was free, and the principal leaders, English and Bretons, were returned from the pursuit, sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Boursier,* sir Walter Huet, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Richard Burley, Sir Richard Tancon †, and several others, drawing near to the earl of Montfort, came to a hedge, where they began to disarm themselves, knowing the day was theirs. Some of them placed their banners and pennons in this hedge, with the arms of Brittany high above all, in a bush, as a rallying post for their army.

Sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverly and others, then approached to the earl of Montfort, and said to him, smiling; "My lord, praise God, and make good cheer, for this day you have conquered the inheritance of Brittany." He bowed to them very respectfully, and then said, loud enough to be heard by all around him; "Sir John Chandos, it is to your valour and prudence that I am indebted for the good fortune of this day: this I know for a truth, as well as all those who are with me: I beg you will, therefore, refresh yourself out of my cup." He then extended to him a flagon full of wine, and his cup, out of which he himself had just drunk, adding, "After God, I owe more thanks to you than to all the rest of the world." As he finished these words, the lord de Clisson returned, out of breath and very hot. He had pursued the enemy a long way, and had just left them, bringing back his men, with a number of prisoners. He advanced directly to the earl of Montfort and the knights who were about him, leaped off his courser, and refreshed himself with them. Whilst they were thus together, two knights and two heralds returned, who had been sent to examine the dead bodies in the field, to know what was become of the lord Charles de Blois: for they were uncertain if he had been slain or not. They cried with a loud voice, "My lord, be of good cheer, for we have seen your adversary lord Charles de Blois among the dead." Upon this, the earl of Montfort rose up and said, he wished to see him himself, for that, "he should have as much pleasure in seeing him dead as alive." All the knights then present accompanied him to the spot where he was lying apart from the others, covered by a shield, which he ordered to be taken away, and looked at him very sorrowfully. After having paused a while, he exclaimed; "Ha, my lord Charles, sweet cousin, how much mischief has happened to Brittany from your having supported by arms your pretensions! God help me, I am truly unhappy at finding you in this situation, but at present this cannot be amended." Upon which he burst into tears. Sir John Chandos, perceiving this, pulled him by the skirt, and said: "My lord, my lord, let us go away, and

* Sir John Bourchier.—*Barnes.* † Sir Richard Taunton.—*Barnes.*

return thanks to God for the success of the day: for without the death of this person, you never would have gained your inheritance of Brittany."

The earl then ordered that lord Charles's body should be carried to Guingamp *, which was immediately done with great respect, and he was most honourably interred. This was but his due, as he was a good, loyal, and valiant knight. His body was afterwards sanctified by the grace of God, and venerated as Saint Charles. Pope Urban V. who was the reigning pontiff, approved of it, by canonising it; for it performed then, as it does to this day, many miracles †.

After these orders, when the dead were stripped, and the victors returned from the pursuit, they all retired to the quarters which they had left that morning. They disarmed themselves; and having taken some refreshment, of which they had an ample provision, they attended to their prisoners. Those that were wounded, were moved and dressed: even the servants who had suffered were well taken care of.

On the Monday morning, the earl of Montfort sent information to the city of Vannes, and to the neighbouring towns, that he should grant a truce for three days, in order that those slain in the battle might be buried in consecrated ground. This conduct was very pleasing to all.

The earl of Montfort sat down before the castle of Auray, declaring he would not depart thence until he had possession of it. News was spread abroad with great celerity, and in different places, that the earl of Montfort, by the help and assistance of the English, had gained the victory; that the lord Charles was defeated and slain; and that all the knights of Brittany, who had sided with the lord Charles, were either taken prisoners or dead. Sir John Chandos had the whole honour of this battle; for all the knights, lords, and squires who had been engaged in it, declared that it was solely owing to his prudence and prowess they had gained the day.

The friends and allies of lord Charles were much afflicted at this news, as was natural for them to be; but the king of France was the most hurt; for this defeat affected him greatly, considering that many of the knights of his realm had been made prisoners and killed. Among the first, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whom he much loved; the earls of Auxerre, of Joigny, and all the barons of Brittany without exception. The king of France, therefore, sent his brother, the duke of Anjou, to the borders of Brittany, to the assistance of the country, which was much distressed by the loss of their lord, Charles de Blois; and to comfort and condole with the duchess of Brittany, his widow, who was in the deepest affliction. This it was the duty of the duke to do; but he was the more earnestly engaged in this melancholy task, having married her daughter. He therefore most willingly gave his promise of advice, assistance, and succour to the large cities, towns, castles, and to all the country of Brittany in which the duchess, whom he called his mother, and the whole country, had for a long time great confidence, until the king of France, to avoid all difficulties, made other arrangements, as you shall hereafter be informed of.

News of this victory was brought to the king of England; for the earl of Montfort had written to him on the fifth day after the battle of Auray, and sent the intelligence, with credential letters, by a pursuivant at arms, who had been in the engagement, to the town of Dover. The king of England nominated him his herald, and gave him the name of Windsor ‡, with a handsome present of money. Through this herald, and from some knights of both parties, I have been informed of the whole. With regard to the cause why the king of England was then at Dover, you shall immediately learn. It is a well-known fact, that proposals for a marriage between the lord Edmund earl of Cambridge, son of the king of England, and the daughter of earl Lewis of Flanders, had been treated of, and different

* Guingamp,—a town of Brittany, diocese of Treguier.

† This is a mistake of Froissart. There was some such intention in the pope's mind, as there are extant letters from him to John duke of Brittany on this subject; but, when he understood the manner of his death, he was not looked upon as a martyr. He was very angry with those who had given him such honours, without the approbation of the apostolic see, and, by his letters to the bishops of Brittany, enjoined them to prohibit such things being done in future.—*Barnes' Hist. Edw. III.*, p. 660.

‡ This was the first institution of a Windsor herald, an office which has continued to the present time.—Ed.

negotiations entered upon three years before*: to which marriage the earl of Flanders had but lately given his consent, provided a dispensation could be obtained from pope Urban V., as they were very nearly allied.

The duke of Lancaster, and the lord Edmund his brother, attended by many knights, had been to visit the earl of Flanders, who received them with every mark of distinction; and, to show greater affection and love, he had accompanied them to Calais, and crossed the sea to Dover, where the king and part of his council had remained. When the before-mentioned pursuivant brought to this place the news of the affair at Auray, as it has been told, the king and his barons were much rejoiced at the event; as was also the earl of Flanders, on account of the advancement of his cousin-german the earl of Montfort.

The king of England, the earl of Flanders, and the other barons, staid at Dover three days, which were spent in feasts and entertainments. When they indulged in these sufficiently, and had finished the affairs on which they had met, the earl of Flanders took his leave of the king, and departed.

It seems to me, that the duke of Lancaster and the lord Edmund crossed the channel with the earl, and attended him until he arrived at Bruges. We will not speak longer of this matter, but return to the earl of Montfort, and mention how he conducted himself in Brittany.

CHAPTER CCXXIX.—THE EARL OF MONTFORT CONQUERS AURAY AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES FROM THE WIDOW OF LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.—KING CHARLES INTERPOSES BETWEEN THEM, AND MAKES PEACE.—A PEACE IS ALSO MADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE CAPTAL DE BUCH.

THE earl of Montfort, as it has been before related, laid siege to Auray, and declared that he would not leave it until he had conquered it; at which those of the castle were not very well pleased. They had lost their captain, Henri de Hauternelle, who had fallen in the battle with the flower of the garrison; so that they were very few to defend it, and without hope of assistance. They took counsel together, whether it would not be advisable to surrender, on having their lives and fortunes saved, and on these terms entered into a negotiation with the earl. The earl, who had many other places to look to, and was not certain how the country would act after this victory, accepted their terms, allowing those who would not remain with him to depart according to their inclinations. He then took possession of the castle, new garrisoned it, and marched forward with his whole army, which increased daily; for men at arms and archers came to him in crowds, and many knights and squires turned to his party, especially those from Lower Brittany.

He came before the good town of Jugon†, which shut its gates against him. He remained there three days, and ordered it to be assaulted twice, which occasioned many both within and without the walls to be badly wounded. Those in Jugon, seeing themselves thus hardly pressed, and no hopes of aid, did not wish to be further harassed: they acknowledged, therefore, the earl of Montfort for their lord, opened the gates, and swore homage and fealty to him, which they faithfully promised to keep. The earl changed all the municipal officers, appointing new ones in their stead.

He then advanced towards the city of Dinan‡ and laid siege to it, which continued during the winter; for that town was well furnished with men at arms and provision: besides, the duke of Anjou had exhorted them to behave themselves as good men should do (for he had assisted them): this made them hold out, and suffer many a sharp assault. When they found their provision growing low, and that no relief was coming to them, they entered into a treaty of peace with the earl, who willingly listened to it; for he was desirous of nothing but that

* The first mention I find in Rymer is dated 7th February, 1362—the second, 20th July, 1364,—the third, the articles of marriage, dated 19th October, at Dover, 1364,—the fourth, to postpone the day of marriage, Windsor, 18th December, 1364.

† Jugon,—a town in Brittany, diocese of St. Pol.

‡ Dinan,—a considerable town in Brittany, diocese of St. Malo.

they should acknowledge him as their lord, which they did. He made a solemn entry into the town of Dinan, where all the inhabitants swore homage and fealty to him.

After this, the earl marched with his army to the city of Quimper Corentin*. He laid close siege to it, and ordered large machines to be brought from Vannes and Dinan, saying, he would have it before he left it. I must now inform you, that the English and the Bretons of Montfort's party, such as sir John Chandos and others, who had made prisoners at the battle of Auray, would not accept of ransoms for them, nor allow them to go and seek for money; because they were unwilling they should again assemble in a body and offer them battle: they sent them into Poitou, Saintonge, Bordeaux, and la Rochelle, to remain there as prisoners. During this time, the English and Bretons conquered all Brittany, from one end to the other. Whilst the earl of Montfort was besieging the city of Quimper Corentin, to which he did much damage by his machines that played night and day, as well by his assaults, his men overran the country, leaving nothing unpillaged.

The king of France was duly informed of all that was going on: many councils were held to consider how he could turn these affairs of Brittany to his own interest; for they were in a desperate situation, unless promptly remedied, and he would be forced to call upon his subjects to support him in a new war against England on account of Brittany. This his council advised him not to think of; but, after many deliberations, they said to him: "Our most dear lord, you have supported your cousin, the lord Charles de Blois, in Brittany, as did the king your father, and your grandfather Philip, who gave to him the heiress of the last duke of Brittany in marriage; by which means much evil has befallen Brittany and the neighbouring countries. Since the lord Charles de Blois, your cousin, was slain in defending that country, there is no one now of his party in a situation to resume the war; for at this moment those to whom it belongs, and whom it touches so nearly, are prisoners in England: we mean the lord John and lord Guy de Blois, his two sons. We hear every day of the earl of Montfort conquering towns and castles, which he possesses as his lawful inheritance: by this means you will lose your rights, as well as the homage of Brittany, which is certainly a great honour and a noble appendage to your crown. This you ought to endeavour to keep; for, if the earl of Montfort should acknowledge for his lord the king of England, as his father did, you will not be able to recover it without great wars with England, with whom we are now at peace, and which we would advise you not to break. Everything, therefore, fully considered, we recommend to you, our dear lord, to send ambassadors and wise negotiators to the earl of Montfort, to find out what his intentions are, and to enter upon a treaty of peace with him, as well as with the country, and the lady of it, who bears the title of duchess. You will derive from these negotiators positive information as to what are his intentions. At the worst, it will be much better he should remain duke of Brittany (provided that he will acknowledge you for his lord, and pay you all your rights, as a loyal man should do) than that this business should continue longer in peril."

The king of France willingly assented to this proposal. The lord John de Craon, archbishop of Rheims, the lord de Craon his cousin, and the lord de Boucicaut, were ordered to set out for Quimper Corentin, to treat with the earl of Montfort and his council, as it has been above related. These three lords departed, after having received full instructions how they were to act, and rode on until they came to the siege which the English and Bretons were laying to Quimper Corentin, where they announced themselves as ambassadors from France. The earl of Montfort, sir John Chandos, and the members of the council, received them with pleasure. These lords explained the cause of their coming. To this first opening, the earl of Montfort replied, "We will consider of it," and fixed a day for his answer: during this interval, these three lords retired to Rennes, where they resided.

The earl of Montfort dispatched lord Latimer† to the king of England to inform him of the proposals for a peace he had received, and to have his advice on the subject. The king of England, having considered them, advised the earl to make a peace, on condition the duchy should be his; and also to make handsome reparation to the lady who was called duchess, by assigning her a fixed annuity, or rent-charge, on certain lands where she might collect it without danger.

* Quimper Corentin,—a town in Brittany, generality of Nantes. † Lord Latimer.—See *Dugdale's Baronage.*

Lord Latimer brought back the opinion of the king of England to the earl of Montfort, who was still before Quimper Corentin. Upon the arrival of these letters, the earl and his council sent to the ambassadors from France, who had remained at Rennes: they came immediately to the army, and had a very courteous and civil answer given to them. They were told that the earl of Montfort would never give up his claims to the duchy of Brittany, happen what might, but would keep and maintain the title and rights of duke of Brittany, which he was now possessed of: that, nevertheless, wherever the king of France should cause any cities, towns, or castles to surrender peaceably upon the same terms of homage, fealty, and rights, as they were held from the preceding duke of Brittany, he would willingly acknowledge him for his liege lord, and would do him homage and service in the presence of the peers of France. Moreover, on account of the affinity between him and his cousin, the widow of the lord Charles de Blois, he was willing to do everything to assist her; and would also use his endeavours to obtain the liberty of his cousins, the lords John and Guy de Blois, who were detained prisoners in England.

This answer was very agreeable to the French lords who had been sent thither: a day was appointed for them to declare their acceptance of these terms or not: they instantly sent information of what had passed to the duke of Anjou, who had retired to Angers, to whom the king had referred the acceptance of the terms, according to his pleasure. When the duke of Anjou had considered the proposals for some time, he gave his assent. The two knights who had been sent to him returned with his answer sealed. The ambassadors of France again left Rennes, and went to Quimper Corentin, when a peace with the lord of Montfor was finally agreed to and sealed.

He was to remain duke of Brittany; but, in case he should have no legal heirs by marriage, the duchy should revert, after his decease, to the children of lord Charles de Blois. The lady who had been the wife of lord Charles was created countess of Penthievre, with the lands attached to it; which lands were supposed worth about twenty thousand francs a-year, or if not, that sum was to be made up to her. The earl of Montfort engaged to go to France, whenever he should be summoned, to do homage to the king of France, and acknowledge that he held the duchy of him. Charters and publicly sealed instruments were drawn up of all these articles. Thus had the earl of Montfort possession of Brittany: he remained duke of it for a time, until new wars began, as you shall hear in the following history. Among these articles, it was stipulated, that the lord de Clisson should re-possess those lands which king Philip had formerly taken from his family. This lord de Clisson gained the confidence of the king of France, who did whatever he wished, and without him nothing was done. The whole country of Brittany was full of joy upon the conclusion of a peace. The duke received homages from cities, towns, castles, prelates, and gentlemen.

Soon afterwards, the duke married* the daughter of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which she had borne to her former husband, the lord Thomas Holland. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in the good city of Nantes.

It also happened this winter, that queen Jane, aunt to the king of Navarre, and queen Blanche, his sister, laboured so earnestly for peace that it was concluded between the kings of France and Navarre, assisted much by the advice and prudence of the captal de Buch, who took great pains in the business. He also obtained his liberty by it. The king of France showed him great marks of esteem, and, as a proof of it, gave him the handsome castle of Nemours, with all its rights, appurtenances, and jurisdictions, which were worth three thousand francs of revenue. The captal became, by this means, liege man to the king of France. The king was well pleased at receiving him a homager; for he loved much the service of a knight such as the captal; but he was not so long, for, when he was returned into the principality to the prince, who had been informed of what had passed, he was much blamed, and told that he could not acquit himself loyally in his service to two lords: that he was over covetous, when he accepted of lands in France, where he was neither honoured nor beloved. When he found himself in this situation, and so treated and taunted by the prince of Wales, his own natural lord, he was quite ashamed of himself, and made

* Johanna of Holland, daughter of Thomas earl of Kent,—married 1366—died, without issue, 1386.—*Anderson.*

excuses, saying, "that he was not by any means too much connected with the king of France, and that he could very easily undo all that had been done." He sent, therefore, by his own squire, his homage back to the king of France, renounced all that had been given him, and remained attached to the prince.

Among the articles of the treaty between the kings of France and Navarre, the towns of Mantes and Meulan were to be given the king of France, who restored to the king of Navarre other castles in Normandy.

About this time, the lord Louis de Navarre set out from France, and passed through Lombardy, to espouse the queen of Naples*. At his departure, he borrowed of the king of France sixty thousand francs, upon the security of some castles which belonged to him in Normandy. He survived his marriage with that queen but a short time. May God forgive him his faults! for he was a good and courteous knight.

CHAPTER CCXXX.—A WAR IN SPAIN BETWEEN THE KING, DON PEDRO OF CASTILLE, AND HIS BASTARD BROTHER HENRY—TO WHOSE AID THE LORD JOHN DE BOURBON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN LEAD THE PILLAGING COMPANIES.—HENRY, BY THEIR MEANS, IS CROWNED KING OF CASTILLE.

At this period†, those companies of freebooters were so much increased in France that the government did not know what to do with them, since the wars in Brittany and those with the king of Navarre were now put an end to. These companies having been brought up to arms, and taught to live on pillage and plunder alone, neither could nor would abstain from it. Their great resource was France; and these companions called the kingdom of France their domain. They dared not, however, make any attempts on Aquitaine, for the country would not have suffered it; besides, to say the truth, the greater number of their captains were Gascons and English, or persons attached to the king of England or prince of Wales. Some lords of Brittany were among them, but they were few in number. On this account, many of the inhabitants of France murmured much, and complained secretly of the king of England and the prince, that they did not act well towards the king of France in not assisting him to drive these bad people out of the realm. They were better pleased to see them with their neighbours than among themselves. The wisest of the kingdom declared, that if something were not speedily done in this business, either by fighting or getting rid of them out of the country, by a handsome present in money, they would destroy the noble kingdom of France.

There was at the time a king in Hungary who was desirous of having their assistance, and would have given them full employment against the Turks, with whom he was at war, for they had done him much mischief. He wrote, therefore, to pope Urban V. (who was then at Avignon, and who would gladly have seen France delivered from these companies), and also to the king of France and to the prince of Wales. He wished to enter into a treaty with their leaders, and offered large sums of money to them and a free passage; but they would not listen to it, saying, that they would not go so far to make war. It was told them by their oldest captains, who were well acquainted with the country of Hungary, that there were such narrow passes, if they should in any combat be engaged in them, they would never be able to get out, but must infallibly be cut off. This report frightened them so much, that they had not any desire to go thither. When pope Urban and the king of France found these wicked people were not likely to come into their plan, and would not quit the kingdom, but, on the contrary, multiplied daily, they thought upon another method to free the country from them.

* "The queen of Naples." This must have been the too celebrated Jane, but I cannot find the marriage mentioned in any other book. [Queen Joan of Naples married James of Arragon, called the infant of Majorca, in 1362; he died in 1375. It is probably to this marriage that Froissart alludes, but he is mistaken in naming Louis as the husband.—Ed.]

† This period,—1365.

There was in these times a king of Castille, of the name of Don Pedro *, whose mind, full of strange opinions, was very rebellious and refractory to all the regulations and commands of the church: he wanted to subdue his Christian neighbours, more especially the king of Arragon, of the name of Peter †, who was a good Catholic: he had even taken from him part of his possessions, and was preparing to seize the remainder.

This king, don Pedro of Castille, had three bastard brothers, children of the good Alphonso his father and a lady called la Riche Done ‡. The eldest was named don Henry; the second, don Tello; the third, don Sancho §. Don Pedro hated them mortally; and, could he have laid hands on them, he would have had them beheaded. They had been, however, much loved by their father, who in his lifetime had given to Henry, the eldest, the county of Trastamare; but the king, don Pedro his brother, had taken it from him by force, and every day was harassing him.. This bastard Henry was a very valiant and worthy knight: he had been a long time in France, where he followed the profession of arms, and had served under the king of France ||, whom he loved much.

The king don Pedro, as common report told the story, had by different means caused the death of their mother, which, as was natural, gave them great displeasure. He had banished and murdered many of the greatest barons of the realm of Castille. He was withal so cruel, and of such a horrid disposition, that all men feared, suspected and hated him, but dared not show it. He had also caused the death of a very good and virtuous lady, whom he had married, the lady Blanche, daughter of duke Peter de Bourbon, and cousin german to the queen of France and to the countess of Savoy. All her relations, who are of the noblest blood in the world, were most exceedingly irritated by the manner of her death ¶. There was also a report current among the people, that king Peter had even formed an alliance with the kings of Benamarine **, Granada and Tremeçen ††, who were enemies to God, and infidels. Many were uneasy at wrongs he might do to his country, and lest he should violate the churches: for he had seized their revenues, and detained the priests of holy church in prison, where he vexed them with all sorts of tyranny.

Great complaints of these proceedings were sent daily to the pope, entreating him to put a stop to them. Pope Urban received and attended to these complaints. He sent ambassadors to the king, don Pedro, ordering and enjoining him to come forthwith in person to the court of Rome, to purge and clear himself from all the villanous actions he was charged with.

Don Pedro, proud and presumptuous as he was, not only refused to obey the mandate, but even received with insults the ambassadors from the holy father, for which he fell grievously under his indignation. This wicked king still persevered in his sin. It was then considered how or by what means he could be corrected; and it was determined that he was no longer worthy to bear the title of king, nor to possess a kingdom. He was therefore publicly excommunicated, in full consistory, held in the apartments of the pope, at Avignon, and declared to be a heretic and infidel. They thought they should be able to punish him by means of the free companies who were in France. They requested the king of Arragon, who hated very much this don Pedro, and Henry the bastard of Spain, to come immediately to Avignon. The holy father then legitimated the birth of Henry the bastard, so that he might be in a condition to obtain the kingdom from don Pedro, who had been cursed and condemned by the sentence of the pope.

The king of Arragon offered a free passage through his kingdom, with a supply of men at

* Don Pedro—the fourth, surnamed the cruel.

† Peter—the fourth, surnamed the Ceremonious.

‡ La Richa Donna,—Eleanora de Guzman.

§ Sancho. In l'Art de vérifier les Dates, the second son is called Frederick, and the third D. Tello. Frederick was murdered by Don Pedro, 1358.

|| King of France,—John. Don Henry was at the battle of Poitiers.

¶ She was poisoned, by Don Pedro's orders, in the castle of Medina Sidonia, where he had confined her.—*Choisy. Hist. Charles V.*—Others say, smothered between two cushions.

** Benamarine. Aben Jacob, king of Fez, sent his son Abomelique to take possession of lands given him by the king of Granada, as a barrier against Alphonso XI. He landed with his fleet at Algeziras 1331, with a number of Benamarine Moors, and formed a new kingdom in Spain, styling himself king of Algeziras and Ronda.—*Dillon's Hist. Peter the Cruel*, vol. i. p. 14.

†† Tremeçen. By Moreri, this appears to have been a town in Africa, dependent on the kingdom of Talensin.

arms, and all sorts of provision and aid, to whoever should enter Castille, and attack don Pedro to deprive him of his throne. The king of France was much pleased with this intelligence, and took great pains that sir Bertrand du Guesclin, whom sir John Chandos held as his prisoner, should be ransomed. This was fixed at one hundred thousand francs *. The king of France paid one part, the pope and Henry the bastard the other. Soon after his liberty was obtained, they entered into a treaty with the chiefs of those companies, promising them great advantages if they would go into Castille. They readily assented to the proposal by means of a large sum of money, which was divided among them.

The prince of Wales was informed of this intended expedition, as well as his knights and squires, but particularly sir John Chandos, who was solicited to be one of the leaders of it, in conjunction with sir Bertrand du Guesclin. He excused himself, and said he could not go. This, however, did not put a stop to it: many knights who were attached to the prince, among whom were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Gourney, sir Perducas d'Albret, and several others, were of the party. The lord John de Bourbon, earl of March, took the chief command, in order to revenge the death of his cousin the queen of Spain: but he was under the advice and control of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, as he was at that time a very young knight.

In this expedition were also the lord of Beaujeu, whose name was Anthony, and many worthy knights: such as lord Arnold d'Andreghen, marshal of France, the lords Begue de Villaines, d'Antoin in Hainault, de Brisnel, John de Neufville †, Guimars de Bailheul, John de Bergutes, the German lord de St. Venant, and others whom I cannot name. All these men at arms assembled together in order to begin their march at Montpellier in Languedoc.

These men at arms might be about thirty thousand. They all passed through Narbonne, in their march to Perpignan, in order to enter Arragon by that town ‡. All the leaders of these companies were there: the lords Robert Briquet, John Carsneille, Nandon de Bagerant, La Nuit, le petit Meschin, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, Battiller, Espiote, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, and numbers more: all of one mind and accord, to dethrone don Pedro from his kingdom of Castille, and to place there in his room the bastard Henry, earl of Trastamare.

Don Pedro had received information that this army was marching against him: he collected his troops, in order to meet them, and fight boldly on their entering Castille. When they were about to enter Arragon, they sent to him, in order to cover and mask their real intentions, to ask a free passage through his country, and that provision might be supplied to some pilgrims of God, who had undertaken, through devotion, an expedition into the kingdom of Granada, to revenge the sufferings of their Lord and Saviour, to destroy the infidels, and to exalt the Cross. Don Pedro laughed at this request, and sent for answer, that he would never attend to such beggarly crew. When the men at arms and companions heard this reply, they thought him very proud and presumptuous, and made every haste to do him as much mischief as they could.

They marched through the kingdom of Arragon, where every accommodation was prepared for them, and they found all sorts of provision plenty and cheap; for the king of Arragon was very joyful on their arrival, because this army would soon re-conquer from the king of Castille the whole country which he had taken from him, and kept by force. Whenever

* The abbé Choisy says, it was 30,000 francs.

In a note to the Mémoires de Du Guesclin, it is said, that "it cost Du Guesclin 100,000 francs for his ransom. As he had no ready money, the lords de Matignon, de Montbourcher and de Laval were his security to the general, Chandos. Charles V. paid of it 40,000 francs, the pope and Henry Trastamare, afterwards king of Castille, made up the remainder.—*Mémoires Historiques.*

In a most curious history, called Les Faiz de Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, which I consider as the editio princeps (from the style and manner of printing) in the Hafod Library, no mention whatever is made of a ransom.

"Les Faiz du Messire Bertrand du Guesclin, in fol. figures, ancienne édition gothique.

"Je n'ai vu ce livre nulle part ailleurs que dans le catalogue du maréchal d'Estrées, num. 15052. On seroit porté à croire c'est le même que le manuscrit de Ménard, qu'il a publié comme inconnu jusqu'alors, ainsi qu'il dit dans son avis au lecteur."—*Extract* from the *Bibliotheque Historique de France* du *Père le Long.*

In the Mémoires de Bertrand, by M. Guyard de Berville, 2 vols. 12mo. it is said that Charles V. paid part of the 100,000 francs of the ransom, and that Bertrand found the rest himself.

† "Neufville." Sir John Neville.

‡ Choisy says, that one part embarked at Aigues-Mortes for Barcelona, and that the rest went by land.

they won any towns, castles, cities or fortresses, which don Pedro had seized from Arragon, sir Bertrand and his army gave them back to the king of Arragon, who declared, that from that day forward, he would assist Henry the bastard against don Pedro. All the men at arms passed the great river * which divides Castille from Arragon, and entered Spain.

News was brought to the king of Castille, that French, English, Bretons, Normans, Picards and Burgundians had crossed the Ebro, and entered his kingdom: that they had reconquered every place on the other side of the river that separates Castille from Arragon, which had cost him so much trouble to gain. Upon hearing this, he was in a great rage, and said things should not go on thus. He issued a special ordinance throughout his kingdom, ordering all those to whom it was addressed to meet him without delay, as he was determined to combat these men at arms, who had entered the kingdom of Castille.

Too few obeyed his mandate; for, when he thought to have assembled a large force, scarcely any came to the rendezvous. All the barons and knights of Spain fell off from him, in favour of his brother the bastard. This event forced him to fly, or he would have been taken; and so much was he hated by his subjects and enemies, that not one remained with him, save one loyal knight called Ferdinand de Castro †. He was determined never to quit don Pedro, whatever ill-fortune might happen to him. The king of Castille went to Seville, the handsomest city in Spain; but, not thinking himself in security there, he ordered all his treasures and other things to be packed up in large coffers, which he embarked on board of ships, leaving Seville with his wife, his children, and Ferdinand de Castro. Don Pedro arrived that same evening ‡ (like a knight that had been beaten and discomfited) at a town called Corunna, in Galicia, where there was a very strong castle. He immediately flung himself into it, with his wife and children; that is to say, two young damsels, called Constance § and Isabella ||. None of his courtiers followed him, nor had he any of his council with him except the above-mentioned Ferdinand de Castro.

We will now return to his brother, Henry the bastard, and relate how he persevered in his designs. I have before said, that don Pedro was much hated by all his subjects, for the great and numberless acts of injustice he had committed, and for the various murders by which he had cut off many of the nobility, some of them even by his own hands; so that, as soon as they knew his brother the bastard had entered Castille with a powerful army, they all joined him, acknowledged him for their lord; and, having increased his army, caused all the cities, towns, and castles to open their gates to him, and the inhabitants to do him homage. The Spaniards shouted with one voice, "Long live king Henry! down with don Pedro, who has treated us so cruelly and wickedly." Thus they conducted Henry throughout the kingdom of Castille; that is to say, the lord Gomez Garilz ¶, the grand master of the order of Calatrava * *, and the master of the order of St. James, making all the

* The Ebro,—probably at Alfaro or Calahorra.

† "Ferdinand de Castro." In the history of Spain by Ferraras, don Pedro publicly marries the daughter of a don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, widow of don Diego de Haro, during the life of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, and of Maria di Padilla, in the year 1354; whether the daughter of this knight who accompanied him in his flight, I know not.

‡ Don Pedro retired first to Portugal, where he offered his daughter Beatrice to the infant of Portugal, in marriage, with a large portion of money he had brought with him. This proposal was rejected, for fear of embroiling the two kingdoms. He retreated to different castles, the governors of which refused to admit him, and stopped at the castle of Montéry in Galicia: from thence he went to San Jago, and murdered the archbishop, and thence to Corunna, where finding twenty-two vessels, he embarked for Bayonne. Don Ferdinand de Castro did not accompany him, but remained to support his interest in Biscay.

He could not at that time have any wife; for he had murdered Blanche de Bourbon, and Maria di Padilla died before this. He indeed owned his marriage with Maria very solemnly, but was not believed.

Don Pedro had entered into an alliance with the king of England and prince of Wales, as early as 1363, for fear of the vengeance of France, for the murder of queen Blanche.

For more particulars, see Ferraras' Hist. of Spain, Dillon, &c.

§ Constance married John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who claimed the kingdom of Castille after don Pedro's death.

|| Isabella,—first wife of Edmund, duke of York, married 1372, much lamented for her youthful wantonness, died 1392.—*Anderson's R. Gen.*

¶ "Gomez Garilz." Denys Sauvage cannot make out who this is; nor is the account correct, according to other historians.—Many of the king's friends remained steady to him, as did the bulk of his army. Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, master of the knights of St. James, who commanded at Logrono; Garcia de Padilla, governor of Agreda; Fernando de Toledo, brother to the master of St. James; and Boccanegra, admiral of Castille, were among the number.—*Dillon.*

** "Master of Calatrava." Martin Lopez de Cordova, master of Calatrava, followed don Pedro's fortunes, and went with him from Seville to Portugal.—*Dillon.*

people obey him. They crowned him the king in the city of Burgos, where all the prelates, earls, barons, and knights paid him their homage, and swore they would serve and obey him as their king for evermore, and if there should be occasion, would sacrifice their lives for him. King Henry then passed from city to city, all the inhabitants of which treated him as their king.

Henry made large presents and gifts to the foreign knights who had put him in possession of the kingdom of Castille. They were so magnificent, that he was considered as a most generous and bountiful lord: the Normans, French and Bretons, who had been partakers of his bounty, said he was deserving of a large fortune, and that he ought to reign with great prosperity. Thus the bastard of Spain found himself master of Castille. He created his two brothers, don Tello and don Frederick, earls, and gave them large estates, with other revenues. He continued king of Castille, Galicia, Seville, Toledo and Leon, until the forces of the Prince of Wales deprived him of them, replacing the king, don Pedro, in the possession of these realms, as you will find related in the following history.

When king Henry saw himself thus situated, and the business completed, so that all obeyed him, both nobles and serfs, as their king and lord; that there was not any appearance of opposition to his crown; he imagined it would add lustre to his name, if he made an irruption into the kingdom of Granada with those free companies that had come from France, as a means of giving them employment. He mentioned it therefore to several of the knights who were about him, when they consented to it. He retained constantly near his person those knights who were attached to the Prince of Wales; namely, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly and others, showing them the most marked attentions and kindness, in expectation of being aided by them in his intended expedition to Granada, which he was desirous of undertaking.

Soon after his coronation, the greater number of French knights took their leave, and departed. On their going away, he made them very rich presents. The Earl de la Marche, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the lord de Beaujeu and many more returned to their own country. However, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Olivier de Mauny and the Bretons, as well as the free companies, remained in Castille until other news arrived. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was made constable of Castille by Henry, with the assent of all the barons of the realm. We will now return to don Pedro.

CHAPTER CCXXXI.—KING DON PEDRO SENDS TO ENTREAT THE PRINCE OF WALES' ASSISTANCE AGAINST HIS BROTHER, HENRY THE BASTARD.—HE RETIRES INTO GUIENNE, WHERE HE IS WELL RECEIVED BY THE PRINCE.

You have heard how don Pedro had cast himself into the castle of Corunna near the sea, with only his wife, his two daughters, and don Fernando de Castro; whilst in the mean time, his brother, the bastard, through the assistance of the men at arms, whom he had drawn from France, was conquering Castille, to whom the whole country had surrendered. All this much alarmed him; and he did not think himself in perfect safety in the castle of Corunna; for he had a great dread of his brother the bastard, and well knew that, if he were informed where he was, he would come and seek him with his forces, to besiege him in the castle. He would not wait this danger, but embarked on board a vessel, with his wife, his daughters, don Fernando de Castro, and whatever he had amassed of money and jewels, and put to sea in the night. The wind, however, was so contrary, that they could not clear the coast, but were obliged to return, and again to enter the castle of Corunna. Don Pedro then demanded from his knight, don Fernando de Castro, complaining of his evil fortune, which was so much against him, what was best to be done. "My lord," replied the knight, "before you leave this place, I think it would be proper that you send some person to your cousin the prince of Wales, to know if he will receive you, and to entreat of him, for God's sake, that he would attend to your distress. He is in a manner bound to it, from the strong connection that has subsisted between the king, his father, and yours in former times. The prince of Wales is of such a noble and gallant disposition that, when he shall

be informed of your misfortunes, he will certainly take compassion on you: and, if he should determine to replace you on your throne, there is no one, sir, that could oppose him, so much is he redoubted by all the world, and beloved by soldiers. You are now safe where you are; for this fortress will hold you out until some intelligence shall be brought you from Aquitaine."

Don Pedro immediately assented to this: a letter, in a most lamentable and piteous strain, was written: and a knight, with two squires, having been instructed to undertake this employ, cheerfully accepted it, directly put to sea, and made sail for Bayonne, a city dependent on the king of England, where they safely arrived. They made enquiries after the prince, and learnt that at that time he was at Bordeaux. Upon this, they rode to Bordeaux, and took up their quarters at an inn. Soon afterward they made for the monastery of St. Andrew, where the prince resided.

The knight and squires who had come from Spain informed the knights of the prince, that they were Spaniards, and ambassadors from don Pedro, of Castille. The prince, when informed of it, wished to see them, and to know what business had brought them. They were, upon this, introduced, and after having cast themselves on their knees, saluted him according to their custom, recommending the king their lord to him, as they presented him his letter. The prince made them rise: having taken the letter, he opened it, and afterwards read it more at his leisure. He found that don Pedro had written a most melancholy account of himself, informing him of his hardships and distress, and in what manner his brother the bastard, by means of the great alliances he had made, first with the pope, then with the kings of France and Arragon, and the free companies, had driven him out of his inheritance, the kingdom of Castille. In that letter, he entreated the prince, for the love of God, and for pity's sake, that he would attend to his situation, and find some remedy to it; for it was not a Christian-like act, that a bastard, through force, should disinherit a legitimate son, and seize his possessions.

The prince, who was a valiant and wise knight, having folded up the letter in his hands, said to the ambassadors, who had remained in his presence, "you are welcome to us from our cousin the king of Castille: you will stay here in our court, and will not return without an answer." The knights of the prince were already prepared; for they well knew what was proper to be done, and took with them the Spanish knight and his two squires to entertain them handsomely. The prince had remained in his apartment, thinking much on the contents of the letter from the king of Castille. He immediately sent for sir John Chandos and sir William Felton, the chiefs of his council: one was high steward of Aquitaine, and the other constable.

When they were come, he said, smiling, "My lords, here is great news from Spain. The king, don Pedro our cousin, complains grievously of Henry his bastard brother, who has seized his kingdom, and driven him out of it, as perhaps you may have heard related by those who are come hither. He entreats of us help and assistance, as his letter will more fully explain to you." The prince then again read it over, word for word, to the knights, who lent a willing ear. When he had read it, he said: "You, sir John, and you, sir William, who are my principal counsellors, and in whom I have the greatest confidence and trust; tell me, I beg of you, what will be the most advisable for us to do in this business." The two knights looked at each other, but uttered not a word. The prince again appealed to them, and said, "Speak boldly, whatever be your opinion." The prince was then advised by these two knights, as I have heard it told afterwards, to send a body of men at arms to king don Pedro, as far as Corunna, where he was, and whence he had dated his letter; to conduct him to Bordeaux, in order more fully to learn what were his wants and intentions: that then they should be better informed from his conversation how they were to act.

This answer pleased the prince. Sir William Felton was ordered to take the command of the expedition; and the prince asked sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Nêle Loring, sir Simon Burley* and sir William Trousseaux to accompany it into Galicia, to escort from Corunna the king, don Pedro, and the remnant of his army. The armament for this expedition was to consist of twelve vessels, which were to be filled with archers and men at arms. The

* Sir Simon Burley,—knight of the Garter, &c.—beheaded in the reign of Richard II.

above-named knights made proper purveyances for the occasion, and set out from Bordeaux, accompanied by the ambassadors from don Pedro. They continued their journey to Bayonne, where they remained three or four days, waiting for a favourable wind, and to load the ships. On the fifth day, as they were on the point of sailing, don Pedro, king of Castille, arrived there. He had left Corunna in great suspense, being afraid to stay there longer, and had brought with him a few of his people, and as much of his treasure as he could carry away.

This was great news for the English. Sir William Felton and the other knights waited on him, on his landing, and received him handsomely. They informed him, that they had prepared themselves, and were on the point of sailing to Corunna, or farther, had it been necessary, to seek for him, by orders from the prince their lord. Don Pedro heard this with great joy, and returned his warmest thanks to the prince, as well as to the knights then present. Sir William Felton immediately sent the prince information of the arrival of the king of Castille at Bayonne, who was much pleased thereat. These knights did not make any long stay at Bayonne, but, taking the king with them, made for the city of Bordeaux, where they safely arrived.

The prince, who was anxious to see his cousin the king, don Pedro, and also to do him the more honour, rode out of Bordeaux, attended by his knights and squires, to meet him. When they met he saluted him very respectfully, and paid him every attention by speech and action; for he knew perfectly well how so to do: no prince of his time understood so well the practice of good breeding. After their meeting, when they had refreshed themselves as was becoming them to do, they rode towards Bordeaux. The prince placed don Pedro on his right hand, and would not suffer it to be otherwise. During their return, don Pedro told the prince his distresses, and in what manner his brother the bastard had driven him out of the kingdom of Castille. He complained bitterly of the disloyalty of his subjects; for all had deserted him except one knight, don Fernando de Castro, then with him, and whom he pointed out to the prince. The prince comforted him by a most courteous and discreet answer: he begged of him not to be too much cast down; for, if he had lost everything, it was fully in the power of God to give him back what he had lost, and more, as well as vengeance upon his enemies.

Conversing on this subject, as well as on other topics, they rode on to Bordeaux, and dismounted at the monastery of St. Andrew, the residence of the prince and princess. The king, don Pedro, was conducted to an apartment which had been prepared for him. When he had dressed himself suitably to his rank, he waited on the princess and the ladies, who all received him very politely. I could enlarge much on the feasts and entertainments which were made; but I will briefly pass them over, and relate to you how don Pedro conducted himself towards his cousin the prince of Wales, whom he found courteous and affable, and willing to attend to his request of aid, notwithstanding some of his council had given him the advice I will now mention.

Before the arrival of don Pedro at Bordeaux, some lords, as well English as Gascons, who had much wisdom and forethought, were of the prince's council, and by inclination as well as duty, thought themselves bound to give him loyal advice, spoke to the prince in words like the following:—"My lord, you have often heard the old proverb of 'All covet, all lose*.' True it is, that you are one of the princes of this world the most enlightened, esteemed, and honoured, in possession of large domains and a handsome principality on this side of the sea, and are, thank God, at peace with every one. It is also well known, that no king, far or near, at this present moment dares anger you; such reputation have you in chivalry for valour and good fortune. You ought, therefore, in reason, to be contented with what you have got, and not seek for enemies. We must add, likewise, that this don Pedro, king of Castille, who at present is driven out of his realm, is a man of great pride, very cruel, and full of bad dispositions. The kingdom of Castille has suffered many grievances at his hands: many valiant men have been beheaded and murdered, without justice or reason; so that to these wicked actions, which he ordered or consented to, he owes the loss of his kingdom. In addition to this, he is an enemy to the church, and excommunicated by our holy father. He has been long considered as a tyrant, who, without any plea of justice, has always made war upon his neighbours; such as the kings of Arragon and Navarre, whom he was desirous

* He that to moche embraseth, houldeth the wekelyer.—*Lord Berners.*

to dethrone by force. It is also commonly reported, and believed in his kingdom, and even by his own attendants, that he murdered the young lady, his wife, who was a cousin of yours, being daughter to the duke of Bourbon. Upon all these accounts, it behoves you to pause and reflect before you enter into any engagements; for what he has hitherto suffered are the chastisements of God, who orders these punishments as an example to the kings and princes of the earth, that they should never commit such like wickedness."

With similar language to this was the prince also addressed by his councils, on the arrival of the king of Castille at Bordeaux: but to this loyal advice they received the following answer:—"My lords, I take it for granted and believe that you give me the best advice you are able. I must, however, inform you, that I am perfectly well acquainted with the life and conduct of don Pedro, and well know that he has committed faults without number, for which at present he suffers: but I will tell you the reasons which at this moment urge and embolden me to give him assistance. I do not think it either decent or proper that a bastard should possess a kingdom as an inheritance, nor drive out of his realm his own brother, heir to the country by lawful marriage; and no king, or king's son, ought ever to suffer it, as being of the greatest prejudice to royalty. Add to this, that my lord and father and this don Pedro have for a long time been allies, much connected together, by which we are bounden to aid and assist him, in case he should require it." These were the reasons that instigated the prince to assist the king of Castille in his great distress, and thus he replied to his council. No one could afterwards make the smallest change in his determination, but every day it grew firmer.

When don Pedro arrived at Bordeaux, he humbled himself to the prince, offering him many rich presents, and the promise of further advantage; for he said, he would make his eldest son, Edward, king of Galicia, and would divide among him and his people the great riches he had left in Castille, where it was so well secured and hidden that no one could find its situation except himself. The knights paid a willing attention to these words; for both English and Gascons are by nature of a covetous disposition. The prince was advised to summon all the barons of Aquitaine to an especial council at Bordeaux, so that there might be a grand conference held; when the king don Pedro might lay before him his situation, and his means of satisfying them, should the prince undertake to conduct him back to his own country, and to do all in his power to replace him upon his throne. Letters and messengers were therefore sent to all parts, and the lords summoned: first, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Carmaing, the captal de Buch, the lord de Tande, the viscount de Châtillon, the lords de l'Escut, de Rosem, de l'Esparre, de Chaumont, de Mucident, de Courton, de Pincornet, and other barons of Gascony and Guienne. The earl of Foix was requested to attend; but he would not come, and excused himself, having at the time a disorder in one of his legs, which prevented him from mounting on horseback: he sent, however, his council in his stead.

CHAPTER CCXXXII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES HOLDS A GRAND CONFERENCE AT BORDEAUX ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE KING OF CASTILLE.—HE RECEIVES LETTERS FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND, TO ASSENT TO THE PROPOSALS OF ASSISTING DON PEDRO.—HE MAKES OVERTURES TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR A FREE PASSAGE THROUGH HIS KINGDOM, TO ENABLE HIM TO CONDUCT DON PEDRO BACK TO CASTILLE.

To this conference, which was holden at Bordeaux, there came all the counts, viscounts, barons, and men of abilities, in Saintonge, Poitou, Quercy, Limousin, Gascony, and Aquitaine. When they were all assembled, they formed a parliament; and, having entered upon the business of their meeting, they for three days discussed the situation and future prospect of this don Pedro, king of Castille, who was all the time present, placing himself near his cousin the prince, who spoke in his behalf, and gave the best account he was able of his affairs. It was at last resolved, that the prince should send sufficient ambassadors to the king, his father, in England, to know his opinion on the subject; and that, as soon as they should have the king's answer, they would then assemble, and give the prince such good advice as reasonably ought to be satisfactory to him.

The prince immediately named four knights; the lord Delawar, sir Nêle Loring, sir John and sir Hely de Pommiers; and ordered them to set out for England. This conference then broke up, and each returned to his home. The king, don Pedro, remained at Bordeaux with the prince and princess, who entertained him handsomely, and with due honour.

These four knights began their journey, according to their orders, for England; and, having embarked on board two ships, they arrived safely at Southampton, through God's good will and favourable winds. They remained there one day, to refresh themselves and to disembark their horses and equipage. On the second day, they mounted their horses, and rode on to the city of London, where they enquired after the king, and where he was. They were told he was at Windsor. They set out for that place, and were very well received by the king and queen, as much through love for the prince their son, as because they were lords and knights of great renown.

These lords and knights gave their letters to the king, who opened them and had them read. After having for a short time considered their contents, he said: "My lords, you may retire: I will send for some of my barons and learned men of my council: we will then give you our answer, that you may return back soon." This reply was very pleasing to the ambassadors, who went the next day to London. It was not long before the king of England came to Westminster, where he was met by the greater part of his council; that is to say, his son the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, sir Walter Manny, sir Reginald Cobham, earl Percy, lord Neville, and many others. Among the prelates were the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and London. They deliberated for a long time on the letters from the prince, and on the request he had made to the king his father. It appeared reasonable to the king and his council, that the prince should attempt to conduct back and replace the king of Spain on his throne and in his inheritance, which was unanimously agreed on. Upon this, they drew up excellent answers, from the king and council of England, to the prince and all the barons of Aquitaine. They were carried back by the same persons who had brought the letters, to the city of Bordeaux, where they found the prince, and the king don Pedro; to each of whom they gave other letters which the king of England had sent by them.

Another conference was determined upon: and, a day being fixed for holding it in the city of Bordeaux, all those who were summoned attended. The letters from the king of England were publicly read, who clearly and decidedly gave his opinion, that the prince his son, in the names of God and St. George, should undertake the restoration of don Pedro to his heritage, from which he had been driven unjustly, and, as it would appear, fraudulently. In these letters, mention was also made, that the king thought himself obliged, from certain treaties which had been formerly entered into between him and his cousin don Pedro, to grant him help and succour, in case he should be required so to do. He ordered all his vassals, and entreated his friends to help and assist the prince of Wales, by every means in their power, throughout this affair, in the same manner as if he himself were present. When the barons of Aquitaine had heard these letters read, and the commands and requests of the king and of the prince their lord, they cheerfully made the following answer: "Sir, we will heartily obey the commands of the king our sovereign lord. It is but just that we should be obedient both to him and to you: this we will do, and will attend you and don Pedro upon this expedition; but we wish to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not customary for men at arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country without receiving wages."

The prince, on hearing this, turned towards don Pedro, and said: "Sir king, you hear what our people say: it is for you to give them an answer; for it behoves you to do so who are about to lead them into action." Don Pedro made the following reply to the prince: "My dear cousin, as long as my gold, my silver, and my treasure will last, which I have brought with me from Spain, but which is not so great by thirty times as what I have left behind, I am willing it should be divided among your people." Upon which the prince said: "My lord, you speak well: and for the surplus of the debt, I will take that upon myself towards them, and will order whatever sums you may want to be advanced you as a loan, until we shall be arrived in Castille." "By my head," replied don Pedro, "you will do me a great kindness."

Several of the most experienced among them, such as the earl of Armagnac, the lord de Pommiers, sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, and some others, having considered the business, said, the prince of Wales could not well undertake this expedition without having gained the consent and good-will of the king of Navarre; for he could not enter Spain without traversing his kingdom, and by the pass of Roncevaux*. This entrance to Spain they were not quite sure of obtaining; for the king of Navarre had lately formed fresh alliances with the bastard Henry. It was therefore debated for a long time, in what manner they could succeed in gaining this important point. The wisest were of opinion, that another meeting should be appointed, and that it should be held in the city of Bayonne; and that the prince, when there, should send able ambassadors to the king of Navarre, to entreat he would come to this conference at Bayonne. This resolution was adopted; and the conference broke up. They had all a wish to attend the meeting at Bayonne, and a day was fixed for holding it.

During this interval, the prince sent sir John Chandos and sir William Felton to the king of Navarre, who was at that time in the city of Pampeluna. These two knights, having wisdom and eloquence, exerted themselves so effectually with the king of Navarre that he agreed to their request, and gave it under his seal that he would attend the conference at Bayonne. Upon which they returned to the prince, and related to him what they had done. On the appointed day for this meeting in the city of Bayonne, the king of Spain, the prince, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and all the barons of Gascony, Poitou, Quercy, Rouergue, Saintonge, and Limousin came thither. The king of Navarre was also there; to whom the king of Spain and the prince paid every attention, thinking they should not lose by it.

This conference in the city of Bayonne was long. It lasted five days. The prince and his council had many difficulties before they could get the king of Navarre to consent to their wishes; for it was not easy to make anything of him whenever he found that his services were wanted. However, from the great influence which the prince had over him, he brought him at last to swear, promise and seal a treaty of peace, alliance, and confederation with don Pedro. The king of Castille entered into certain engagements with the king of Navarre, which had been proposed to him by the prince of Wales. These engagements were, that don Pedro, as king of both Castilles, should give, under his seal, to the king of Navarre and his heirs, to hold as their inheritance, all the domain of Logrono, with the lands on each side of the river, and also the town, castle, territory, and dependencies of Salvatierra, with the town of St. Jean Pied du Port and its surrounding country; which lands, towns, castles, and lordships he had in former times taken possession of, and held by force. In addition to this, the king of Navarre was to receive twenty thousand francs, for laying open his country, and permitting the army to pass peaceably through, finding them provisions upon being paid for them: in which sum he acknowledged himself debtor to the king of Navarre†.

When the barons of Aquitaine learnt that these treaties were made, and that don Pedro and the king of Navarre were friends, they made inquiry who was to pay them their wages: the prince, who was very eager for this expedition, took that upon himself, king don Pedro having promised punctual repayment.

* Roncevaux,—a village in Navarre, made famous by the defeat of Charlemagne, in which Orlando and Rinaldo, so much celebrated by the old romances, were slain.

† See the Fœdera for the underneath treaties, which relate to these transactions.

The first treaty between Edward III. and don Pedro, king of Castille, appears to be the 22d June, 1362.—Confirmed 1st February, 1363,—and 1st March, 1363.

"Forbidding all soldiers to enter Spain as enemies," addressed to sir John Chandos, sir Hugh Calvurly, &c.—December 6th, 1365.

A treaty, in which don Pedro acknowledges himself debtor to the prince of Wales in 56,000 gold florins, of good weight, &c., which the prince, by the king's directions, had paid to the king of Navarre, &c., dated Libourne (a city on the Dordogne, ten leagues distant from Bordeaux,) Sept. 23d. 1366. The number of witnesses to this deed shows that Froissart was misinformed when he says that don Pedro was solely attended by don Fernando de Castro.

Articles of convention between Pedro king of Castille, Charles king of Navarre, and Edward prince of Wales,—dated Libourne, Sept. 23d, 1366.

There are various other treaties between the king and prince, as well as the prince's letter to Henry de Trastamare, and the answer, before the battle of Navarette.—See Rymer.

CHAPTER CCXXXIII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR REPLACING DON PEDRO ON HIS THRONE OF CASTILLE.—HENRY THE BASTARD, THOUGH LATE INFORMED OF IT, ENDEAVOURS TO PREVENT IT.

When all those things had been so ordered and settled that every one knew what he was to do, and they had remained in the city of Bayonne twelve days amusing themselves together, the king of Navarre took his leave, and set out for the kingdom of Navarre whence he had come. The other lords departed also, and each returned to his own home. Even the prince came back to Bordeaux; but the king of Castille remained at Bayonne. The prince immediately sent his heralds into Spain, to the knights and other captains who were English or Gascons attached to or dependent on him, to signify his orders to take their leave of the bastard, and to return as speedily as possible; for he had need of them, and should find them employment elsewhere. When the heralds who were the bearers of these orders to the knights in Castille came to them, they guessed they were sent for home: they immediately took leave of king Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous, and honourable, made them very handsome presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Walter Huet, sir Matthew Gournay, sir John Devreux, with their men, left Spain, and returned as speedily as possible. They were followed by several other knights and squires of the prince's household, whose names I cannot remember.

The free companions were at this time scattered in different parts of the country, and did not receive this intelligence so soon as the other knights. Upon their receiving the information, sir Robert Briquet, John Treuelle*, sir Rabours†, sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Garsis du Chastel, Nandon de Bagerant, the bastard de l'Esparre, the bastard Camus, the bastard de Breteuil, assembled together and set out on their return.

King Henry had not heard of the prince's intentions to bring his brother, don Pedro, back to Castille, so soon as these knights; and well it was for them he had not; otherwise if he had received this intelligence, they would not have been suffered to depart so easily; for he had the power to detain and vex them. However, when he knew the truth of it, he did not seem much affected by it: nevertheless, he spoke to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was still with him, as follows: "Sir Bertrand, think of the prince of Wales: they say, he intends to make war upon us, to replace by force this Jew, who calls himself king of Spain, upon our throne of Castille. What do you say to this?" To which sir Bertrand replied: "He is so valiant and determined a knight that, since he has undertaken it, he will exert himself to the utmost to accomplish it. I would therefore advise you to guard well all the passes and defiles on every side, so that no one may enter or go out of your kingdom without your leave. In the mean time, keep up the affections of your subjects. I know for a truth, that you will have great assistance from many knights in France, who will be happy to serve you. I will, with your permission, return thither, where I am sure of finding several friends: and I will bring back with me as many as I possibly can." "By my faith," replied king Henry, "you say well; and I will, in this business, follow everything you shall order."

Not long after, sir Bertrand took leave of king Henry, and went to Arragon, where he was received with joy by the king; with whom he remained fifteen days, and then departed. He continued his journey to Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who was very happy to see him, as he loved him much. When he had passed some time there, he took his leave, and went to France, where he had a most gracious reception from the king.

When it was publicly known through Spain, Arragon and France, that the intentions of the prince of Wales were to replace don Pedro in the kingdom of Castille, it was a matter of great wonder to many, and was variously talked of. Some said, the prince was making this expedition through pride and presumption; that he was jealous of the honour sir Bertrand du Guesclin had obtained, in conquering Castille in the name of king Henry, and

* "John Treuelle."—Barnes calls him sir John Charnelle. † "Sir Rabours." Sir Robert Cheney.—*Barnes.*

then making him king of it. Others said, that both pity and justice moved him to assist don Pedro in recovering his inheritance; for it was highly unbecoming a bastard to hold a kingdom, or bear the name of king. Thus were many knights and squires divided in their opinions. King Henry, however, was not idle: he sent ambassadors to the king of Arragon, to entreat of him that he would not enter into any treaty or convention with the prince and his allies; for that he was, and would continue to be, his good neighbour and friend.

The king of Arragon, who esteemed him much, for in former times he had found don Pedro very overbearing, assured him, that upon no account, no, not for the loss of one half of his kingdom, would he enter into any treaty with the prince nor with don Pedro, but would lay open his kingdom to all sorts of men who should wish to enter Spain to his assistance, and would shut it up from all who had evil intentions against him. This king of Arragon kept faithfully all he had promised to king Henry; for as soon as he knew that don Pedro was aided by the prince, and that the companies were marching that way, he ordered all the passes of Arragon to be closed, and caused them to be strictly guarded. He posted men at arms and watchmen on the mountains and in the defiles of Catalonia, so that no one could pass that way without great danger.

The companies, however, on their return, found out another road; they had much to endure from famine and other evils before they could be free from danger in Arragon. They advanced to the frontiers of the country of Foix, but could not obtain permission to pass through it; for the earl was not desirous that such people should enter his territories. News was brought of their distress to the prince, who was then at Bordeaux, occupying his mind night and day on the best means of executing this expedition with honour. He saw that these companies could neither pass nor return into Aquitaine, for the defiles of Arragon and Catalonia were well guarded, and they were now on the borders of the country of Foix very ill at their ease. He was therefore alarmed, lest the king of Arragon or don Henry should gain by force, or by large gifts and promises, these companies (who were upwards of twelve thousand men, from whom he expected great assistance), and they might be engaged to fight against him. The prince, therefore, determined to send sir John Chandos to meet and to retain them. He at the same time ordered him to wait on the earl of Foix, to beg that, for his love to him, he would allow these companies to pass through his country, and that he would pay double the value for any mischief they might commit in their march. Sir John Chandos undertook this journey most willingly, to oblige his lord: he set out from Bordeaux, and rode on to Dacqs*; thence he continued his route until he arrived in the country of Foix, where he waited on the earl.

He found these companies in a country called Basques†, where he entered into a treaty with them, and managed it so well that they all agreed to serve the prince, in his intended expedition, upon having a handsome sum of money paid down to them, which sir John Chandos swore to see done. He again returned to the earl of Foix, and entreated him most earnestly that he would permit those companies, who now belonged to the prince, to pass through one end of his domain. The earl, who was desirous of pleasing the prince, and firmly attached to him, in order to gratify his wishes, complied with the request, provided they did no damage to him or to his lands. This sir John Chandos promised to be answerable for, and sent back one of his squires, attended by a herald, with the treaty he had made with the earl of Foix, to the commanders of the companies. He then returned to Bordeaux, and related to the prince his journey, and the successful issue of it. The prince, who loved him and had great confidence in him, was well pleased with both. The prince was at this time in the full vigour of youth, and had never been weary or satiated with war, since the first time he bore arms, but was always looking forwards to some achievement of high renown. This Spanish expedition occupied his mind entirely. Both honour and compassion urged him to replace on his throne, by force of arms, a king who had been driven from it.

* Dacqs, or Dax,—an ancient city of Gascony, on the Adour, forty-two leagues and a half from Bordeaux, fifteen from Pau. Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to be Auch. This town is certainly more in a direct line to Foix, from Bordeaux, than Dax. It is d'Ast in his edition; but my MSS. have Dax.

† "Basques." Le pays de Basques is a small country of France, near the Pyrénées, between the river Adour, the frontiers of Spain, the ocean and Béarn. It comprehends le Labour, la Basse Navarre, and the country of Soule. Bayonne is the capital.

He conversed frequently on this subject with sir John Chandos and sir William Felton, who were his principal advisers, and asked them their opinions. These two knights truly said: "My lord, this undoubtedly is, without comparison, a much more difficult enterprise than driving him out of his realm; for he was detested by his subjects, insomuch that they all fled from him when he most wanted their help. The bastard king at this moment possesses the kingdom from the affection which the nobility, prelates and commonalty bear him; and therefore they will do everything in their power to keep and maintain him as their king, whatever may be the consequences. It behoves you then to have a sufficient number of archers and men at arms; for you will find, on your entering Spain, work enough for them. We advise you also to melt the best part of your plate and treasure, of which you are abundantly furnished, that it may be coined into money, for you to distribute liberally among the companions who are to serve under you in this expedition, and who, from affection to you alone, will engage to do so; for as to don Pedro, they will do nothing on his account. You should send likewise to the king your father, to beg of him to allow you to receive the hundred thousand francs which the king of France is bound to send to England in a short time. You ought also to collect money wherever you can procure it (for you will have need of an immense quantity), without taxing your subjects or country; by which means you will be more beloved by them."

These and such like counsels, equally good and loyal, were at times given by those two knights, and followed by the prince. He had his plate, both gold and silver, broken and coined into money, which he liberally distributed among the free companies. He also sent to England, to request that he might obtain from the king the hundred thousand francs before mentioned. The king of England, who knew the wants of the prince, immediately complied, wrote to the king of France on this subject, and sent him proper acquittances for the sum he was to pay him. The hundred thousand francs were by this means paid to the prince, who divided them among different men at arms.

During the time the prince passed at Angoulême, he was one day amusing himself in his apartment with many knights of Gascony, Poitou and England, joking each other alternately upon this Spanish expedition, (sir John Chandos was at the time absent, on his journey to retain the companies), when he turned himself towards the lord d'Albret, and said; "My lord d'Albret, how many men can you bring into the field for this expedition?" Lord d'Abret was quick in his answer, replying, "My lord, if I wished to ask all my friends, that is, all my vassals, I can bring full a thousand lances, and leave a sufficiency behind to guard the country." "By my head, lord d'Albret, that is handsome," returned the prince: then looking at sir William Felton and other English knights, he added in English, "On my faith, one ought to love that country well where there is a baron who can attend his lord with a thousand lances." Then, again addressing himself to the lord d'Albret, he said; "Lord d'Albret, with great willingness I retain them all." "Let it be so, then, in God's name, my lord," answered the lord d'Albret. This engagement was the cause of much mischief hereafter, as you will see in the course of this history.

CHAPTER CCXXXIV.—THE VISCOUNT OF NARBONNE, THE SENESCHAL OF TOULOUSE, WITH OTHER FRENCH LORDS, HAVING ATTACKED SOME OF THE FREE COMPANIES, THAT WERE COME INTO FRANCE ACCORDING TO THE ORDERS OF THE PRINCE, ARE DISCOMFITED NEAR MONTAUBAN.—THE POPE FORBIDS THE PRISONERS WHOM THE COMPANIES HAD TAKEN, AND SET FREE ON THEIR PAROLE AFTER THE COMBAT, TO KEEP THEIR FAITH, OR TO PAY ANY RANSOM.

We must now return to those free companies who had become allied and connected with the prince. I have already said, that they had suffered very great hardships before they entered his principality. As soon as they found themselves clear of all danger from Arragon and Catalonia, they divided themselves into three bodies, with the consent of the earls of Foix and Armagnac and the lord d'Albret. One of these divisions marched along the borders of the countries of Foix and Toulouse; another through the country of Armagnac, and the

third towards Albret. The first division consisted chiefly of Gascons; and they might, in the whole, amount to three thousand; but they had again divided themselves into companies of three and four hundreds, and thus advanced towards Toulouse and Montauban.

At this time, there was a knight of France, high steward of Toulouse, whose name was Guy d'Asai *. When he learnt that these companies were near at hand, that they were advancing in divisions, and did not amount, in the whole, to more than three thousand combatants, who were pinched by hunger, badly armed and mounted, and still worse clothed and shod, he declared that no such persons should enter Toulouse, nor the kingdom of France, to recruit themselves: and that, if it pleased God, he would march out, to offer them battle. He directly gave notice of his intentions to the lord Aimeri, viscount of Narbonne, to the high stewards of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire, and to all knights, squires and officers in that quarter, commanding them to give him aid and assistance to defend the borders against these wicked companions. Those who had been sent to, obeyed, and came with all speed to the city of Toulouse. They amounted to five hundred men at arms, knights and squires, with upwards of four thousand infantry, who immediately took the field, and marched towards Montauban, seven leagues distant from Toulouse. Those who arrived first, and the others as they came in, instantly quitted the town, to wait until the whole were assembled together.

When the viscount of Narbonne and sir Guy d'Asai, who were the commanders of these men at arms, had left Toulouse, they fixed their quarters near to Montauban, which was at that time dependent on the prince of Wales, who had appointed for its governor a knight called sir John Combes. These French lords ordered their scouts, with the vanguard, to advance to Montauban, in hopes of drawing out some of the companions who had lately arrived there, and who were entertained by sir John Combes. The governor of Montauban was much surprised, on hearing that the French were come with a numerous army so near to his town, because the territory belonged to the prince: he ascended, therefore, the battlements of the gates, and, having obtained a hearing from these scouts, demanded who had sent them thither, and for what reason they had thus come upon the lands of the prince, who was their neighbour, and who had sworn friendship to the king and kingdom of France.

They answered him, that they were not charged by the lords who had sent them thither to give any reasons for so doing; but that, in order to be satisfied, he might come himself, or send any one to their commanders, who would give him an answer. "Indeed," replied the governor of Montauban, "I shall beg of you then to go back, and tell them to send me a passport, that I may safely come to them and return, or let them send to inform me fully for what reasons they have marched in this warlike manner against me; for did I think they were in earnest to make war, I would immediately inform my lord the prince of it, who would speedily provide a remedy." They willingly accepted his proposal, and returned to their lords, to whom they exactly repeated the governor's words.

The passport was made out in sir John's name, and sent to Montauban. Upon the receipt of it, he set out, attended only by four persons, and went to the quarters of these lords, who were ready dressed to receive him, and prepared with their answers. He saluted them, which they returned: he then asked them their reasons for ordering troops to advance to the fortress, which was a dependancy on the prince. They replied, "We wish not to invade the rights of any one, nor to make war; but we are determined to pursue our enemies where we know they are." "Who are your enemies? and where are they?" demanded the knight. "In God's name," answered the viscount of Narbonne, "they are at this moment in Montauban. They are robbers and pillagers, who have severely oppressed the kingdom of France. And you, sir John, if you had been courteous to your neighbours, ought not thus to have supported them in their robberies of poor persons, without a shadow of justice;

* "Guy d'Asai." When Bertrand saw the duke d'Anjou at Montpellier, he requested him to prevent those companies from returning to Aquitaine: he thereupon assembled the militia of the country, and collected a force of five hundred lances and four thousand archers. He gave the command of this army to Guy d'Asai séneschal de Toulouse, Arnould d'Espagne sénéschal de Carcassonne, Guy de Prohins séneschal de Beaucaire, and Aimeri viscount de Narbonne.—*Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 332.

for these are the causes that give rise to hatred between the great. If you do not therefore drive them out of your fortress, you are neither a friend to the king nor kingdom of France."

"My lords," replied the governor, "it is true there are men at arms in my garrison, whom my lord the prince has ordered thither, and whom I retain for him. I am not therefore inclined to send them away thus suddenly. If they have given you any cause of displeasure, I do not see from whom you can right yourselves; for they are men at arms, and they will support themselves in their usual manner, either on the territories of the king of France or on those of the prince." The lord of Narbonne and sir Guy d'Asai made answer by saying: "They are indeed men at arms, but of such a sort that they cannot exist without pillage and robbery, and have very unbecomingly trespassed on our boundaries, for which they shall pay dearly, if we could but once meet with them in the open plains. They have burnt, stolen, and done many shameful acts within the jurisdiction of Toulouse, complaints of which have been made to us, which if we suffer to go unpunished, we shall be traitors to the king our lord, who has appointed us to watch over and guard his country. You will therefore tell them from us, for, since we know where their quarters are, we can find them, that they shall make us amends for their proceedings, or they will fare the worse for it."

The governor could not, at that time, get any other answer from them. He returned very ill pleased, and said that all their menaces would not make him change his mind. Upon his return, he told the companions all that had passed, as well as the message he was to deliver to them. The leaders on hearing it, were not much satisfied; for they were unequal in numbers to the French, so that they kept themselves on their guard as much as they could.

Now it chanced, that exactly five days after this conversation, sir Perducas d'Albret with a large body of companions were on their march to pass through Montauban, for that was the direct road into the principality. He sent information of it to the governor: which when sir Robert Cheney and the other companions who had shut themselves up in the town heard, they were mightily rejoiced. They secretly made sir Perducas acquainted with the arrival of the French, and how they kept them besieged, threatening them much: they also informed him of the numbers of the French, with the names of their commanders.

When sir Perducas learnt this, he was no way frightened, but, collecting his men in a body, galloped into Montauban, where he was joyfully received. Upon their arrival, they discussed, among themselves, what would be most advisable to do: they unanimously resolved, that on the morrow they would arm, issue out of the town, and address themselves to the French, to request they would allow them peaceably to pass on. If they would not agree to this, and it were absolutely necessary to fight, they would then exert themselves, and risk the event of a battle.

What they had determined the preceding day, they put in execution the following. On the morning, having armed themselves and mounted their horses, their trumpets sounded, when they sallied out of Montauban. The French had already drawn up before the town, from the alarm of what they saw and heard the preceding evening, so that the companies could not pass but through them. Upon this, sir Perducas d'Albret and sir Robert Cheney stepped forward, to demand a parley of the French, and to beg of them to allow them quietly to pass. But these lords sent to inform them, they would have nothing to say to them, and that they should not pass but over the points of their spears and swords. They instantly began to shout their war-cry, and to call out, "Advance, advance upon these robbers, who pillage the world, and who live upon every one, without reason or justice."

When the companions saw that they must fight in earnest, or die with dishonour, they dismounted and formed their line, to wait for the French, who advanced very boldly on foot to meet them. Much fighting and pursuing now commenced: many hard blows were given, which knocked down several on each side. The combat was severe and long: many gallant deeds were performed, and several knights and squires unhorsed. The French, however, were more in number than the companions by at least two to one. They had not, therefore, any cause of fear, and by valiantly fighting, drove the companions far back, even within the barriers. When they were in that situation, the combat became more hot: many were killed and wounded on both sides. It would have been very hard with the companions, if the

governor had not ordered all the towns-people to take arms and assist, to the utmost of their power, those who were attached to the service of their prince. The inhabitants immediately took to their arms, and united themselves with the companies in the fray. Even the women, having collected stones, ascended their garrets, whence they flung so many on the French that they had sufficient employment in shielding themselves from them, and by wounding many made them retreat. The companions upon this took courage (for they had been for a considerable time in great peril), and boldly attacked the French. Many as gallant deeds were performed by captures and rescues as had been seen for some time, though the companies were but few in comparison of the French: every man exerted himself to do his duty well, and to drive the enemy by force out of the town.

It happened, that during this engagement, the bastard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, with about four hundred men whom they commanded, entered the back way into the town. They had marched all night with the greatest expedition; for they had had information how the French were besieging their comrades in Montauban. The battle was now renewed with fresh vigour; and the French were sadly beaten by these new comers. All those combats lasted from eight o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. At last, the French were completely discomfited and put to flight: happy were those who could find horses to mount and escape.

The viscount de Narbonne, sir Guy d'Asai, the earl of Uzés, the lord de Montmorillon, the séneschal de Carcassonne, the séneschal de Beaucaire, with upwards of a hundred knights, as well of France as of Provence, and the adjoining countries, many rich squires, and others of large property in Toulouse and Montpellier, were made prisoners. They would have taken more, if they had pursued them; but, as they were few in number and badly mounted, they were afraid to follow them, contenting themselves with what they had got.

This battle was fought before Montauban, the vigil of the feast of our Lady, in August 1366. After this defeat, sir Perducas d'Albret, sir Robert Cheney, sir John Combes, the bastard de Breteuil and Nandon de Bagerant, divided the booty they had gained among themselves and their companies. All those who had made any prisoners were to keep them, in order to gain by their ransom, or to give them their liberty, as they pleased. They were very attentive to them, accepting moderate ransoms, suitable to their rank, or the state of their affairs. They were the kinder to them, because this affair had turned out fortunately, and through their own gallantry. Those who had pledged their faith went away, having fixed a time for bringing their ransoms to Bordeaux, or other places more agreeable to them. Each now departed, and returned to his own country. The companies marched to join the prince, who received them very graciously, and sent them to their quarters in a country, called Basques, which is among the mountains.

I will now relate the end of this business, in what manner the viscount of Narbonne, the high steward of Toulouse and the other prisoners, paid their ransoms. Pope Urban V., who at this time reigned, hated mortally these free companies, whom he had for a long time excommunicated on account of their wicked deeds. Upon being informed of this engagement, and how the viscount of Narbonne, having exerted himself to the utmost to succeed in his attack upon them, had been miserably defeated, he was in a great rage. This was increased on learning that, having given pledges for their ransoms, they were returned home. He immediately sent expresses to them, strictly forbidding them to pay any ransom, and at the same time dispensations and absolutions from all engagements on this subject.

Thus were these lords, knights and squires, who had been made prisoners at Montauban, acquitted of their ransoms; for they dared not disobey the orders of the pope. It turned out luckily for some, but quite the contrary to the companions, who were expecting the money: indeed they were in want of it, and intended out of it to equip themselves handsomely, as soldiers should do who have a sufficiency, but they never received any thing. This order of the pope was so hurtful to them that they made frequent complaints of it to sir John Chandos, who, being constable of Aquitaine, had the superintendence of such affairs by right of office: but he turned them off as well as he could, because he was fully acquainted that they were excommunicated by the pope, and that all their thoughts and acts were turned to pillage. I do not believe they ever received any of this debt at any time afterwards.

CHAPTER CCXXXV.—DURING THE TIME THE PRINCE OF WALES IS PREPARING FOR HIS EXPEDITION INTO CASTILLE, THE KING OF MAJORCA SEEKS REFUGE WITH HIM AGAINST THE KING OF ARRAGON.—THE PRINCE DISPLEASES THE LORD D'ALBRET.

We will now return to the prince of Wales, and shew with what perseverance he continued to make preparations for his expedition. He had, as I have before related, gained over all the free companies, who might be about twelve thousand fighting men. It had cost him much to retain as well as to subsist them, which he did at his own expense, from the end of August until they quitted the principality the beginning of February. In addition to these, the prince accepted the services of men at arms from every quarter whence he could obtain them, under his dependence.

From the kingdom of France, there came none; for king Henry had every person from that kingdom, on account of the alliances that existed between their sovereign and king Henry, who had also some of the free companies that came from Brittany, and were attached to sir Bertrand du Guesclin; of these, sir Bertrand de Budes, sir Alain de St. Pol, sir William de Brueix, and sir Alain de Couvette, were the leaders. The prince might have had foreign men at arms, such as Flemings, Germans and Brabanters, if he had chosen it; but he sent away numbers, choosing to depend more on his own subjects and vassals than on strangers. There came, therefore, to him a great reinforcement from England; for, when the king his father found this expedition was near taking place, he gave leave for his son, the duke of Lancaster, to go to the prince of Wales, with a large body of men at arms; that is to say, four hundred men at arms and four hundred archers. As soon as the prince heard that his brother was coming to him, he was much rejoiced, and gave orders accordingly.

At this period, the lord James, king of Majorca, came to visit the prince in the city of Bordeaux; for such was his title, though he possessed nothing, the king of Arragon having kept his kingdom from him by force, and caused his father to be put to death in prison, in a city of Arragon called Barcelona. On which account, this king James, to revenge the death of his father, and to recover his inheritance, had left the kingdom of Naples, whose queen was at that time his wife *.

The prince of Wales received the king of Majorca very kindly, and entertained him handsomely. After he had heard from him the reasons of his coming, and the cause why the king of Arragon did him so much wrong, in keeping his heritage from him, and destroying his father, the prince replied: "Sir king, I promise you most loyally, that upon our return from Spain, we will undertake to replace you on your throne of Majorca, either by treaty or by force of arms." These promises were highly pleasing to the king. He remained at Bordeaux with the prince, waiting for his departure for Spain with the others. The prince, through respect, equipped him as handsomely as he could; because he was a stranger, far distant from his own country, and his finances were but low.

Great complaints were daily made to the prince of the bad conduct of the free companies, who were doing all possible mischief to the inhabitants of the countries where they were quartered. They pressed the prince to hasten his march, who would willingly have complied, if he had not been advised to let Christmas pass over, so that he should have winter in his rear. The prince listened to this counsel the more, because his lady the princess, being far gone with child, was melancholy and sorrowful at the thoughts of his absence. He was desirous to wait until she should be brought to bed, as she wished to detain him.

During this time, he was collecting great quantities of purveyances of all kinds; and well he had need to do so, for he was about to enter a country where he would find little enough. Whilst he remained at Bordeaux, the prince and his council held many consultations together. It seems to me, that the lord d'Albret and his thousand lances were countermanded, and that the prince, by the advice of his council, wrote to him in such terms as

* Don Jayme, king of Majorca, married Jane, queen of Naples, 1363.—*Ferreras.*

Towards the end of this year, the infant Philip of Navarre died. *Idem.*—If, as before-mentioned, he married Jane, don Jayme must have married the widow.

these. "My lord d'Albret, whereas, out of our liberal bounty, we have retained you with a thousand lances, to serve under us in the expedition which through the grace of God, we intend speedily to undertake, and briefly to finish: having duly considered the business, and the costs and expenses we are at, as well for those who have entered into our service as for the free companies, whose number is so great that we do not wish to leave them behind, for fear of the dangers which may happen, we have resolved that several of our vassals should remain, in order to guard the territories. For these causes it has been determined in our council, that you shall serve in this expedition with two hundred lances only, as has been written to you. You will choose them out from the rest; and the remainder you will leave to follow their usual occupations. May God have you under his holy protection!—Given at Bordeaux, the eighth day of December."

These letters were sealed with the great seal of the prince of Wales, and sent to the lord d'Albret, who was in his own country, busily employed making his preparations; for it was daily reported that the prince was on the point of setting out.

When he received these letters from the prince, he opened them deliberately, and read them twice over, in order the better to comprehend them; for what he saw of their contents astonished him greatly. Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, "How is this? My lord, the prince of Wales laughs at me, when he orders me to disband eight hundred knights and squires, whom, by his command, I have retained, and have diverted from other means of obtaining profit and honour." In his rage, he called for a secretary, and said to him, "Write;" and the secretary wrote as follows from his dictating:—"My dear lord,—I am marvellously surprised at the contents of the letters you have sent me; and I neither know nor can imagine what answer to make to them. Your orders will be to me of the greatest prejudice, and subject me to much blame; for all the men at arms, whom I have retained by your commands, are ready prepared to do you service, and I have prevented them seeking for honour and profit elsewhere. Some of these knights were engaged to pass the sea, to Jerusalem, to Constantinople or to Prussia, in order to advance themselves. They will, therefore, be much displeased if left behind. I am equally so, and cannot conceive for what reason I have deserved this treatment. My dear lord, have the goodness to understand I cannot separate myself from them. I am the worst and least among them; and, if any of them be dismissed, I am convinced they will all go their ways. May God keep you in his holy protection!—Given," &c.

When the prince of Wales received this answer, he looked upon it as a very presumptuous one; as did also some knights from England, who were present, and of his council. The prince shook his head, and said in English (as I was told, for at the time I was not at Bordeaux;) "This lord d'Albret is too great a man for my country, when he thus wishes to disobey the orders of my council: but, by God, it shall not be as he thinks to have it. Let him stay behind, if he will; for we will perform this expedition, if it please God, without his thousand lances." Some English knights added: "My lord, you are but little acquainted with the thoughts of these Gascons, nor how vain-glorious they are: they have but little love for us, nor have they had much for some time past. Do you not remember how arrogantly they behaved to you when king John of France was first brought to Bordeaux? They then declared publicly, that it was by their means alone you had succeeded at Poitiers, and made the king of France your prisoner. It is apparent that they had intended carrying things farther; for you were upwards of four months negociating with them before they would consent that king John should be carried to England, and it was first necessary for you to comply with their demands in order to preserve their attachment." Upon hearing this, the prince was silent, but did not the less occupy his thoughts with what had just been said.

This was the first ground of the hatred between the prince of Wales and the lord d'Albret. The lord d'Albret was at the time in great peril: for the prince was of a high overbearing spirit, and cruel in his hatred: he would, right or wrong, that every lord who was under his command should be dependent on him: but the earl of Armagnac, uncle to the lord d'Albret, hearing of this quarrel between the prince and his nephew, came to Bordeaux to wait on the prince. Sir John Chandos and sir William Felton (by whose advice and counsels the prince

solely acted) managed the matter so well that the prince was appeased, and said nothing more. However, the lord d'Albret received orders to join with only two hundred lances, which was equally disagreeable to him and to his vassals: they never afterwards were so affectionate to the prince as they had formerly been. They were forced, nevertheless, to bear this disappointment as well as they could, for they had no remedy for it.

CHAPTER CCXXXVI.—THE BIRTH OF RICHARD, SON OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER, TO ACCOMPANY HIS BROTHER ON HIS INTENDED EXPEDITION.—NEW TREATIES WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE, FOR THE SECURITY OF PASSING THROUGH HIS KINGDOM.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN RETURNS TO THE ASSISTANCE OF KING HENRY.

TIME passed away so quickly while the prince was collecting his stores, and waiting the arrival of his brother the duke of Lancaster, that the princess was taken in labour, and, through God's grace, delivered of a fine boy on a Wednesday, the feast of the Epiphany, in the year 1367. The child was born about eight o'clock in the morning*. The prince and his whole household were very much rejoiced at this event. On the following Friday, he was baptized, about noon, at the holy font of St. Andrew's church, in the city of Bordeaux. The archbishop of Bordeaux performed the ceremony: the bishop of Agen and the king of Majorca were his godfathers. They gave him the name of Richard: he was afterwards king of England, as you will hear in the continuation of this history.

On the ensuing Sunday, the prince set out from Bordeaux, with a grand army, about eight o'clock in the morning: he carried with him all the men at arms who had been quartered there. The greater part of his force had already marched forward, and were cantoned in the city of Dax in Gascony. The prince arrived that Sunday evening at Dax, where he halted, and remained for three days; for he was there informed that his brother the duke of Lancaster was on the road to him, having crossed the sea to Brittany, where he had landed a fortnight since, at St. Mahé de fine Pôterne: he went thence to Nantes, where he was magnificently entertained by the duke of Brittany.

The duke of Lancaster continued his route, through Poitou and Saintonge, to Blaye, where he crossed the river Gironde, and landed at the quay at Bordeaux. He went to the monastery of St. Andrew, where the princess lay in, and was joyfully welcomed by her and by all the ladies of her court. At this time, however, the duke would not remain in Bordeaux: but, having bid adieu to his sister the princess, he and all his troops departed, never halting until they were arrived in the city of Dax, where he found his brother the prince of Wales. The two brothers were very happy in this meeting, for they had a mutual affection for each other; and many proofs of friendship passed between them and their men. Soon after the arrival of the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Foix came thither, who paid much court and respect, at least in outward appearance, to the prince and his brother, offering himself and vassals for their service.

The prince, who knew how to pay every honour and attention according as they were due, shewed him all respect, thanking him much for his obliging offers, and for having come to visit them. He afterwards gave him in charge the government of the country, and desired that, during his absence, he would be attentive to guard it. The earl very willingly accepted this charge: having taken his leave of the prince and the duke, he returned to his home. The prince, however, remained, at Dax, with his army, which was spread all over the country, as far as the entrance of the defiles which lead to Navarre; for they were uncertain if they could pass through them or not, or if the king of Navarre would lay open his country to them according to his treaty.

* Heure de *tierce*—Heure de *prime* (canonical hours). These do not both point out the same hour at the same season of the year. The former, according to Cotgrave, is "in summer eight of the clock, in winter ten;" the latter, "in summer four o'clock, in winter eight."—The Dict. de l'Académie explains "tierce" as equivalent to nine o'clock of our calculation of time, but does not state the hour to which "prime" corresponds.—ED.

It had been currently reported, that he had entered into new conventions with king Henry, which had much astonished the prince and his council, and made don Pedro very melancholy. Whilst these reports were believed, and during the stay at Dax, sir Hugh Calverly and his men entered Navarre, and took the city of Miranda and the town of Puenta della Reyna, which alarmed the whole country, so that information was immediately sent of it to the king of Navarre. Upon hearing that the companies were forcibly entering his kingdom, he was much enraged, and wrote to the prince, who made very light of it, because he thought the king of Navarre did not perform the articles of his treaty with don Pedro: he therefore wrote back to him to come himself, or to send some person to explain those things which were laid to his charge, as it was publicly reported he had changed sides, and had joined king Henry.

John of Gaunt (Duke of Lancaster). From a painting on glass in an ancient window, Library of All Souls' College, Oxford.

When the king of Navarre heard that he was accused of treachery, he was more enraged than before, and sent an experienced knight, called don Martin de la Carra, to wait on the prince. When he arrived in the city of Dax, to exculpate the king of Navarre, he spoke so ably and eloquently to the prince that he satisfied him. It was then agreed that he should return to Navarre to his king, and induce him to come to St. Jean Pied de Port*, where, when he should be arrived, the prince would consider whether he would meet him in person or not. Upon this, don Martin de la Carra quitted the prince, and returned to Navarre, where he related to the king all that had passed, in what disposition he had left the prince and his council, and upon what terms he had been sent back. Don Martin exerted himself so much that he brought the king to St. Jean Pied de Port: he himself went to wait on the prince at Dax. When it was known that the king of Navarre was on his road, the prince was advised to send, to meet him, his brother the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos. These two lords, with a few attendants, set out, accompanied by don Martin, who conducted them to St. Jean Pied de Port to the king of Navarre, who very graciously received them, and they had a long conference together. It was after some time settled, that the king of Navarre should advance, to meet the prince, to a place called in that country Peyre Hourarde†, where the prince and don Pedro should be; and that then and there they should renew their treaties, so that each party might for a certainty know on what he was to depend. The king of Navarre was thus dissembling, because he wished to

* St. Jean Pied de Port—a small town in Navarre, on the Nive, and at the foot of the Pyrénées.
† Peyre Hourarde,—a town in Gascony, diocese of Dax.

be more sure of the articles of the treaty being complied with than he was at that moment; for he was afraid, that if these companies should once enter his territories before what he demanded was fully signed and agreed to, it would never be thought of afterwards.

The duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos, having finished their business, returned, and related what they had done to the prince and don Pedro. This agreement was satisfactory to both of them. They kept the appointment, and went to the place fixed on, where they met the king of Navarre and his privy council. There were at Peyre Hourarde these three princes, the prince of Wales, don Pedro, and the duke of Lancaster, on one part, and the king of Navarre on the other, where long conferences were held between them. At last, it was finally settled what each party was to receive and to perform; and the treaties which had been made before, at Bayonne, were renewed. The king of Navarre then knew for certain what was to be given up to him in the kingdom of Castille. He swore to maintain and preserve faithfully peace and friendship with don Pedro. They broke up their conferences very amicably, having settled that the prince and his army might pass through his country whenever he pleased, as all the defiles were left unguarded; and provision would be had for the men, upon paying for it. The king of Navarre returned to the city of Pampeluna, and the king don Pedro, the prince, and his brother, to their quarters at Dax.

There were at this time many great barons from Poitou, Gascony, and Brittany, who had not joined the army of the prince. They had remained behind, because, as has been before said, it was not quite clear, until after this last conference, if the prince would have a free passage through Navarre. It was even thought in France, that it would be refused him, and that the king of Navarre would cause this expedition to fail. However, the contrary happened. When the knights and squires of each party found that the passage was open, they hastened their preparations, and made speed to join their friends; for they knew the prince would pass soon, and that he would not return without a battle. Sir Olivier de Clisson came with a handsome company of men at arms; and also, but very unwillingly, came last, the lord d'Albret, with two hundred lances: he was accompanied in this expedition by the captal de Buch.

Everything which had passed in these conferences was known in France; for there were messengers constantly going and coming, who carried with them all the news they could pick up. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin (who was with the duke of Anjou) was no sooner informed that the passes in Navarre were open, and that the prince was on his march, than he hastened his departure, and reiterated his summons; for he knew now, that this business would not be settled without an engagement. He took the road to Arragon, in order to join king Henry as speedily as possible. He was followed by all sorts of men at arms to whom he had sent his orders. Many came from France and other countries, who were attached to him, or who were desirous of acquiring honour. We will now return to the prince, and relate what befel him and his army in his passage through Navarre.

CHAPTER CCXXXVII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS ARMY PASS THE MOUNTAINS OF NAVARRE, AND ARRIVE AT PAMPELUNA.—KING HENRY OF CASTILLE WRITES LETTERS TO HIM.—SIR WILLIAM FELTON COMMANDS AN ADVANCED PARTY OF THE ARMY.

Between St. Jean Pied de Port and Pampeluna are the defiles and strong passes of Navarre, which are very dangerous: for there are a hundred situations among them which a handful of men would guard and shut up against a whole army.

It was very cold in these countries when the army passed, for it was the month of February. But before they began their march, though very eager to get forward, the principal leaders held a council to determine in what numbers and in what manner they should march through these mountains. They learnt that the whole army could not pass together; for which reason, they ordered it to be divided into three bodies, and to pass one at a time three days successively; that is to say, on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

On the Monday, the van-guard marched, under the command of the duke of Lancaster.

He was accompanied by the constable of Aquitaine, sir John Chandos, who had under him full twelve hundred pennons, all ornamented with his arms, which were a sharp pile gules, on a field argent *. It was a handsome sight to behold. The two marshals of Aquitaine were also in this first division, namely, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, with whom was the pennon of St. George. There were also in this division, with the duke, sir William Beauchamp †, son of the earl of Warwick, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Ralph Neville ‡, who served under sir John Chandos with thirty lances at his own expense and charges, out of what he had gained at the battle of Auray. There were likewise the lord d'Aubeterre, sir Garses du Chatillon, sir Richard Causton, sir Robert Cheney, sir Robert Briquet, sir John Tyrrel, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, sir Gaillart de la Moitre, sir William Clayton, Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier §. All these, with their pennons, were under the command of sir John Chandos, and might amount in the whole to ten thousand cavalry, who all crossed the mountains, as before related, on the Monday.

Scenery of the Pyrenees on the French Side.—From an Original Sketch.

On the Tuesday, passed the prince of Wales and don Pedro, accompanied by the king of Navarre, who had returned to them, in order to serve as their guide. In this division of the prince were the lord Louis de Harcourt, the viscount de Châtelleraut, the viscount de Rochechouart, the lords de Partenay and de Pinane, sir William Felton, high steward of Aquitaine, sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, the high stewards of Saintonge, of la Rochelle, of Quercy, of Limousin, of Agenois, of Bigorre, the lord de Cannaibouton and all the men of Poitou, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Nêle Loring, the

* Barnes.—See the arms in Ashmole.

† Barnes says, he was lord Abergavenny, and fourth son to the earl of Warwick.

‡ Lord Ralph Neville.—*Barnes.*

§ "Villebos le Bouteiller et Pannetier." Barnes calls him sir William Botelor, or Butler, of Oversley in Warwickshire; but I see no authority for it. Some of the other names I have altered from Barnes, as being probable: but lord Berners, who ought to have been better informed, keeps the very names in Froissart, who, from being a foreigner, might easily mistake them.

earl of Angus, sir Thomas Banaster*, sir Louis de Merval, sir Aymon de Marnel, the lord de Pierre-Buffiere, and four thousand men at arms at least: there were in the whole about ten thousand horse. This Tuesday was bitter cold, with a sharp wind and snow, so that their march was very painful: however, they passed the mountains, and took up their quarters in the valley of Pampeluna. The king of Navarre, indeed, conducted the prince of Wales and don Pedro to the city of Pampeluna to supper, and entertained them handsomely, as he was enabled to do.

The king of Majorca crossed these mountains on the Wednesday, accompanied by the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret his nephew, sir Bernard d'Albret, lord de Gironde, the earl of Perigord, the viscount de Carmaing, the earl of Comminges, the captal de Buch, sir Olivier de Clisson, the three brothers de Pommiers, sir John, sir Elias, and sir Edmund, the lords de Chaumont, and de Mucident, sir Robert Knolles, the lords de l'Esparre, de Condon, de Rosem, the souldich de la Trane†, sir Petiton de Courton, sir Aimery de Tarse, the lord de la Barde, sir Bertrand de Caude, the lord de Pincornet, sir Thomas Winstanley, sir Perducas d'Albret, the bastard de Breteuil, Nandon de Bagerant, Bertrand de la Salle, Ortingo, La Nuit, and all the other captains of the free companies, amounting to full ten thousand horse. They had much better weather than the preceding division which crossed on the Tuesday. All these different bodies of men at arms were encamped in the vale of Pampeluna, to recruit their horses. They remained in the country about Pampeluna (where they found abundance of provision, such as meat, bread, wine, and all sorts of food for themselves and horses) until the following Sunday.

I must say, that all these companies did not pay the demands which were made upon them; nor could they abstain from pillaging as heretofore; they also caused great disturbances in the country round Pampeluna, as well as on their march. The king of Navarre was much vexed at this; but better himself he could not: he repented more than once that he had ever consented to the passage of the prince and his army through his dominions, or that he had left unguarded the defiles; for there was more loss than profit by what he had done. This, however, was not the time to show what his thoughts were; for he was not then master of his own country. He daily received great complaints from his subjects on this head, which, though the circumstance grieved him much, he could not remedy. Nevertheless, he entreated the men at arms of the prince, by means of some of his principal barons, who had served longest with them in Normandy and in other places in France, that they would refrain from robbing the country in the manner they were doing, which they promised and engaged to do.

King Henry was duly informed of the march of the prince of Wales through Navarre, for he had his messengers and spies constantly upon the look-out. He was therefore increasing his forces as much as possible by earnest and kind entreaties to the knights of Castille (of which he had assumed the title of king) in order to have a sufficient army to resist the attack. He also impatiently expected the arrival of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with great reinforcements from France. He had besides issued special orders throughout the kingdom, to all his vassals, under pain of death, that each, according to his rank, should immediately come to his assistance, and defend the realm. This king Henry was much beloved, as the Castillians had exerted themselves in aiding him to drive don Pedro out of the kingdom: they therefore willingly obeyed his summons, and flocked in great numbers every day to the rendezvous he had appointed at St. Domingo de la Calçada. They amounted in all to upwards of sixty thousand, as well horse as foot, ready to act for him, and resolved to live or die for his service.

Upon king Henry having sure intelligence that the prince of Wales, with his whole army, had passed the straits of Roncesvalles, and was in the kingdom of Navarre, whence he was about to advance towards him, he knew that a battle must be the consequence. This seemed to give him great pleasure, and he said aloud: "The prince of Wales is a valiant and worthy knight: and in order that he may know that I am waiting for him, to defend my right, I will write him a part of my mind." He then called for a secretary, who advancing into his presence, "Write," said king Henry to him, "a letter in such terms as these:

* Sir Thomas Banaster,—fifty-sixth knight of the Garter.—See his life in *Anstis' Garter.*

† Souldich de la Trane.—See *Anstis.*

"To the high, puissant, and honourable lord, the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine.

"My lord,—We have been informed, that you have with an army passed the mountains, and have entered into treaties and alliances with our enemy, to make war upon and to harass us: all this has caused in us much astonishment: for we have not done anything, nor ever had the smallest hostile intentions against you, that should justify your advancing hitherward with a large army, to deprive us of the small inheritance which it has pleased God to give us. But as you are the most powerful and most fortunate prince of the age, we flatter ourselves and hope that you glorify yourself in it. Since we have received certain intelligence that you seek us in order to offer us battle, if you will have the goodness to inform us by what road your intentions are to enter Castille, we will advance to meet you, in order to guard and defend our realm.—Given," &c.

When this letter was written, king Henry had it sealed, and calling his own herald to him, said: "Go thou as fast as possible, by the nearest road, to the prince of Wales, and give him from me this letter." The herald replied, "Willingly, my lord." He left the king, and taking the road to Navarre, came up to the prince; when, bending on his knee, he delivered to him the letter from king Henry. The prince made the herald rise, and taking the letter, opened it, and read it twice over, the better to understand it. When he had read, and considered a little its contents, he ordered part of his council to be summoned, telling the herald to quit the place where the council was to be held.

When the council was assembled, he read again the letter, and explained it to them word for word: after which, he asked their advice upon it. Whilst they were thinking what advice to give, the prince said: "This bastard is a gallant knight, and of good prowess; for he must be a valiant gentleman to write me such a letter." The prince and his council were a considerable time together, for they could not agree as to what answer they should send. They said to the herald: "My friend, you cannot yet set out on your return. When it shall suit my lord the prince, he will write back by you, and by no one else: you will, therefore, tarry with us until you have your answer, for the prince wishes it to be so." The herald answered, "Please God, it shall be as you say." He remained, therefore, with them quite at his ease.

The evening of the same day that the herald had brought this letter, sir William Felton came to the prince, and asked him a favour. The prince, who was ignorant what he wanted, demanded what favour he had to request: "My lord," replied sir William, "I entreat permission to quit the army, and make an excursion into the enemy's country; for I have many knights and squires under my command, as good men as myself, that are anxious to do something worthy of notice. I promise you, if you will permit us to ride forward, we will see what appearance the enemy makes, and where their quarters are." The prince immediately granted his request, as he was pleased with him for having made it. Sir William Felton left the prince's army, as the leader of this expedition, accompanied by the following knights: sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Thomas Hufford, sir Robert Knolles, sir Gaillard Viguier, sir Ralph Hastings, the earl of Angus, and several other knights and squires. They were in all one hundred and sixty lances well mounted, and three hundred archers. There were also with him, sir Hugh Stafford, sir Richard Causton, and sir Simon Burley, who are not men to be forgotten.

This body rode on through the kingdom of Navarre, under the direction of guides, who conducted them to the river Ebro, which, at Logrono, is very deep and rapid. They, however, advanced beyond it, and took up their quarters at a village called Navarretta*: there they halted, in order to be the better informed where king Henry was, and to learn the state of his army.

* A small village on the frontiers of Navarre.—Ed.

CHAPTER CCXXXVIII.—THE KING OF NAVARRE IS MADE PRISONER BY SIR OLIVIER DE MAUNY, A BRETON AND PARTISAN OF KING HENRY.—THE PRINCE OF WALES ADVANCES TO SALVATIERRA, IN SPAIN.—SIR WILLIAM FELTON SKIRMISHES WITH THE ENEMY NEAR THE QUARTERS OF THE KING OF SPAIN.—THE TWO ARMIES ADVANCE TOWARDS EACH OTHER.

Whilst all these things were going on, the knights remained at Navarretta, and the prince and his army in the country round Pampeluna. The king of Navarre, in riding from one town to another on the side where the French lay, was made prisoner by sir Olivier de Mauny. The prince and all the English were much astonished at it: some in the army thought it might have been done designedly, in order to prevent his accompanying the prince farther in this expedition, as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between king Henry and don Pedro*. Although there was no one who was not clear as to the cause of this capture, the lady his queen was much alarmed and dispirited at it. She cast herself at the feet of the prince, exclaiming, "For God's mercy, my dear lord, have the goodness to inquire about the king my lord, who has been treacherously made prisoner by some means unknown to us; and exert yourself in such a manner that, through pity to us, and the love of God, we may have him back again." The prince courteously replied as follows: "Certainly, fair lady and cousin, this capture is highly displeasing to us; and we will provide shortly a remedy for it. I beg, therefore, you will not be cast down, but take comfort; for when once this expedition is over, he shall be delivered: this I faithfully promise, for I will attend to nothing else: immediately on our return, you shall have him restored to you."

The queen of Navarre then departed. But one of her noble knights, called don Martin de la Carra, undertook to conduct the prince through the kingdom of Navarre, and to procure guides for the army; otherwise they would not have been able to have found the roads, or the easiest passes through the mountains.

The prince broke up his encampment, and began his march. They came to a place called Echarriaranas, where they met with many difficulties; for it was a narrow pass, with very bad roads. In addition to this, there was a great scarcity of provision; for they found nothing on this road until they arrived at Salvatierra, which is a very good town, situated in a fertile and rich country according to the appearance of the adjoining lands†. This town of Salvatierra is on the confines of Navarre, on the road to Spain, and was attached to king Henry. The whole army spread itself over the country. The free companies advanced eagerly towards Salvatierra, in hopes to take it by assault and plunder it: they much wished to do so: for they had learnt there were great riches collected, which had been brought thither from all the neighbourhood, confiding in the strength of its castle. The inhabitants of Salvatierra, however, were too wise to wait for this danger: they well knew they could not withstand the great army of the prince, if he should think proper to lead it against them: they came and surrendered themselves to don Pedro, craving his pardon, and presenting to him the keys of their town. By the advice of the prince, don Pedro forgave them, or they would have fared worse, for he wished to destroy them: however, they were all pardoned; and the prince, don Pedro, the king of Majorca, and the duke of Lancaster, entered the town, where they took up their quarters: the earl of Armagnac and the rest lodged themselves in the villages round about.

We will for a while leave the prince, to speak of that advanced corps which was in Navarretta. The before-named knights, who had remained there, were very desirous of distinguishing themselves: for they had advanced five days' march before their main army. They made frequent excursions from Navarretta to the country of their enemies, to find out where they lay and what they were doing. King Henry was encamped in the open plain, with his

* This was a trick of the king of Navarre, thinking to exculpate himself for having suffered the prince of Wales to pass through his strong country; for he had, before his last treaty with the prince, entered into one of a contrary tendency with the king of Arragon and king Henry.

† According to the map of Spain by Jaillot, 1781, Salvatierra is in the division of Guipuscoa, in the principality of Biscay.

whole army. He was desirous of hearing some intelligence of the prince, and much surprised that his herald did not return.

His people made also daily excursions, to learn something of the English, and even advanced near to Navarretta; so that don Tello, brother to king Henry, was informed there was an enemy's garrison in that town; which made him resolve to go thither with a greater force, in a more regular manner, to see if what he had heard were true. But before this was done, it happened that the English knights made, one evening, so long an excursion, that they fell in with king Henry's quarters. A grand skirmish was the consequence, which threw the whole army into a great alarm. They slew some, and made several prisoners: in particular, the knight who commanded the guard was taken, without loss to themselves, and carried clear off. On the morrow, they sent a herald to the prince, who was at Salvatierra, to inform him what they had discovered. They told him the situation the enemy had chosen, and what numbers they consisted of; for they had obtained every information from their prisoners. The prince was delighted with this intelligence, and with the good success of his knights.

King Henry was much enraged that the English who were quartered at Navarretta should thus alarm his army, and said that he would advance towards them. He therefore decamped with all his army, designed to fix his quarters in the plains near Vittoria: he crossed the river* which runs near Navarretta, in order to march to that country.

Sir William Felton, as soon as he heard that don Henry had passed the river, and was on his march towards the prince, held a council of all the knights who were with him. They determined to quit their present quarters, and take the field in order to be satisfied of the truth in regard to the Spaniards. They therefore marched from Navarretta, sending information to the prince, that king Henry was advancing towards him in great force, and that, from appearances, he seemed desirous to meet him. When the prince received the news at Salvatierra, where he still was, that king Henry had crossed the river, and was on his march to meet him, he was right glad, and said aloud to those about him: "By my faith this bastard is a bold and gallant knight, and shows great valour and enterprise in thus coming to seek us. Since he is as eager to find us as we are desirous of meeting him, it is most probable it will so happen, and a combat ensue. Our best way, therefore, will be to decamp hence immediately, in order to gain possession of Vittoria before our enemies."

The prince and his army marched from Salvatierra very early the following morning, and halted at Vittoria, where he found sir William Felton and his party, whom he graciously entertained, asking them different questions. Whilst they were thus discoursing, the scouts brought news that they had seen the scouts of the enemy, and were certain that king Henry and his whole army were not far distant, from the signals they had observed, and from the demeanour of the Spaniards. The prince, on hearing this, ordered the trumpets to sound an alarum through the army; which being heard, every man made for his post. They were all instantly drawn up in regular order of battle: for each man had been informed what he was to do before he had left Salvatierra, so that every man made directly for his banner. It was a noble sight to see so great a number of banners and pennons, ornamented with different arms†.

The van-guard was excellently well drawn up, under the command of the duke of Lancaster. With him were, sir John Chandos, constable of Aquitaine, with a great retinue, and in fine order. Many received the order of knighthood. The duke of Lancaster, in the van-guard, knighted as many as twelve: among whom were, sir Ralph Camois, sir Walter Loring, and sir Thomas Danvery. Sir John Chandos advanced some good squires to that honour in his division; such as Mr. Cotton, Mr. Clifton ‡, Mr. Prior, William Firmeton, Aimery de Rochechouart, Girard de la Motte and Robert Briquet.

The prince made also several knights: first, don Pedro, king of Spain, sir Thomas Holland,

* I imagine this must be the Ebro; for by the map, there is no river that runs near Navarretta which it was necessary for don Henry to cross in his march from St. Domingo de la Calçada, where he was encamped, to Vittoria in Biscay.

Barnes says, don Henry advanced as far as St. Miguel to meet the English; but it is not so in my copies, nor can I find St. Miguel in my maps. It seems, however, probable, as Vittoria was far distant, and out of the line to Navarretta.

† Ther might have been sene great nobleness, and baners and penons beaten with armes waning in the wynde. What shulde I say more? It was great nobleness to beholde: the vanward was so well ranged that it was marueyle to beholde.—*Lord Berners.*

‡ This name is given according to Barnes. Lord Berners says Clinson.—Ed.

the son of the princess, his lady, sir Philip and sir Denis Courtenay, sir John Covet, sir Nicholas Bond, and many more. The other lords bestowed similar honours in their battalions; so that there were made upwards of three hundred knights, who remained drawn up the whole day, waiting for their enemies, to give them battle, if they had advanced to them; but they did not come nearer than where the scouts were.

King Henry was expecting great reinforcements from Arragon; and he waited also for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was coming to his assistance with upwards of four thousand combatants; for he was not desirous of engaging before their arrival. The prince was not displeased at this delay; for his rear-divisions, which consisted of more than six thousand men, were above seven country leagues behind. The prince was, during the whole time he lay before Vittoria, in the greatest anguish of mind at their being so long in coming up to him. Nevertheless, had the Spaniards thought proper to advance nearer them with the intent of offering battle, the prince without waiting for this division would not have refused the combat.

CHAPTER CCXXXIX.—THE ARRIVAL OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, TO THE AID OF KING HENRY.—DON TELLO ATTACKS THE ADVANCED GUARD OF THE PRINCE OF WALES,—DEFEATS SIR WILLIAM FELTON AND HIS BODY OF MEN.

When evening came, the two marshals, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, ordered every man to retire to his quarters; but, on the trumpets sounding on the morrow morning, they were all to take the field in the same position they had done before. Every one obeyed these orders, except sir William Felton and his company, whom I have before mentioned. They left the prince that same evening, and advanced farther into the country, to learn the state of the enemy: they took up their quarters about two leagues distant from their army.

Don Tello happening this very evening to be in his brother king Henry's tent, conversing on various topics, said to the king: "Sire, you know that our enemies are encamped very near us, and yet none of our men think of beating up their quarters. I therefore entreat you will give me permission to make an excursion towards them to-morrow morning, with a detached body of the army, who are well inclined: I promise you to advance so far that we will bring you back certain news of them, and what they are about." King Henry, observing the eagerness of his brother, wished not to baulk him, and gave his consent directly.

At this same hour, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with upwards of four thousand fighting men, arrived at the army, from France and Arragon. The king was much rejoiced at this: he received them in the most honourable and gracious manner, as was becoming him to do. Don Tello was anxious not to let his plan sleep, but immediately mentioned it to several of his friends who he knew would join him. He would have done the same to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines and the viscount de Roquebertin, if he had dared; but, as they were just arrived, he did not: besides, king Henry had forbidden him to speak to them on this subject. Don Tello, therefore left them alone. Nevertheless, he had with him some French and Arragonian knights, who had been with the army the whole season: he had exerted himself so much that, in the whole, he had collected a body of more than six thousand horsemen, well mounted and accoutred. His brother, don Sancho, accompanied him.

At the first break of day, they were all ready mounted. They left the army, advancing in good order towards the quarters of the English. About sun-rise, they met, in a valley, part of sir Hugh Calverly's company, with his baggage, who had slept about a league distant from the main army, and also sir Hugh himself. When the Spaniards and French perceived them, they immediately attacked and defeated them. The greater part were slain, and the baggage seized: but sir Hugh, who was behind, had taken another road: he was, however, seen, pursued, and forced to fly with all his attendants, as fast as they could, to the army of the duke of Lancaster. The Spaniards, who were upwards of six thousand in one body, rode on, and made a violent assault upon the outskirts of the quarters of the vanguard,

under the command of the duke of Lancaster. They began to shout, "Castille!" with loud cries, to overthrow tents, huts, and every thing that came in their way, killing and wounding all that opposed them; so that when the van-guard heard this noise, the leaders as well as men were alarmed, and hastened to arm themselves and draw up before the lodging of the duke of Lancaster, who was already armed, with his banner flying in front. The English and Gascons hurried to the field, each lord to his banner or pennon, according to the arrangements made at Salvatierra, supposing that they were instantly to have a general engagement.

The duke of Lancaster marched straight for a small hill: he was followed by sir John Chandos, the two marshals, and several other knights, who drew themselves up in order of battle. After a short time, the prince and don Pedro came thither, and, as they advanced, formed themselves in like manner.

Don Tello and his brother were also very desirous of gaining this eminence, it being a favourable position; but they were disappointed in their wishes, as you have just heard. When, therefore, they saw that they could not attempt it, without great risk, for the whole English army was in motion, they formed themselves into a compact body, to return to their own army, and thus retreated, marching in handsome array, and hoping to have some fortunate adventure ere they got home. Before they had retired, several gallant actions were performed; for some of the English and Gascons had quitted their ranks, to tilt with these Spaniards, many of whom they had unhorsed: but the main body of the English army remained upon the mountain, expecting a general engagement.

When the Spaniards, in their retreat from the prince's army, were approaching their own, they met the detached part of the English under the command of sir William Felton and his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Richard Causton, the earl of Angus, and many more, who might amount in the whole to two hundred knights and squires, as well Gascons as English. They immediately charged them in a wide valley, shouting out, "Castille, for king Henry!" The above-named knights, perceiving they had but little chance of success against such superior numbers as the Spaniards were, comforted themselves the best they could, and, advancing into the plain, took possession of a small eminence, where they drew up in order of battle. The Spaniards marched towards them, and halted to consider what would be the most advantageous manner of fighting them.

Sir William Felton performed that day a most brilliant action: descending the hill full gallop, with his lance in its rest, he dashed into the midst of the Spaniards, when meeting a Spanish knight, he drove his spear with such force, it passed through his armour, body and all, and threw him dead on the ground. Sir William was surrounded on all sides; but he fought as manfully as any knight could have done, and did them much mischief before they were able to bring him down. His brother and the other knights were witnesses, from the eminence, of his valour, and the gallant acts he was doing, as well as the peril he was in; but it was out of their power to assist him, without running every risk themselves. They remained, therefore, steadily upon the mountain in order of battle. The knight fought as long as his strength lasted, but in the end was unfortunately slain.

The French and Spaniards, after this, began to attack the English, and to endeavour to take them that had drawn themselves up on the hill. That day, many good actions were done. At one time, they made a general attack, and descended in a body upon their enemies; and then, wheeling suddenly about, they wisely regained their mountain, where they remained until high noon. Had the prince known their dangerous situation, he would have relieved them; but he was quite ignorant of it. They were therefore obliged to wait the issue of this business in the best way they could.

When the combat had been thus carried on, advancing and retreating, until the hour I have mentioned, don Tello, tired at their holding out so long, cried angrily aloud: "My lords, shall we remain here all the day, with this handful of men? By St. Jago, we ought to have swallowed them up before this time. Forward! forward! let us attack them in a better and more vigorous manner than before. One cannot gain anything without taking some pains." Upon hearing this, the Spaniards and French advanced courageously, mounted the hill, with their spears presented before them, in such close order and in such numbers, that

the English could neither break nor force through them. Many valorous deeds were done on this mountain; for the English and Gascons defended themselves most valiantly, but, from the moment the Spaniards had gained the hill, they could not make any long resistance. They were all taken or slain; and not one of the knights escaped: only a few boys saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses, who returned to the army of the prince, which had all that day continued drawn up in battle array, in the expectation of an engagement.

CHAPTER CCXL.—SIR ARNOLD D'ANDREGHEN GIVES GOOD ADVICE TO KING HENRY OF CASTILLE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES SENDS A TARDY ANSWER TO THE KING'S LETTER.

After having conquered the before-named knights, don Tello and don Sancho returned with their detachment in great joy to the army, and went in the evening to the quarters of king Henry. The two brothers who had been in this expedition made a present to the king of their prisoners, and related to him, in the presence of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen and others, how the day had passed, and what road they had taken: how they had first fallen in with the people of sir Hugh Calverly, whom they had slain or chased even to the army of the English: that they had beaten up the quarters of the duke of Lancaster, alarmed the whole army, and done much mischief: that upon their retreat they had met those knights, whom they had taken prisoners. King Henry, who had listened to this account with great pride, replied most graciously to his brother, don Tello, and said: "Amiable brother, well have you performed your promise: I will reward you handsomely for it; and I feel, that all the rest of our enemies must ultimately come to this pass."

Sir Arnold d'Andreghen, on this, stepped forth and said: "Sire, sire, with your permission, I wish not to doubt your majesty's words, but to make an amendment by informing you, that when you shall meet the prince of Wales in battle, you will find men at arms such as they ought to be; for with him is the flower of chivalry of the whole world, and hardy and tough combatants: those who, in truth, would rather die on the spot than think of flying. It therefore behoves you to weigh maturely this point, before you determine: and, if you will believe what I am going to say, you may take them all, without striking a stroke. You have only to guard the passes and defiles, so that no provision can be brought them, when famine will do the business for you: they must then return back to their own country in disorder and spiritless, so that you may easily gain your object, and defeat them without striking a blow."

King Henry answered, "By the soul of my father, marshal, I have such a desire to see this prince, and to try my strength with him, that we will never part without a battle. Thank God, I have enow of men to assist me. In the first place, there are already in our army seven thousand men at arms, each mounted on a good courser, and so well covered with armour that they fear not the arrows of the archer. In addition, I have twenty thousand more, mounted on genets and armed from head to foot. I have besides forty thousand common soldiers, with lances, darts and shields, who will do much service, for they have all sworn they will rather die than leave me; so that, my lord marshal, I ought not to be afraid, but rather place great confidence in the power of God and of my men." Thus ended this conversation: wine and spices were brought in by some knights, of which the king and the lords present partook; and then they all retired to their quarters. The knights and squires who had that day been made prisoners, gave their oaths as such, and were put under the care of different knights.

We will return to the prince, to speak of his arrangements. He and the duke of Lancaster had remained in the position they had taken in the morning, until about vespers, when they were informed that their advanced detachment had been all taken or killed; at which they were much vexed, but they could not then amend it. They retired to their quarters, where they remained that night. On the morrow morning, they called a council, and determined to leave their present position, to advance more into the country. They decamped, and took up their quarters nearer to Vittoria, marching full armed, as if imme-

diately to engage; for they had heard that king Henry and his brothers, with their army, were not far distant: however, they made no advances to meet them.

You must know, the prince and his brother were in great want of provision for themselves and their horses, as they had entered a very barren country, whilst king Henry and his army enjoyed a quite contrary situation. A loaf of bread, and of no great size, was sold in the prince's army for a florin; and many were very eager to pay this price whenever they were able to get it. The weather was also extremely bad, with high wind, rain and snow; and in this miserable distressing plight they remained for six days.

When the prince and his lords found the Spaniards make no advances to offer them battle, and that their distress was great where they were, they held a council, and resolved to seek elsewhere for a passage over the Ebro. They therefore decamped, and took the road towards Navarretta, through a country called La Guardia, which having passed, they came to a town called Viana. There the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac and the other lords, halted two days, to refresh themselves. They then crossed the river which divides Castille from Navarre, at the bridge of Logrono, in the midst of gardens and olive trees. They found there a richer country than that which they had left; but even here they were much distressed for want of provision.

When king Henry was told that the prince and his army had crossed the Ebro at the bridge of Logrono, he left St. Miguel, where he had kept his quarters for a long time, advanced to Najarra upon the same river, and there encamped. News was soon brought to the prince of king Henry's approach. This gave him great joy; and he said aloud, "By St. George, this bastard proves himself a valiant knight, from the desire he shows to meet us in battle. We shall certainly soon see each other; for we cannot fail doing so much longer." He then summoned his brother, the duke of Lancaster, and some other barons of his council who were there, and wrote, with their advice, an answer to the letter which king Henry had sent to him, in the following terms:

"EDWARD, by the grace of GOD, prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, to the renowned Henry earl of Trastamare, who at this present time calls himself king of Castille:

"Whereas you have sent to us a letter by your herald, in which, among other things, mention is made of your desire to know why we have admitted to our friendship your enemy, our cousin the king don Pedro, and upon what pretext we are carrying on a war against you, and have entered Castille with a large army: in answer to this, we inform you, that it is to maintain justice and in support of reason, as it behoveth all kings to do, and also to preserve the firm alliances made by our lord the king of England, with the king don Pedro, in former times. But as you are much renowned among all good knights, we would wish, if it were possible, to make up these differences between you both; and we would use such earnest entreaties with our cousin, the king don Pedro, that you should have a large portion of the kingdom of Castille, but you must give up all pretensions to the crown of that realm, as well as to its inheritance. Consider well this proposition; and know further, that we shall enter the kingdom of Castille by whatever place shall be most agreeable to us. Written at Logrono, the 30th day of March, 1367."

When this letter was finished, folded up and sealed, it was given to the herald who had brought king Henry's, and who had waited for an answer for three weeks. He took his leave of the prince and the other lords, and rode on until he came to Navarretta, near to which place the king was encamped upon the heath. He made for the king's tent, followed by the principal lords of the army, who, having heard of the return of the herald, were anxious to know what news he had brought.

The herald, on his knees, presented the king the letter which the prince had sent by him. The king took and opened it, calling sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and some of the lords of his council, to its perusal. When the letter had been read and well considered, sir Bertrand du Guesclin thus spoke to king Henry: "Sire, be assured that very shortly you must have a battle: from what I know of the prince, I am convinced that it must be so. I therefore advise you to look well to this business, to order and arrange your men in the best possible manner." "Sir Bertrand," replied king Henry, "in God's name so it shall be. I have no dread of the prince's army: for I have three thousand barbed horses, which will be

on our two wings, seven thousand warders *, and upwards of twenty thousand men at arms, the best that can be found in all Castille, Galicia, Portugal, Cordova and Sicily, besides ten thousand cross-bows, and full forty † thousand foot, armed with lances, darts, swords and all sorts of weapons, who have sworn to die rather than desert me. I trust, therefore, sir Bertrand, that through God's grace, in whom I put my trust, we shall have the best of it, as well as from the justice of our right in this affair. I therefore entreat you all to be of good courage."

Thus the king and sir Bertrand conversed together, as well as on different subjects, laying aside all thoughts of the letter which the prince had sent, for king Henry was determined to have a battle. Don Tello and Don Sancho began to draw up their men in proper order, and to busy themselves in preparing everything: they were much esteemed, for the success of their late expedition. But we must now return to the prince, and show how he was going on.

CHAPTER CCXLI.—THE BATTLE OF NAVARRETTA, WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES, SUPPORTING THE PART OF KING DON PEDRO AGAINST HIS BROTHER THE BASTARD, GAINS.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER, AND KING HENRY FORCED TO FLY, AFTER HAVING FOUGHT MOST VALIANTLY.

On Friday the 2nd of April, the prince decamped from Logrono, where he and all his army had halted. He marched in order of battle, as if an engagement were on the point of commencing; for he knew that king Henry was not far distant. After having marched about two leagues, he arrived before the town of Navarretta, about nine o'clock, where he took up his quarters. As soon as they had dismounted, the prince sent his scouts, to observe the countenance of the enemy and where they lay. These scouts, being mounted on the best of horses, left the army, and advanced until they saw the whole of the Spanish force encamped upon the heaths beyond Navarretta: they instantly informed the prince of this, who was very glad to hear it. Towards evening he gave out secret orders for the army to hold itself in readiness at the first sound of his trumpet: that at the second sound it should arm, and on the third mount, and immediately follow the banners of the marshals and the pennon of St. George; and that no one, under pain of death, should break his rank, without being ordered so to do.

King Henry had done exactly as the prince of Wales, and had sent out his scouts on this Friday evening, to learn the condition of the prince's army, what appearance they made, and where they were quartered. Those sent brought back true intelligence: upon hearing it, the king and sir Bertrand held a consultation on the subject. They made their men sup and go to bed very early, that they might be more fresh and hearty by midnight, when they were commanded to make themselves ready, arm, and take the field in battle-array; for they well knew that a battle must ensue on the morrow. The Spaniards, therefore, made themselves merry, for they had wherewithal largely to do so: but the English were in the greatest want of provision; for which reason they were anxious to fight ‡.

The trumpets of king Henry sounded at midnight: on which, his whole army was on foot: at the second blast, they left their tents, took the field, and formed in three battalions. The first battalion was commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin and sir Robert de Roquebertin, a viscount of Arragon. Under him were all the foreigners, as well from France as from other countries: among whom were two barons from Hainault, the lord d'Antoing and sir Alard lord de Brisueil. There was also in this division the bègue de Villaines, the bègue de Villiers, sir John de Bergettes, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, l'Allemant de Saint Venant, who was there created a knight, with many other knights from Arragon, France, Provence, and the neighbouring countries. There were in this battalion full

* This word in D. Sauvage is "guetteurs"—a warder, a watcher, or a spy: this is not very intelligible. Lord Berners says *genetours;* that is, men mounted on the light Spanish horses called *genets.*—Ed.

† D. Sauvage and Lord Berners say *sixty.*—Ed.

‡ 'They had great desyre to fight *outher to wynne or to lese all.*—*Lord Berners.*

four thousand knights and squires, excellently armed, and drawn up according to the French manner.

Don Tello and his brother don Sancho commanded the second division. There were under them twenty-five thousand lance-men, as well on horse as on foot,* who drew up a little behind the division of sir Bertrand, on his left hand.

The third, and largest battalion without comparison, was commanded by king Henry himself. There were in it, and drawn up in array, upwards of seven thousand horsemen and forty † thousand infantry among the cross-bowmen.

When they were thus formed, king Henry mounted a handsome and strong mule, according to the custom of his country, and rode through the ranks, paying his compliments to the lords, graciously entreating them to exert themselves this day in defending his honour, and pointing out to every one of them what they were to do with so much cheerfulness and good humour, that they were all in high spirits. After he had thus visited his army, he returned to his own battalion. It was soon broad day. About sun-rise they began their march towards Navarretta in order of battle, to meet and to engage the enemy.

The prince of Wales, as it has been before related, drew up his army in the manner he intended they should engage, whilst he lay before Vittoria, when the enemy did not appear according to his expectations. He had not since then made any alterations concerning it, and had always marched in this order. At break of day, therefore, the prince's army took the field, marching in battle-array, as expecting to meet the Spaniards. No one advanced before the battalion of the marshals excepting those who received orders, as scouts; and the two leaders, as well as both the armies, knew, from the intelligence of the scouts, that they should shortly meet: they therefore marched forward with a gentle pace.

When the sun was risen it was a beautiful sight to view these battalions, with their brilliant armour glittering with its beams. In this manner, they nearly approached to each other. The prince, with a few attendants, mounted a small hill, and saw very clearly the enemy marching straight towards them. Upon descending this hill, he extended his line of battle in the plain, and then halted. The Spaniards, seeing the English had halted, did the same in order of battle; then each man tightened his armour, and made ready as for instant combat.

Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions with his banner uncased in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying: "My lord, here is my banner: I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold." The prince, don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent: after having cut off the tail to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said: "Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honour to preserve it ‡."

Upon this, sir John left the prince, went back to his men with the banner in his hand, and said to them: "Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you." His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that "if it pleased God and St. George, they would defend it well, and act worthily of it, to the

* Lord Berners says, "In that batayle *with the genetours* there were *fifteen thousand* a fote and a horseback." D. Sauvage here uses the word *Genetaires* instead of *guetteurs*, but no reason appears for Mr. Johnes' omitting it altogether. The difference in the numbers is remarkable. D. Sauvage had this note in the margin: "The abridgments say *sixteen* thousand: but Sala adds *horses* only; and La Chaux, simply *men*."—Ed.

† Lord Berners and D. Sauvage both say *sixty*.—Ed.

‡ This ceremony gave Chandos the rank of Knight Banneret, which it is surprising that he, who had seen so many stricken fields, had not received before. This order of knighthood was the most honourable, being conferred only on the field of battle. All the treatises on heraldry say that it must be conferred *after* the battle, although in this case we see an instance of its being obtained before the fight, the strict rule being probably waived in consideration of the knight's former fields. It is generally supposed that this order, which took precedence of all others below barons, and whose members were anciently called to parliament by summons, originated in the reign of Edward I., but Edmondson in his Body of Heraldry says they were first created in 736; he does not however quote any authority in support of his assertion. The order was hereditary in France, but in England endured only for life. Knights Bannerets were allowed to bear arms with supporters, which is denied to all others under the degree of a baron. The last Knight Banneret created in England was sir John Smith, who was advanced to the dignity after the battle of Edgehill for rescuing the royal standard; he was slain in battle at Alresford in Hampshire.—Ed.

utmost of their abilities." The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry, who bore it with honour that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service. The English and Gascons soon after dismounted on the heath, and assembled very orderly together, each lord under his banner or pennon, in the same battle array as when they passed the mountains.

It was delightful to see and examine these banners and pennons, with the noble army that was under them. The two armies began to move a little, and to approach nearer each other; but, before they met, the prince of Wales, with eyes and hands uplifted towards heaven, exclaimed: "God of truth, the Father of Jesus Christ, who has made and fashioned me, condescend, through thy benign grace, that the success of the battle of this day may be for me and my army; for thou knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it in the support of justice and reason, to reinstate this king upon his throne, who has been disinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country." After these words, he extended his right arm, took hold of don Pedro's hand, who was by his side, and added, "Sir king, you shall this day know whether you will have anything in the kingdom of Castille or not." He then cried out, "Advance, banners, in the name of God and St. George!"

As he said this, the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos came up to him. The duke said to sir William Beauchamp: "William, there are our enemies: you shall see me this day act like a true knight, or die for it." At these words, the two armies advanced. The first conflict was between the battalion of the duke of Lancaster and sir John Chandos and that of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal d'Andreghen, who had under them four thousand men at arms. At its commencement, there was a terrible medley of spears and shields. They were in this situation a considerable time before they could make any opening into each other. Many gallant deeds were performed, and many a knight unhorsed, who could not again raise himself.

When these two divisions were thus engaged, the others were not willing to remain idle, but advanced to the combat with eagerness. The prince of Wales, accompanied by the king don Pedro of Castille, and don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, charged the division which was commanded by don Tello and don Sancho. But it seems that, as the prince and his battalion were on the point of engaging, a sudden panic seized don Tello, so that he wheeled about, and fled in disorder without striking a blow, carrying with him two thousand cavalry of his division. No one knew how to account for this conduct. This second division was no sooner broken than it was discomfited; for the captal de Buch and the lord de Clisson, quitting the battalion of the earl d'Armagnac with their men, fell upon them, and slew and wounded immense numbers. The prince and don Pedro, upon this, advanced to the division commanded by king Henry, in which there were at least forty thousand men, as well on foot as on horseback. The fight now began in earnest on all sides; for the Spaniards and Castillians had slings, from which they threw stones with such force as to break helmets and scull-caps, so that they wounded and unhorsed many of their opponents. The English archers, according to their custom, shot sharply with their bows, to the great annoyance and death of the Spaniards. On one side, there were shouts of "Castille, for king Henry!" on the other, "St. George, for Guienne!"

During this time, the first battalion, commanded by the duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, and the two marshals, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, was warmly engaged with that of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the other knights from Arragon and France. Many valorous actions were done; and each tried his strength to open a passage through the enemy. Several fought with their spears in both hands, with which they dealt about lustily their blows; others made use of short swords and daggers. At the commencement the French and Arragonians made a desperate resistance, and gave the good knights of England much trouble.

Sir John Chandos shewed himself an able knight, and performed many gallant deeds under his banner: but, in his eagerness in fighting and driving his enemies before him, he was so far engaged as to be surrounded, and in the crowd unhorsed. A large man of Castille, called Martin Ferrand, who was much renowned for courage among the Spaniards,

threw himself upon him with a determined resolution to kill him, and kept him down in the greatest danger. Sir John, however, bethought himself of a knife he had in his bosom, which he drew, and struck so well with it this Martin in the sides and back that he gave him his death-blow as he was lying under him: he then turned him over, and rose up as speedily as he could: his people were now all ready about him, for they had with great difficulty broken through the crowd to come to the place where he had fallen.

It was on a Saturday, in the morning, between Najarra and Navarretta, that this severe and bloody battle was fought, in which multitudes of men were slain. In this engagement many were the brilliant actions performed by the prince of Wales, his brother the duke of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the captal de Buch, the lords de Clisson and de Raix, sir Hugh Calverly, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons and de Partenay. On the other hand, among the Gascons, the lords d'Armagnac, d'Albret, de Pommiers and his two brothers, de Mucident, de Rosem, the earls de Perigord, de Comminges, de Carmain, the lords de Condon, de l'Esparre, de Chaumont, de Pincornet, Bartholomew de Cande, de Geronde, sir Bernard d'Albret, sir Aimery de Tarse, the souldich de l'Estrade, sir Petiton de Courton, with many other knights and squires, gave equal proofs of gallantry.

Under the pennon of St. George, and attached to the banner of sir John Chandos, were the free companies, who had in the whole twelve hundred streamers*. Among them were good and hardy knights and squires, whose courage was proof; namely, sir Robert Cheney, sir Perducas d'Albret, Robert Briquet, sir Garsis du Chastel, sir Gaillard Viguier, sir John Charnels, Nandon de Bagerant, Aymemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, le bourg de Breteuil, Espiote, and several others. I must therefore say, that sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, don Sancho, don Gomez Garilz†, and the French and Arragonian knights who had engaged with this battalion, did not find themselves the better for it, as these companies were composed of tried men, who had been long accustomed to arms.

There were besides many other knights and squires from England, under the banners of the dukes of Lancaster and sir John Chandos: among whom were sir William Beauchamp son to the earl of Warwick, sir Ralph Camois, sir Walter Urswick, sir Thomas de Demery, sir John Grandison, sir John Draper, sir John du Pré, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, sir Gaillard de la Motte, and upwards of two hundred other knights whom I am not able to name.

To say the truth, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the marshal d'Andreghen, le bègue de Villaines, the lords d'Antoing and de Briseuil, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, sir John de Bergettes, le bègue de Villiers, l'Allemand de St. Venant, and the good knights who were then from France, acquitted themselves most valiantly: truly, had the Spaniards as well performed their parts, the English and Gascons would have suffered more than they did.

Those who were near king Henry did their duty like men; for he had before entreated of them to behave courageously. He himself set the example, and performed such valorous acts as gave courage to all around him. He advanced before those who were beginning to give way and fly, calling to them: "My lords, I am your king. You have placed me upon the throne of Castille, and have sworn that you would die sooner than forsake me. For the love of God preserve your oaths sacred which you have sworn to me, and behave yourselves handsomely in my cause. I will acquit myself towards you, for I will not fly one step as long as I shall see you combating by my side." By these words, or others of a similar tendency, did king Henry thrice bring back his men to the combat. He himself behaved so valiantly, that he ought to be much honoured and respected. This battle was fought with great perils: many were slain, wounded, and put to flight.

The Spanish commonalty made use of slings, to which they were accustomed, and from which they threw large stones which at first much annoyed the English: but when their first cast

* "Pennonceaux"—the *pensels*, as Lord Berners calls them, or flags attached to the lance of a *knight*; they were in the form of a swallow's tail, and when the points were cut off as in the case of sir John Chandos, the flag became a *banner*, and its master a leader, with *knights* as well as squires under his particular guidance.—Ed.

† "Gomez Garilz." Gomez Carillo di Quintana.—*Dillon's Peter the Cruel.*

was over, and they felt the sharpness of the English arrows, they kept no longer any order. King Henry had in his battalion a large number of good men at arms, as well from Spain as from Lisbon, Arragon, and Portugal, who acquitted themselves exceedingly well, and did not give up so easily, but fought very courageously with lances and guisarmes *, pikes, and swords. He had also upon his two wings bodies of lancemen, mounted on excellent coursers, who kept up the courage of his division; for when they saw any part of it likely to be broken, or willing to give way, they galloped up to them, and drove them back. The English and Gascons had not much advantage here, but what they gained from their experience and by dint of deeds of prowess and vigour. The prince had indeed with him the flower of chivalry, and there were under him the most renowned combatants in the whole world.

A little to the right of the battalion of the prince was the king of Majorca and his company, who fought vigorously, and exerted themselves to the best of their power. On the other hand was don Martin de la Carra, who represented the king of Navarre, and did his duty well. I cannot particularize all that were deserving of notice; but the prince had in his division many well-famed knights from England and Gascony: namely, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Thomas Despenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nêle Loring, sir Hugh and sir Philip Courtenay, sir John Combes, sir Nicholas Bond, sir Thomas Combes, and several others, such as the séneschal of Saintonge, sir Baldwin de Franville, the high stewards of Bordeaux, of la Rochelle, of Poitou, of Angoulême, of Rouergue, of Limousin, of Perigord, sir Louis de Marnel, sir Raymond d'Ondueil, and many more. All these you must know fought in earnest, as indeed they had need to do: for the Spaniards and Castillians were near one hundred thousand men in arms, so that their great numbers kept up their courage: there could not but be among them many who fought well and did their utmost.

The king don Pedro was much heated, and very anxious to meet his brother the bastard: he galloped about, calling out, "Where is this son of a whore who calls himself king of Castille?" King Henry was engaged in another part of the field, where he fought manfully, and kept up the courage of his men as well as he could by his speeches to them; he said, "My good people, you have made me your king, and have crowned me: help me to defend the inheritance which you have given to me." By such words as these which he every now and then addressed to them, many were so bold and valorous that for their honour they fell on the spot, disdaining to fly.

The division on the side of the Spaniards which behaved the best, and was also the best fought with, was that commanded by sir Bertrand du Guesclin; for there were on both sides true men at arms, who exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities. Many gallant deeds were performed by them. Sir John Chandos distinguished himself particularly. He governed, that day, the duke of Lancaster, in the same manner he had done the prince of Wales at the battle of Poitiers; for which he was exceedingly praised and honoured, as was indeed but just; when such a valiant and good knight thus acquits himself towards his lords, he is worthy of honour and respect. Sir John, therefore, during the day, never thought of making any prisoners with his own hand, but was solely occupied in fighting and pushing forward. However, many good knights and squires from Arragon, France, and Brittany, were made prisoners by his people, and under his banner: particularly sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, the bègue de Villaines, with upwards of sixty knights; consequently the battalion of sir Bertrand was discomfited. All those who had come thither from France and Arragon were either slain or taken. Among the slain was the bègue de Villiers. The lord d'Antoing in Hainault, the lord de Briseuil, sir Gauvin de Bailleul, sir John de Bergettes, sir l'Allemand de St. Venant, with many others, were made prisoners.

Upon this the banners and pennons, that is to say, the banner of the duke of Lancaster, the banner of sir John Chandos, the banner of the two marshals, and the pennon of St. George and others, returned toward the division which was commanded by king Henry, shouting out, "St. George, for Guienne!" Upon this the Spaniards, and those who supported them, were repulsed. On one side, was seen the captal de Buch and the lord de Clisson manfully engaged:

* Guisarmes,—"a kind of (offensive) long-handled and long-headed weapon; or (as the Spanish *visarma*) a staff that hath within it two long spikes, which, with a shoot or thrust forward, came forth."—*Cotgrave's Dictionary.*

on another, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Hugh Calverly, the souldich de l'Estrade, and sir John Devereux, showed themselves good knights.

The prince shone pre-eminently: he proved his noble birth, and the gallantry of his knighthood, by his eagerness to seek his enemies, and bravely fighting with them.

On the other hand, king Henry acquitted himself right valiantly in every situation: he more than once rallied his men to the combat; for when they saw don Tello take flight, accompanied by two thousand men, they began to be cast down, and the greater part of them were so much frightened, that they were willing to follow his example; but king Henry galloping up to the foremost, said: "My good lords, what are you doing? why would you thus seek to abandon and betray me? you who have chosen me for your king, and placed the crown of Castille upon my head, giving me the inheritance of it? Return back, and help me to guard, defend, and maintain it: remain steady near to me, for, through God's grace, the day shall still be ours." By such speeches as these, he encouraged many, and caused them to fight boldly: they could not for shame fly, when they saw their king and lord act himself so vigorously in the combat, and address such friendly words to them. More than fifteen hundred persons lost their lives by this management, who would otherwise have been saved by taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, if it had not been for their love of the king.

After the defeat of the battalion of sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the marshal d'Andreghen, when all the divisions of the prince were formed into one large body, the Spaniards could no longer keep their ground, but began to fly into great disorder, much frightened, towards the town of Najarra*, and to cross the river which runs by it: in spite of everything king Henry could say, they would not rally nor return to the fight.

When king Henry perceived that his army was totally defeated, without hopes of recovery, he called for his horse, mounted it, and galloped among the crowd of runaways, but was careful not to take the road either to Najarra or to the river: for he wished not to be surrounded; he followed another road, to avoid every danger; in which he acted wisely, as he was fully aware that, if he should be made prisoner, he would be slain without mercy. The English and Gascons now mounted their horses, and went in pursuit of the Spaniards, who were flying in dismay, as far as Najarra. There was much slaughter and effusion of blood at the entrance of the bridge: many were killed and drowned: for great numbers leaped into the river, which was both rapid aud deep, preferring the being drowned to being murdered.

In this flight, there were two valiant men of Spain, knights at arms, who wore, however, the dress of monks: one was called the grand prior of St. Jago, the other the grand master of the order of Calatrava: they and their attendants threw themselves for safety into the town of Najarra, but were so closely pursued by the English and Gascons, who were at their heels, that they won the bridge with great slaughter, and entered the town with them. They took possession of a strong house, which was well built with worked stone: but this was soon gained, the knights taken, many of the people killed, and the whole town pillaged. The English and Gascons gained considerable riches: they went to the lodgings of king Henry and the other Spanish lords, where the first comers found quantities of plate and jewels; for king Henry and his army had come thither with much splendour, and after the defeat had not leisure to return to place in security what they had left behind them in the morning.

The defeat was very complete and dreadful, especially upon the banks of this river, where numbers were slain. Some said, as I have heard from those who were there, that the river below Najarra was tinged with the blood of men and horses there killed. This battle was fought between Najarra and Navarretta, in Spain, on Saturday the third day of April, in the year of our Lord 1367.

* D. Sauvage will have it Navarretta; but I think it must be Najarra, for they would never run away towards Navarretta, but on the contrary towards their own homes. The battle was fought between Najarra and Navarretta. A river runs by Najarra, none by Navarretta. The Ebro is not far distant; but, if they had crossed that river, there would have been mention made of Logrono: and besides, they would then have been in an enemy's country.

CHAPTER CCXLII.—ALL CASTILLE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF NAVARRETTA, ACKNOWLEDGES DON PEDRO.—HE PROTRACTS THE STAY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT VALLADOLID, WHILST HE SEEKS FOR MONEY TO PAY THE ARMY.

After this defeat at the battle of Navarretta, which was completed before noon, the prince of Wales ordered his banner to be fixed in a bush, on a small eminence, as a rallying-point for his men, on their return from the pursuit of the enemy. The duke of Lancaster, sir John Chandos, the lord de Clisson, the captal de Buch, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret and the other barons came thither: their banners were displayed to assemble their men, who formed themselves under them as they returned. The lord James, king of Majorca, was there, with his banner before him: his men collected themselves under it. A little higher, was don Martin de la Carra, with the banner of his lord, the king of Navarre. In similar order were all the other earls and barons drawn up; so that it was a beautiful sight to look on and contemplate.

The king, don Pedro, came thither in a great heat from the pursuit, mounted upon a black courser, with his banner, emblazoned with the arms of Castille, borne before him: he dismounted as soon as he perceived the banner of the prince, and advanced towards it. When the prince saw him coming, he hastened, out of respect, to meet him. Don Pedro would have cast himself on his knees, to return thanks to the prince, but he would not suffer it, and took him by the hand; upon which don Pedro said: "Dear and fair cousin, I owe you many thanks and praises for the happy event of this day, which I have gained through your means." The prince replied: "Sir, render your thanks to God; for to him alone belongs the praise: the victory comes from him, and not from me."

The lords of the council of the prince were now assembled, and conversed on different matters. The prince remained there so long that all his men were returned from the pursuit, when he ordered four knights, with as many heralds, to search the field of battle, and see what men of rank had been killed; and also to know for a truth what was become of king Henry called the Bastard, if he were among the dead or not, for at that time they knew nothing certain about him. After having given these orders, the prince and his barons descended towards the quarters of king Henry and the Spaniards. The army, according to orders, spread itself abroad among the tents of the enemy, where they found plenty of every sort of provision, from the want of which they had so lately suffered. They made themselves very comfortable, and supped with great joy. After supper, the knights and heralds who had been sent to examine the field of battle, returned, and reported, from the account they had taken, that only five hundred and sixty men at arms lay dead; that they had not found the body of king Henry, which was displeasing information to don Pedro. Among the dead, they had only found four knights of their party; two of whom were Gascons, one a German, and the other an Englishman. But of the commonalty they said there were about seven thousand five hundred dead, without counting those drowned, the numbers of whom they were ignorant of: and of their own party about forty common men.

They reposed themselves this Saturday night at their ease: they were well enabled to do so, from the great plenty of provision and wine which they had met with. They remained there the whole of the ensuing day, which was Palm-Sunday, to refresh themselves.

On that morning, about six o'clock, when the prince was risen and dressed, he came forth from his tent, and the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, the lord de Pommiers, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the king of Majorca, with a great number of knights and squires, advanced to pay their respects to him. Soon afterward, the king don Pedro came thither, to whom the prince paid every respect and honour. Don Pedro, having saluted him, said: "Dear lord and fair cousin, I entreat and beseech you, as a mark of your friendship, that you will have the kindness to deliver up to me the traitors of my country, especially my brother Sancho the bastard, and the others, that I may cut off their heads; for they have done me much injury."

The prince of Wales, after having considered for a moment the request which don Pedro had just made him, answered: "Sir king, I have also a request to make you; and I beg of you, in the name of our friendship and connexion, that you will not deny it to me." Don

Pedro, who could refuse him nothing, most cheerfully assented, saying: "My lord and fair cousin, whatever I have is yours." Upon which, the prince replied: "Sir king, I entreat and beg of you to pardon all the ill which your rebellious subjects have done against you. You will do an act of kindness and generosity, and will by this means remain in peace in your kingdom. But I except from this amnesty Gomez Garilz; for I am willing that you should do with him as best pleases you."

The king don Pedro granted this favour, though much against his inclination: he dared not refuse it, feeling himself under so many obligations: he therefore answered, "Fair cousin, I willingly grant your request." All the Spanish prisoners who were in the army of the prince were sent for, and he gave them up to the king don Pedro, their lord. The king kissed the earl don Sancho, his brother, and forgave him all his misdeeds towards him, as well as all the others, on condition they would swear fealty, homage, and service, and would become his vassals, and acknowledge him for their lord.

This courtesy and much more did the prince to don Pedro, who but very little remembered them, as you will see in the continuation of this history. He made also very liberal presents to the barons of Spain who had been his prisoners. If the king could have had them given up to him, in his rage he would infallibly have put them all to death. Gomez Garilz was delivered up to him; for whom he would not hear of any ransom, so much did he hate him, but had him beheaded before his eyes, on the outside of the tent. After this, don Pedro mounted on horseback, attended by his brother don Sancho, and all those who were again become his subjects, with the two marshals of the prince, sir Guiscard d'Angle and sir Stephen Cossington, and upwards of five hundred men at arms; they set out from the army of the prince, and rode towards Burgos, where they arrived on the Monday morning.

The inhabitants of Burgos, who had been informed of the defeat of king Henry, had neither the will nor inclination to shut themselves up in the town, to hold out against their prince. The richest and principal persons of the city went out of the gates, to present the keys to don Pedro, whom, after acknowledging for their lord, they conducted with all his company, in great pomp and solemnity, into the city of Burgos.

The prince remained all Sunday, in his newly-acquired quarters. On the Monday, after vespers, he and his army decamped, and marched to Villorado, where he halted until the Wednesday following, when he marched to Burgos. The prince entered the town in great parade. With him were the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Armagnac, and others of the principal lords. The army encamped in the plains without the town, in which there was not room to quarter them comfortably. The prince visited his army every day during its encampment on the plain; for his tent was there pitched, and he gave judgment concerning arms and all things thereunto belonging: he there kept the field and wager of battle; so that one may truly say, all Spain was for some days under his command.

The prince of Wales and the king don Pedro celebrated the festival of Easter in the city of Burgos, where they tarried upwards of three weeks. On Easter-day, the deputies from Asturias, Toledo, Leon, Cordova, Gallicia, Seville, and from all the other provinces and towns dependent on the crown of Castille, came to Burgos, to do homage to don Pedro. That loyal knight of Castille, don Ferdinand de Castro, came also thither to pay his respects, whom they handsomely entertained, and were very happy in seeing.

When the king don Pedro had resided in Burgos rather more than the time I have mentioned, and had learnt from exact information that the rebellion was at an end, all having returned to their allegiance, the prince of Wales, in order to satisfy his army, and to act conformably to what was becoming him, said to the king: "Sir king, you are now, thanks to God, king and lord over your country: all rebellion and opposition to you are at an end: we therefore remain here at such very great expense that I must desire you will provide yourself with money sufficient to pay those who have replaced you in your kingdom, and that you now fulfil all the articles of the treaties which you have sworn and sealed to perform. We shall feel ourselves obliged by your so doing, and as speedily as it may be possible, which will be the more profitable to you; for you know that men at arms will live, and, if they be not paid, will help themselves." The king don Pedro replied as follows: "Sir cousin, we will punctually perform, as far as shall be in our loyal power, whatever we have promised and

sworn to: but at this moment we have no money: we will therefore set out for Seville and its environs, and will there collect a sufficiency to satisfy every one. If you will march to Valladolid, which is a fertile country, we will return to you as soon as it shall be in our power, but at the latest by Whitsuntide."

This answer was agreeable to the prince and his council. The king don Pedro left the prince abruptly, and went to Seville with the intention of procuring money. The prince marched to Valladolid, where he fixed his quarters. The army was spread over the country about that town, in order to find provision for themselves and horses; they continued there with little profit to the peasants, for the companies could not refrain from pillaging.

News was immediately carried through France, England, Germany, and other countries, that the prince of Wales had defeated king Henry (who was himself either taken, drowned, or slain) with upwards of a hundred thousand men, in a regular battle. The prince was therefore the more honoured and renowned for it wherever true knighthood and deeds of enterprise were esteemed, particularly in the empire of Germany and in England. The Germans, Flemings, and English declared the prince of Wales was the mirror of knighthood, and that such a prince was worthy of governing the whole world, who, by personal prowess, had gained three glorious victories: the first at Crecy in Ponthieu, the second at Poitiers ten years afterwards, and the third in Spain at Najarra. The citizens of London made solemn shows, triumphs, and feasts, for this victory; such as were formerly done in honour of their kings, who had taken a town or defeated their enemies.

But in France, there was much lamentation for the knights of that kingdom, who had been either slain or made prisoners; more especially for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and several others, who, however, were courteously treated, and some immediately set at liberty on their ransom. Sir Bertrand had not his freedom so soon; for sir John Chandos, whose prisoner he was, being unwilling to consent to it, sir Bertrand was not over-pressing on the subject.

We will now speak a little of king Henry, what became of him after his flight from the battle, and then return to the prince of Wales and king don Pedro of Castille.

CHAPTER CCXLIII.—KING HENRY OF CASTILLE HAVING ESCAPED FROM THE BATTLE OF NAJARRA, MAKES WAR UPON AQUITAINE.—THE PRINCE OF WALES LEAVES SPAIN, DISCONTENTED WITH THE KING DON PEDRO.

King Henry, as has been before related, escaped the best way he could, and leaving his enemies behind him, conducted his wife and children as quickly as he was able to the city of Valencia, where the king of Arragon resided, who was his godfather and friend: to him he related the ill success of the battle. Upon considering the state of his affairs, he determined to make a long journey, and visit the duke of Anjou, who was then at Montpellier, to tell him of his misfortunes.

The king of Arragon approved of this plan, and consented to his leaving him, because the duke was an enemy to the prince of Wales, who was his too near neighbour. King Henry then departed from the king of Arragon, leaving his wife and children in the city of Valencia. Pursuing his journey, he passed through Narbonne, which is the first city of the realm of France on that side; then through Beziers, and that country, until he arrived at Montpellier, where he found the duke of Anjou, who loved him much and as cordially hated the English, though he was not at war with them.

The duke, who had before heard of his ill fortune, received king Henry in the handsomest manner, and comforted him by every means in his power. He remained with him some time, and then set out for Avignon, to visit pope Urban V. who was about to depart for Rome, which he shortly afterwards did. King Henry then returned to Montpellier, to the duke of Anjou, when some treaties were entered into between them. It was related to me, by those who at the time thought themselves well informed of what was going on, (and there is every appearance from ensuing circumstances that it was true,) that king Henry bought

or borrowed of the duke of Anjou, a castle situated near Toulouse, upon the borders of the principality; which castle was called Roquemaure*. He there assembled some of the free companions, such as Bretons and others, who had not followed the prince into Spain: they amounted, at this commencement, to three hundred.

News was immediately dispatched to the princess of Wales, who had remained at Bordeaux, that king Henry was seeking for assistance, and making preparations on all sides, to wage war upon the principality and the duchy of Guienne. She was much astonished on hearing it; but, since he was upon the territories belonging to the crown of France, she sent special ambassadors to the king of France, to entreat that he would not suffer the bastard of Spain to make war upon her, nor to have any support from France to carry such designs into effect, for too serious evils would arise from it.

The king of France immediately assented to the request of the princess: he sent messengers in haste to the bastard Henry (who still remained in the castle of Roquemaure, near to Montauban, and who had already begun to make war upon Aquitaine and the territories of the prince,) commanding him, as he was a resident in his kingdom, not to wage war on the principality of his dear nephew the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine. To give greater weight to these orders, and as an example for his subjects not to form any alliance with the bastard Henry, he sent the young earl of Auxerre to prison in the castle of the Louvre in Paris, because he had entered into treaties with king Henry, and as it was said, was to join him with a large body of men at arms: the king of France made him give up this expedition, and dissolve the connexion.

King Henry paid obedience to the orders of the king of France, as it was natural he should: but for all this he did not think the less of his attempt. He departed from the castle of Roquemaure, with about four hundred Bretons, having for his allies the following knights and squires: sir Arnold de Limousin, sir Geoffry Ricons, sir Pons de Laconet, Silvester Budes, Aliot de Calais†, and Alain de St. Pol. These men at arms, Bretons as well as others, advanced into the territories of the prince, and galloping boldly through the mountains, entered the principality by Bigorre, and took by escalade a town called Bagnieres‡, They repaired and fortified it very strongly; whence they made irruptions on the territories of the prince, to which they did much mischief. But the princess sent after them sir James Audley, who had remained as governor in Aquitaine, to guard the country. Notwithstanding this, king Henry and the Bretons did a great deal of damage; for his army was continually increasing.

We will now return to the prince of Wales and his army, who had been encamped at Valladolid and its environs waiting for the return of don Pedro.

The prince had continued at Valladolid until after the feast of St. John the Baptist, expecting don Pedro, who did not return, nor could he learn any certain tidings of him. He became very melancholy, and assembled his council, that they might deliberate what was best to be done. The council advised the prince to send two or three knights to remonstrate with the king on his situation, and to demand the reason why he did not keep to the agreement he had made, nor return the day he had himself appointed. Sir Nêle Loring, sir Richard Pontchardon, and sir Thomas Banister were ordered to make themselves ready to wait on don Pedro. These knights of the prince set out immediately, and rode on until they

* "Roquemaure." From all the searches I have made, Froissart seems to have been misinformed as to the castle king Henry retired to from Montpellier.

"Henry and the duke of Anjou went together to Avignon.—On their return, they entered into a treaty, as well against don Pedro as the English: but this was kept secret. Henry then retired to his comté de Cessenon, in the diocese of S. Pons and of Beziers. Being distressed for money, he sold this county, with the castles of Cessenon, of Servian, Thesan, &c. to the king of France, for the sum of 27,000 gold francs. Henry gave a receipt for this sum, 27th July, and then went with his family to reside at the castle of Pierre Pertuse, where he had rested on coming from Spain."—*Hist. de Languedoc.*

This castle of Pierre Pertuse I believe to be the castle which Froissart calls Roquemaure. It was demolished by Louis XIV. after the peace of Nimeguen, who built the castle of Bellegarde on its ruins. It is a very strong situation, commanding the Col de Pertus. Roussillon at that time was attached to the crown of Arragon.

There is a town called Roquemaure in Upper Languedoc, near to and in the diocese of Montauban, so that Froissart may be right, notwithstanding what the historian of Languedoc says, which I have just quoted.

† Barnes calls him Eliot du Carbais.

‡ "Bagnieres"—a town of Bigorre, diocese of Tarbes.

came to the city of Seville, where don Pedro was, who, in outward appearance, received them with great joy.

The knights delivered their message punctually and literally, as they had been ordered by the prince. The king don Pedro replied, and by way of excusing himself, said: "It is, my lords, very displeasing most certainly to us, that we have not been able to perform what we had covenanted to do with our cousin the prince. We have remonstrated ourselves, and made others do so with our subjects, frequently on this business; but our people excuse themselves, and say they cannot collect any money as long as the free companies remain in the country; for they have already killed three or four of our treasurers, who were carrying sums of money towards the prince our cousin. You will therefore tell him from us, that we entreat he will have the goodness to send out of our kingdom these wicked companies, and that he will leave with us some of his knights, to whom, in his name, we will pay such sums of money as he demands, and which we hold ourselves obliged and bound to pay him."

This was all the answer the knights could obtain. They took leave of don Pedro, and returned to the prince at Valladolid; to whom, and to his council, they related all they had seen or heard. This answer made the prince more melancholy than before, because he clearly found that, though the king don Pedro entered into agreements, he put off the fulfilling of them.

During the stay the prince made at Valladolid, which was upwards of four of the hottest months, the king of Majorca was confined to his bed, through sickness; at which the prince and the other lords were very much concerned. At this place, sir Arnold d'Andreghen, and le bègue de Villaines, with several knights of France and Brittany, who had been made prisoners, were ransomed, or exchanged, for sir Thomas Felton, sir Richard Causton, sir Hugh Hastings, and others. But sir Bertrand du Guesclin remained still in the power of the prince, for he was not ransomed so soon. The English and council of the prince thought, that if he obtained his liberty, he would immediately join the bastard Henry, and carry on the war with fresh vigour. The prince had heard that Henry had entered Bigorre, had taken Bagnieres, and was wasting his principality: on which account, he was not in any haste to grant sir Bertrand his liberty.

When the prince of Wales had considered the answer of don Pedro, he was more disturbed than ever, and ordered his council to give him their opinions on it. His people, who were anxious to return, (for the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himself was unwell, and in low spirits;) recommended a retreat, and declared that don Pedro had shamefully and dishonourably failed in his engagements.

Orders were immediately given for the return of the army. When they were on the eve of their departure, the prince sent sir Hugh Courtenay and sir John Chandos to inform the king of Majorca of the reasons why he was about to quit Spain; and that he should be very much concerned to leave him behind, in case he wished to return. The king of Majorca replied to the knights: "I give my lord the prince, our brother soldier, my best thanks; but for the present I cannot ride, nor, until God please, can I raise my foot to the stirrup." The knights answered, by inquiring if he wished the prince should leave behind some men at arms, as a guard for him, and to conduct him when he should be in a situation to mount on horseback? The king said, "By no means, for it is uncertain how long I may be forced to remain here."

Upon this, the knights took leave of the king, and returned to the prince; to whom they related what had passed, with the answers of the king of Majorca. He replied, "Be it so, then." The prince and his whole army now began their march towards a good city called Madrigay*, where he stayed a short time. He then advanced to a valley called de Foirie†, upon the borders of Spain, Arragon, and Navarre, where he and his army remained upwards of a month: for some of the passes on the borders of Arragon were shut against him; and it was reported in the army, that the king of Navarre (who had lately come out of prison)

* "Madrigay." Agreda.—*Collins's Hist. of the Black Prince.*
† "Foirie." Vale of Sona, between Arragon and Spain.—*Collins.*

had compromised his quarrel with the bastard of Spain and the king of Arragon, and had engaged to cut off the retreat of the prince through his dominions. However, as it appeared afterwards, there was no truth in this report: nevertheless, it was suspected, because he was in his kingdom, and had not waited on the prince.

Scenery of the Pyrenees, on the Spanish side. From an original Sketch.

While the prince remained in this situation, he sent negociators to an appointed place between Spain and Arragon, where they met others from the king of Arragon, with whom they had long conferences for several days: at last, it was finally agreed, that the king of Arragon should open his country for the peaceable return of the prince and his army: through which they were to pass, without doing any violence or molestation, and paying courteously for whatever they should want.

The king of Navarre, when he found that a treaty had been entered into with the king of Arragon, came to meet the prince, attended by don Martin de la Carra. He paid him every respect and honour, handsomely offering a passage through his dominions, for himself, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, as well as for several barons and knights of England and of Gascony; but he was anxious that the free companies should take any other road than through Navarre.

The prince and the lords, who knew that their march would be much shortened by going through Navarre, were not willing to renounce such a favour: they therefore greatly thanked the king for his offer: and the prince managed him so well that he obtained the same permission for the companies as for the rest of his army, assuring the king, upon his word and oath, that they should pass so peaceably, and pay so well for what they might want, that he would be satisfied with them.

The prince, therefore, and his men at arms, quitted the kingdom of Castille, on their return, marching as quietly as they could through Navarre. The prince was attended by the king of Navarre and don Martin de la Carra, as far as Roncevaux; whence he continued his march to Bayonne, where he was received with great joy. He remained there four days, to repose and recruit himself. When he approached Bordeaux, he was received with

great solemnity; the princess of Wales came out to meet him, accompanied with her eldest son, Edward, who was then about three years old.

He there disbanded his army; the men at arms departed different ways: the lords, barons, and knights of Gascony, to their castles; the knights of England to their governments, or high stewardships; and the free companies, as they returned, remained in the principality waiting for payment. The prince, who thought himself much obliged to them, was desirous of satisfying them as far as was in his power, and as soon as money could be raised. He said, that "although don Pedro had not kept his engagements, it was not becoming him to act in like manner to those who had so well served him."

CHAPTER CCXLIV.—AFTER THE RETURN OF THE PRINCE TO AQUITAINE, HENRY KING OF CASTILLE LEAVES BAGNIERES IN BIGORRE, AND RETIRES TO THE KINGDOM OF ARRAGON.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN OBTAINS HIS RANSOM.—THE FREE COMPANIES OF THE PRINCE ENTER THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.—SOME OF THE GREAT BARONS OF AQUITAINE COMPLAIN TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE OF A CERTAIN TAX, CALLED FOUAGE *, WHICH THE PRINCE WAS ABOUT TO LAY ON THEIR LANDS.

As soon as king Henry, who had remained in the garrison of Bagnieres for a considerable time, heard of the prince's return from Spain into the principality, he set out, accompanied by all his men at arms, Bretons and companions, towards the king of Arragon, who had much affection for him, and who received him with great joy. He passed there the whole winter: when new treaties were entered into between them, to carry on the war against don Pedro. The Bretons, who were his adherents, had already made incursions into Spain, in the name of king Henry: they were commanded by sir Arnold de Limousin, sir Geoffry Ricons and sir Pons de Lakonet.

We will now relate how sir Bertrand du Guesclin obtained his liberty. After the prince was returned to Aquitaine, his brother the duke of Lancaster to England, and all the other barons to their different homes, sir Bertrand du Guesclin remained prisoner to the prince and to sir John Chandos; for he could not by any means obtain his ransom; which was highly displeasing to king Henry, but he could not remedy it.

Now it happened (as I have been informed) that one day, when the prince was in great good humour, he called sir Bertrand du Guesclin, and asked him how he was. "My lord," replied sir Bertrand, "I was never better: I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though in prison, the most honoured knight in the world." "How so?" rejoined the prince. "They say in France," answered sir Bertrand, "as well as in other countries, that you are so much afraid of me, and have such a dread of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not set me free; and this is my reason for thinking myself so much valued and honoured." The prince, on hearing these words, thought sir Bertrand had spoken them with much good

* Fouage,—"a yearly tax levied in old time, by supreme lords, upon every chimney or house fire kept within their dominions. In Charles V.'s time, it was four livres tournois. Since that time, in most places the tailles have been introduced in lieu thereof. The tailles were originally only allowed in four cases; nouvelle chevalerie, marriage des filles, voyage d'outre-mer, et captivité. Charles VII. made them ordinary. All gentlemen, or such of a gentlemanly profession, are exempted from them."—*Colgrave's Dictionary—Fouage—Taille.*

"The taille was levied on goods, moveable and immoveable. It amounted to the tenth part of the revenues. A false declaration occasioned the confiscation of the overplus.—(Beaumanoir, chap. L.) When the kings imposed the taille on the subjects of their domain, those barons who were bound to serve them in their wars laid it on their vassals. According to a regulation of St. Louis, the parishes elected thirty or forty men, who from among themselves chose twelve that were appointed to apportion this tax: and they swore on the Gospels, neither to favour nor injure any one through love or hatred. These twelve men elected in their turn four who were appointed to raise this tax.

"The aide was a tax which the principal barons levied in money from their vassals. There were two sorts of aides, 'l'aide légitime,' which was rigorously exacted in certain instances, such as the ransom of the lord, the marriage of the eldest daughter, the knighthood of the son, the accession of the presumptive heir to the estate. From this aide, the clergy were not exempted. The other was called "l'aide gracieux." It was demanded as a gift in certain cases, and depended on the will of the inferior. It was granted when the lord went croisading to Palestine,—when he himself, or his brother, was armed knight,—when he married his sister or younger children,—when he built or repaired any castle,—when he was at war for the defence of his lands. This voluntary tax was not long before it became a forced one."—Introduction to *M. Levesque's Hist. of France under the first five Valois*, vol. i. pp. 325, &c.

sense; for, in truth, his council were unwilling he should have his liberty, until don Pedro had paid to the prince and his army the money he had engaged to do: he answered, "What, sir Bertrand, do you imagine that we keep you a prisoner for fear of your prowess? By St. George, it is not so; for, my good sir, if you will pay one hundred thousand francs, you shall be free." Sir Bertrand was anxious for his liberty, and now having heard upon what terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his word, replied, "My lord, through God's will, I will never pay a less sum." The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done. It is said, that some of his council went farther, and told him; "My lord, you have acted very wrong, in thus granting him so easily his ransom." They wanted to break through the agreement; but the prince, who was a good and loyal knight, replied, "Since we have granted it, we will keep to it, and not act any way contrary; for it would be a shame, and we should be blamed by every one for not agreeing to his ransom, when he has offered to pay so largely for it as one hundred thousand francs."

From the time of this conversation, sir Bertrand was taking great pains to seek the money, and was so active, that by the assistance of the king of France and the duke of Anjou, who loved him well, he paid in less than a month the hundred thousand francs, and went to the aid of the duke of Anjou, with two thousand combatants, in Provence, where the duke was laying siege to Tarascon, which held out for the queen of Naples.

At this period*, a treaty of marriage was entered into between the lord Lionel, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, with the daughter of the lord Galeas, sovereign of Milan. This young lady was niece to the earl of Savoy, being daughter of the lady Blanche, his sister. The treaty was so well conducted on both sides that it was agreed upon. The duke of Clarence came from England, attended by a great number of English knights and squires to France, where he was received by the king, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, the lord de Coucy, and magnificently feasted at Paris. He passed through France, and entered Savoy, where the gallant earl received him most honourably, at Chamberry: he was handsomely entertained there, during three days, by the ladies, both young and old. On the fourth day, he departed. The earl of Savoy conducted him to Milan, where he espoused his niece, the daughter of the lord Galeas, on the Monday after Trinity, in the year 1368. We will now return to the affairs of France.

You have before heard of the expedition which the prince of Wales made into Spain; how he had left it, discontented with the conduct of don Pedro, and was returned to Aquitaine. When he arrived at Bordeaux, he was followed by all the men at arms; for they were unwilling to remain in Spain longer, because they could not obtain their pay from don Pedro, according to the engagements he had entered into with them. At the time of their return, the prince had not been able to collect money sufficient for them as speedily as he could have wished; for it was wonderful to imagine how much this expedition had impoverished and drained him: for which reason, those men kept their quarters in Aquitaine, and could not be prevented from doing mischief, as they were upwards of six thousand fighting men. The prince had them spoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance, for he could not longer support them.

The captains of these companies (who were all English or Gascons; namely, sir Robert Briquet, John Tresnelle, sir Robert Cheney, sir Gaillard Viguier, le bourg de Breteuil, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre, Nandon de Bagerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, la Nuit, and several others) were not willing to anger the prince; they therefore quitted the principality as soon as possible, and entered France, which they called their home, by crossing the river Loire. They halted in Champagne, in the archbishopric of Rheims, in the bishoprics of Noyons and Soissons, and their numbers were daily increasing. They were so much blamed for their former deeds by the French, which greatly irritated them, that they would willingly, as it appeared, have fought with all France, if they had been listened to: and to put this to the hazard, they made incursions through the kingdom of France, where they did so much damage and such wicked acts, as caused great tribulation. Complaints were frequently made of them to the king of France and to his council; but they

* See Rymer, 1366, 1367, 1368, where the treaty is at length, and the names of those who accompanied the duke of Clarence to Milan.

could not remedy it, for they were afraid of risking a battle, and some of those who had been made prisoners from the French garrisons said that the prince of Wales encouraged them underhand. Many in France were astonished at this conduct of the prince. At last, the king of France sent for the lord de Clisson, and appointed him captain against these disorderly companies, because he was a good and hardy knight, for which the king was very fond of him.

At this time, a marriage was concluded between the lord d'Albret and the lady Isabella de Bourbon, which was not very agreeable to the prince of Wales, who would have wished that he had chosen his wife from another house. He spoke very coarsely and rudely both of him and his bride. The principal persons of his council, as well knights as squires, made excuses for him as well as they could, by saying, "Every one advances and aggrandizes himself in the best way he can; and a gallant knight ought never to be blamed, if he seek for honour and profit in the way most agreeable to himself, provided he do not fail in his service to the lord whose vassal he is." By these, and such like words, was the prince answered, in hopes of appeasing him: but nevertheless, in spite of appearances, he was very far from being satisfied; for he was well aware that this marriage would cause an estrangement of affection from him and from his party, as in truth it happened, according to what will be hereafter more fully explained.

During the time the companies were quartering themselves in France, the prince of Wales was advised by some of his council to lay a tax on the lands of Aquitaine: the bishop of Rhodez in Rouergue, in particular, took great pains to persuade him to it. The establishments of the prince and the princess were so grand, that no prince in Christendom maintained greater magnificence.

The barons of Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge and Rouergue, who had the right of remonstrating, as well as those from the principal towns in Aquitaine, were summoned to a council on this tax. This parliament was held at Niort; when the bishop of Rhodez, chancellor of Aquitaine, in the presence of the prince, explained fully the nature of this tax, in what manner it was to be levied, and that the prince had not any intentions to continue it longer than for five years, or until he should have satisfied the large debt which had been caused by the Spanish expedition. The deputies from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Rouergue and La Rochelle, were agreeable to this imposition, provided the prince would keep his coin to the same standard for seven years: but it was refused by those from the upper parts of Gascony, namely, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, his nephew, the earl of Comminges, the viscount of Carmain, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Cande, the lord de Pincornet, and several great barons from the counties, cities and good towns under their jurisdiction, saying, that "in former times, when they were under the vassalage of the king of France, they were not oppressed by any tax, subsidy, imposition or gabelle, and that they never would submit to any such oppression so long as they could defend themselves: that their lands and lordships were free from all duties, and that the prince had sworn to maintain them in this state. Nevertheless, in order to leave the parliament of the prince in an amicable manner, they declared, they would, when returned to their own country, consider this business more fully: and that they would consult several prelates, bishops, abbots, barons and knights, to whom it belonged to speak more deliberately on this demand than had hitherto been done." The prince of Wales and his council not being able to gain more at this time, the parliament broke up at Niort, and each person returned to his own home; but they were commanded by the prince to return again by a certain day, which had been fixed upon before they broke up.

These lords and barons of Gascony being arrived in their own country, and having their opinions strengthened, were resolved neither to return again to the parliament of the prince nor to suffer this tax to be imposed upon their lands, even should they be obliged to oppose force in preventing it. Thus this country began its rebellion against the prince. The lords of Armagnac, d'Albret, de Comminges, the earl of Perigord, and several great prelates, barons, knights and squires of Gascony, went to France, to lay their complaints before the court of the king of France (the king and his peers being present) of the wrongs the prince was about to do them. They said, they were under the jurisdiction of the king of France, and that they were bound to return to him as to their sovereign lord.

The king of France, who was desirous not openly to infringe the peace between the king of England and him, dissembled his joy at these words, and replied in a guarded manner to the barons of Gascony, saying; "Certainly, my lords, we shall always be very anxious to preserve and even augment the jurisdiction of our inheritance, and of the crown of France; but we have sworn, as our father had done, to several articles of the peace, all of which we do not now recollect; we will have them looked into and examined, and all that shall be in them to our and to your advantage we will aid you to preserve. We will endeavour to make up your differences with our dear nephew the prince of Wales; for perhaps it has been through evil advisers that he has wished to encroach upon you and your vassals' franchises." With this answer, which the king made to them off hand, the Gascons were mightily satisfied, and remained at Paris, near the king's person, without wishing to return home.

The prince was not pleased at this conduct. He continued to persevere, and to make his council persevere, in the affair of the hearth-tax. Sir John Chandos, who was one of the principal of his council and a valorous knight, was of a contrary opinion, and wanted the prince to desist: so that, when he saw he could not succeed, in order that he might not be accused, nor have any blame, he requested leave of the prince to visit his estate of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, of which he was lord, for he had not been there these three years. The prince granted him leave; and sir John Chandos set out from Poitou to Coutantin, and remained in the town of St. Sauveur upwards of half a year. In the mean time, the prince proceeded with this tax, which, if it had been properly managed, would have been worth twelve hundred thousand francs, one paying with the other one franc each fire. We will now return to king Henry, who had remained in the kingdom of Arragon, and relate how he conducted his affairs.

CHAPTER CCXLV.—THE BASTARD HENRY OF CASTILLE, BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE KING OF ARRAGON AND SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, AGAIN MAKES WAR UPON HIS BROTHER DON PEDRO.—HAVING DEFEATED HIM IN A BATTLE, HE IS MADE PRISONER, AND MURDERED.—HENRY REMAINS KING OF SPAIN.

The situation of the prince of Wales and the state of his affairs were well known to the neighbouring monarchs; particularly to the king of Arragon and king Henry; for they took great pains to gain information concerning them. They had been truly told how the barons of Gascony were gone to Paris, to wait on the king; and that all that country was beginning to rebel against the prince. This intelligence was not displeasing to either of the above-mentioned kings, especially king Henry, who looked forward to the conquest of Castille, which he had lost through the power of the prince of Wales.

King Henry took leave of the king of Arragon, and set out from the city of Valencia, accompanied by the viscounts de Roquebertin* and de Rhodez. They had with them three thousand men at arms and six thousand infantry, including some Genoese, who served for a subsidy. This body of men at arms advanced into Spain, to the city of Burgos, which instantly opened its gates, and surrendered to king Henry, receiving him as its lord. From thence they marched to Valladolid; for king Henry had received information that the king of Majorca had been left there, which gave him great joy.

When the inhabitants of Valladolid heard that those of Burgos had surrendered and had acknowledged king Henry, they no longer thought of making any resistance, or holding out against him, but surrendered also, and received king Henry as their lord, in the same manner as formerly. As soon as king Henry had entered the town, he inquired where the king of Majorca was lodged, and when the place was pointed out to him, he immediately, on his going thither, entered the hôtel and the room where he was confined by illness. King Henry advanced towards him, and said: "King of Majorca, you have been our enemy, and have entered our kingdom of Castille with a large army; for which reasons we lay our hands on you, and make you our prisoner, or you are a dead man." The king of Majorca,

* Rocaberti.—*Ferrera's Hist. Gen. d'Espagne*, translated by d'Hermilly.

sensible of the difficulty of his situation, and that opposition would be of no avail, replied: "Sir, I am certainly dead, if you order it so; but I am very willing to surrender myself as your prisoner, and to you alone. If you intend to place me in any other's hands, say so; for I had much rather die than fall into the hands of my adversary the king of Arragon." "By no means whatever," answered King Henry, "will I act so disloyally by you, for which, and with good reason I should be greatly blamed. You shall remain my prisoner, for me to ransom or set at liberty according to my own will and pleasure *." Thus was the king of Majorca made prisoner, on his oath, by king Henry, who placed a numerous garrison in Valladolid, for the more securely guarding it, and then advanced towards the city of Leon in Spain, which immediately opened its gates on hearing he was marching that way.

Upon the surrender of the city of Leon to king Henry, the whole province of Galicia did the same, and changed their party. The principal barons and lords, who had lately done homage to the king don Pedro, came out to meet king Henry; for, notwithstanding their outward appearances of friendship to don Pedro during the presence of the prince of Wales, they could not love him, from the cruelties he had formerly exercised upon them, and from their doubts of what he might do in future; whilst king Henry had always treated them kindly: not only did he not oppress them, but promised to do them much good: all the country, therefore, returned to their allegiance to him.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin had not as yet arrived in Spain, but was hastening to join king Henry with two thousand fighting men. He had left the duke of Anjou, who had put an end to the war in Provence, and broken up the siege of Tarascon by a capitulation with its inhabitants, the terms of which I do not know†. He had therefore set out for Spain, attended by several French knights and squires, who were desirous of signalizing their prowess, and had already entered Arragon to join king Henry, who was laying siege to the city of Toledo.

News was brought to the king don Pedro of all these conquests; that the whole country was turning to his brother the Bastard, during the time he tarried in the neighbourhood of Seville, and on the borders of Portugal, where he was but little loved. Upon hearing these tidings, he was in a violent rage against his brother and against the Castillians, who had abandoned him, and declared with an oath, that he would avenge himself so severely upon them, they should be a warning to all others. He immediately issued his commands to all those from whom he expected help or service. He sent to some, however, who never came, but excused themselves to the best of their ability: whilst others turned to king Henry, and paid to him their homage. When the king don Pedro found his people were wavering, and failed to obey his summons, he began to be alarmed; he therefore applied to don Fernando de Castro for counsel, who had never yet deserted him. He advised him to collect as large a force as he could from all countries, as well in Granada as elsewhere, and to hasten to meet his brother before he should have made any farther progress into the kingdom.

Don Pedro did not hesitate following this advice, but sent to the king of Portugal, who was his cousin-german, from whom he had a large body of men; and also to the kings of Granada, Bellemarine, and Tramesames‡, with whom he entered into alliances, and engaged to support them in their kingdoms, and not to make war against them for the space of thirty years. These kings, on their part, sent him upwards of twenty thousand Moors, to assist him in his war. Don Pedro used so much activity that he had assembled, as well Christians as Moors, forty thousand men, in the country round Seville.

* The king of Majorca was afterwards ransomed by his wife, the too celebrated Joan of Naples, whose third husband he was, for 28,000 florins of gold.—*Vie de Du Gueselin.*

† "The duke of Anjou and Bertrand du Guesclin having crossed the Rhône, laid siege to Tarascon, which is opposite to Beaucaire, the 4th March, 1368. The real history of this siege is unknown to us; for we cannot place any reliance on the different authors of the life, or rather romance of Bertrand du Guesclin, who relate various circumstances about it. What may be depended on is, that the duke of Anjou, having besieged Tarascon by sea and land, the inhabitants, who had an understanding with him, delivered up the town, of which he made himself master."—*Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 336.

‡ Bellemarine—Tramesames. Probably Benmarin and Tremecen, kingdoms in Barbary.

Neither Marians nor Ferreras makes mention of any other king than Mahomet king of Granada, who joined don Pedro with six thousand cavalry and about thirty thousand men.—*Hist. Gen. de l'Espagne*, vol. v. p. 400.

While these treaties and negotiations were going forwards, and during the time of the siege of Toledo, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, with his body of two thousand men, arrived in the camp of king Henry, where he was received with great joy, as was naturally to be expected: the whole army were happy at his arrival. The king don Pedro, who, as I have already said, had assembled his whole force at Seville and in its environs, was desirous of giving his brother battle: he left Seville with his numerous army, in order to raise the siege of Toledo. There may be between these two places, Seville and Toledo, seven days' march.

Intelligence was brought to the army of king Henry, that don Pedro was approaching with forty thousand men, including those of every description. He called a council, to consider what was to be done, to which all the French and Arragonian knights were summoned; and in particular sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whose opinion they wished to act. Sir Bertrand gave the following advice, which was followed; namely, that king Henry should immediately collect as many of his army as he could spare from the siege, advance by forced marches to meet don Pedro, and, in whatever situation he should meet him, begin the battle; "For," added he, "we have heard that he is marching against us with a strong army, and he would be too powerful, were he to come regularly upon us: let us, therefore, be beforehand with him, without his knowing anything of our intentions; that we may surprise him and his army so unexpectedly as to have the advantage, and, I doubt not, defeat him." This plan of sir Bertrand was applauded and followed. Towards evening, king Henry set out with a chosen body of men at arms, and left the command of the siege to his brother don Tello. On his march, he had his spies dispersed over the country, in order to bring him exact intelligence the moment they should see or hear of don Pedro and his army, and what condition they were in.

The king don Pedro was ignorant of everything his brother was doing, even of his marching to meet him; so that he and his army were advancing slowly, in a very disorderly manner. It fell out, that upon the dawn of day king Henry and his army met don Pedro and his force; for, the preceding night, he had slept in a castle called Montiel, where the lord of Montiel had received him with all possible honour and respect. He had left it very early in the morning, and was continuing his march in the same disorderly manner, for he never expected to fight that day, when suddenly king Henry, his brother don Sancho, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, by whose orders they acted, le bègue de Villaines, the lord de Roquebertin, the viscount de Rhodez *, and their companies, with banners flying and prepared for action, came upon them: they might be six thousand fighting men: they advanced in very close order, and at a full gallop, so that they fell heavily and with a good will upon the first they met, crying out, "Castille for king Henry!" and "Our Lady, for Guesclin!" They overthrew and defeated all whom they first encountered, driving them before them. Many were slain and unhorsed; for none were made prisoners, according to the orders of sir Bertrand du Guesclin the preceding day, on account of the great number of Jews and infidels who were in don Pedro's army.

When don Pedro, who was advancing with the largest division of his army, received the news that his van had been defeated by his brother the Bastard and the French, he was amazed where they could come from: he perceived that he had been betrayed, and was in danger of losing everything; for his men were very much dispersed; so that like a bold and valiant knight as he was, and of great resource and enterprise, he halted upon the spot, and ordered his banner to be displayed in the wind to rally his men. He sent orders for the rear to advance with all speed, for that the engagement was begun. Upon this all men of courage hastened towards his banner, which was fluttering in the wind. The battle now became more general and hot: many of don Pedro's army were slain and unhorsed; for king Henry, sir Bertrand, and their friends, fought them so manfully, that none could stand before

* M. Dillon, in his history of Peter the Cruel, says, "While Henry lay before Toledo, ambassadors arrived at his camp from Charles V. of France, who sent his chamberlain, Francis de Perelles, viscount de Rhodez, and John de Ric, lord of Neburis, to acquaint him, that war was declared between England and France, &c."—Vol. II. p. 104.

This John de Ric may perhaps be the Geoffry Ricon of of Froissart.

them. The battle, however, was not so soon over: for don Pedro had such immense numbers, as to be at least six to one: but they were so closely followed that it was wonderful to see how they were discomfited and slain.

This battle of Spaniards against Spaniards, and the two brother kings, with their allies, near Montiel, was very grand and horrible. Many were the good knights on king Henry's side; such as sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Geoffry Ricon, sir Arnold de Limousin, sir Gauvain de Bailleul, le bègue de Villaines, Alain de St. Pol, Aliot de Calais, and the Bretons who were there. From the kingdom of Arragon were the viscount de Rocaberti, the viscount de Rodais, with many other good knights and squires whom I cannot name, who performed various gallant deeds of arms, as in truth they had full need. They had strange people to encounter, such as Moors and Portuguese: the Jews who were there very soon turned their backs, and would not fight; but those from Granada and Bellemarine fought valiantly: they were armed with bows and lances, of which they made good use, and behaved themselves right well. Don Pedro was in the midst, and with intrepid courage fought so valiantly with his battle-axe that scarcely any dared to come near him.

Battle of Montiel.—A mixed and irregular combat of French, Spaniards, Moors and Jews.—Designed from various MS. authorities in the Harlcian and Cottonian Libraries.

King Henry drew up his division opposite to his brother, in very compact order, and full of bold combatants, who shouted loudly, making good use of their lances; so that the army of don Pedro was thrown into confusion, and those near his person began to be alarmed. Don Fernando de Castro, who had watched over the king his lord, soon perceived (so good was his judgment) that their army would be beaten; for they were too much frightened from having been so suddenly attacked: he therefore said to don Pedro, "Sir, save yourself, and hasten back to the castle of Montiel, which you left this morning: if you retire thither, you will be in safety; but if you be taken, your enemies will slay you without mercy." The king approved of this advice, set out directly on his retreat to the castle of Montiel, and arrived there so à-propos that he found the gates of the castle open, where he was received with only eleven followers.

Whilst this was passing, the remainder of his men, who were dispersed over the plain, continued the combat as well as they could; for the Moors who were among them, and had not any knowledge of the country, were indifferent whether they were directly slain or suffered a long pursuit: they therefore sold their lives dearly. Others also acted marvellously well.

Intelligence was brought to king Henry and to sir Bertrand, that don Pedro had retreated to the castle of Montiel, where he had shut himself up; that le bègue de Villaines and his men had pursued him to the castle, which had but one path to enter or come from it, and that le bègue had there placed himself and fixed his pennon. King Henry and sir Bertrand were delighted with this news: they advanced towards that place fighting and slaying multitudes, killing them like beasts: they were quite fatigued with this business of butchery. The pursuit lasted more than three long hours, and there were upwards of fourteen thousand killed and wounded: very few escaped; those who did were from that part of the country, and acquainted with its strong places. This battle was fought under Montiel, and in its environs, the 13th day of August, 1368.

After the defeat of don Pedro and his army, king Henry and sir Bertrand encamped themselves before the castle of Montiel, where don Pedro was: they surrounded it on all sides: for they said truly, that what they had hitherto done would be of no effect, unless they took the castle of Montiel with don Pedro, who had shut himself up in it. They sent the principal part of their force back to Toledo, in order to reinforce the besiegers, which was very agreeable to don Tello, who commanded there *.

The castle of Montiel was of sufficient strength to have held out a considerable time, if it had been properly victualled; but when don Pedro entered it, there was not enough for four days, which much alarmed him and his companions. They were so strictly watched that a bird could not escape from the castle without being noticed. Don Pedro was in great anguish of heart at seeing himself thus surrounded by his enemies, well knowing that they would not enter into any treaty of peace or agreement with him; so that considering his dangerous situation, and the great want of provision in the castle, he was advised to attempt an escape with his eleven companions about midnight, and to put himself under the protection of God: he was offered guides that would conduct him to a place of safety.

They remained in the castle, with this determination, until midnight, when don Pedro, accompanied by don Fernando de Castro and others of the eleven companions, set out. It was very dark. At this hour the bègue de Villaines had the command of the watch, with upwards of three hundred men. Don Pedro had quitted the castle with his companions, and was descending by an upper path, but so quietly that it did not appear as if any one was moving: however, the bègue de Villaines, who had many suspicions, and was afraid of losing the object of his watch, imagined he heard the sound of horses' feet upon the causeway: he therefore said to those near him: "Gentlemen, keep quiet: make no movement: for I hear the steps of some people. We must know who they are, and what they seek at such an hour. I suspect they are victuallers, who are bringing provision to the castle; for I know it is in this respect very scantily provided." The bègue then advanced, his dagger on his wrist, towards a man who was close to don Pedro, and demanded, "Who art thou? Speak, or thou art a dead man." The man to whom the bègue had spoken was an Englishman, and refused to answer: he bent himself over his saddle, and dashed forwards. The bègue suffered him to pass; when addressing himself to don Pedro, and examining him earnestly, he fancied it was the king, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, from his likness to king Henry his brother, for they very much resembled each other. He demanded from him, in placing his dagger on his breast, "And you, who are you? Name yourself, and surrender this moment, or you are a dead man." In thus saying, he caught hold of the bridle of his horse, and would not suffer him to escape as the former had done.

King don Pedro, who saw a large body of men at arms before him, and found that he could not by any means escape, said to the bègue de Villaines, whom he recognised: "Bègue,

* M. Dillon says, that Manrique, archbishop of Toledo, assisted by some able officers, had the command of the blockade of Seville, when Henry marched to meet don Pedro; and that don Tello had joined the king of Navarre in spoiling the kingdom of Spain.

bègue, I am don Pedro king of Castille, to whom much wrong has been imputed, through evil counsellors. I surrender myself, and all my people, but twelve in number, as thy prisoners: we place ourselves under thy guard and disposition. I beseech thee, in the name of thy gentility, that thou put me in a place of safety. I will pay for my ransom whatever sum thou shalt please to ask; for, thank God, I have yet a sufficiency to do that; but thou must prevent me from falling into the hands of the Bastard." The bègue (according to the information I have since received) replied, that he and his company might come with him in all security; for that his brother should not from him have any intelligence of what had happened*. Upon this consideration, they advanced, when don Pedro was conducted to the tent of the bègue, and into the chamber of sir Lyon de Lakonet. He had not been there an hour, when king Henry and the viscount de Rocaberti, with their attendants, but not in great numbers, came thither. As soon as king Henry had entered the chamber where don Pedro was, he said, "Where is this son of a Jewish whore who calls himself king of Castille?" Don Pedro, who was a bold as well as a cruel man, stepped forward, and said: "Why thou art the son of a whore, and I am the son of Alphonso." On saying this, he caught hold of king Henry in his arms, began to wrestle with him, and, being the strongest, threw him down under him upon *une aubarde qu'on dit en François coeste de materats de soye*†: placing his hand on his poniard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who seizing don Pedro by the legs, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poniard which he wore in his sash, and plunged it into his body. His attendants entered the tent, and helped to dispatch him. There were slain with him a knight from England called sir Raoul Heline, who had formerly had the surname of the Green Squire, and another esquire of the name of James Roland, because they had put themselves in postures of defence‡. But no harm was done to don Fernando de Castro, nor to the rest of don Pedro's attendants: they continued, therefore, prisoners to le bègue de Villaines and to sir Lyon de Lakonet. Thus died don Pedro, king of Castille, who had formerly reigned in great prosperity. Those who had slain him left him three days unburied, which was a pity for the sake of humanity; and the Spaniards made their jokes upon him.

On the morrow, the lord of Montiel came to surrender himself to king Henry, who received him graciously, as well as all those who returned to their allegiance. News was soon spread abroad of the death of don Pedro, to the great joy of his enemies and sorrow of his friends. When the king of Portugal heard in what manner his cousin don Pedro had been slain, he was mightily vexed at it, and swore he would have satisfaction for it. He immediately sent a challenge to king Henry, and made war upon him, remaining master of all the environs of Seville for one whole season. This, however, did not prevent king Henry from following his enterprise: he returned before Toledo, which surrendered to him as soon as it learnt the death of don Pedro; as did all the other parts of the country dependent on the crown of Castille. Even the king of Portugal did not wish to continue the war longer

* There are different accounts of this affair. Ferreras attributes the capture of don Pedro to Bertrand du Guesclin, and not much to his honour: but I cannot believe this, as avarice was not a vice of such gallant men, and am inclined to believe Froissart has been rightly informed.

† Not knowing how to translate this, I have left it as in the original. Du Cange, in the last volume of his Glossary, refers the word *aubarde* to *abbarda*, in the first volume of the Supplement, which is as follows: "*Abbarda*, Clitella—*adde* Provincialibus bardo, nostris olim *barde*, equi armatura. Aubarde vero dixerunt, pro culcitra, vulgo *coite de matelas*. Froissart," (quoting the expressions in the text.) *Albardacha*.—Gall. Hallebarde. Vide supra Alabarda.—*Du Cange*. [*Une aubarde qu'on dit en François coeste de materats de soye*, that is, "an aubarde, or, as it is called in French, a silken counterpane or quilt;" literally the silk covering of *a mattrass*. Lord Berners translates it *a bench*, and probably he is not far wrong. According to the quotation from Du Cange, the original meaning of the word was a war-saddle, which might not unnaturally be applied to the camp-bed of a tent, which serves for a seat or a couch as occasion requires, and may thence be aptly likened to a soldier's saddle, which serves him for a pillow in a bivouac. As Froissart however confines the meaning to the *covering* of the couch, this conjecture may very possibly be wrong, but in that case the etymology still escapes us.]—Ed.

‡ "With this unfortunate monarch there also fell two gallant Englishmen, who were slain for having drawn their swords in his defence when grappling with Henry. These were sir Ralph Holmes and James Rowland. The life of Fernando de Castro was spared, on account of his long attachment and fidelity to his sovereign.

"Don Fernando de Castro, after the death of king Peter, made his escape into Portugal, and afterwards retired to Guienne, where he died. Over his tomb was placed the following inscription: AQUI YACE DON FERNANDO PEREZ DE CASTRO, TODA LA FIDELIDAD DE ESPANA."—*Dillon's Hist. of Peter the Cruel*, vol ii. p. 119.

against king Henry; so that there was a treaty of peace concluded between them, by means of the barons and prelates of Spain. King Henry, therefore, reigned in peace over all Castille. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, sir Olivier de Mauny, and some others from France, Brittany, and Arragon, continued with him, to whom king Henry behaved very handsomely: indeed, he was in justice bound so to do, for without their aid he would never have been able to have accomplished this business. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was made constable of Spain, and received the estate of Soria, worth twenty thousand francs a-year. The king gave to his nephew, sir Olivier de Mauny, the estate of Crecte, worth ten thousand francs a-year: and so on to the other knights with such liberality that they were all contented. King Henry went to Burgos with his queen and children, to hold his court there, which he did in a princely style*. The kings of France and of Arragon, as well as the duke of Anjou, who loved him personally, were very much rejoiced at the fortunate event of the war.

About this time died the lord Lionel of England, who had crossed the Alps, as has been before related, and had taken for his wife the daughter of the lord Galeas Visconti, sovereign of Milan. But, as his death appeared extraordinary†, the lord Edward Despenser, his companion, who had remained with him, declared war against Galeas, and slew many of his subjects at different times: at last, however, the earl of Savoy made peace between them. Let us now return to what was going forwards in the duchy of Aquitaine.

CHAPTER CCXLVI.—KING CHARLES V. IS ADVISED TO DECLARE HIMSELF LORD PARAMOUNT OF GUIENNE AND AQUITAINE, ON ACCOUNT OF THE HEARTH-TAX WHICH THE PRINCE OF WALES WAS ABOUT TO RAISE.—THIS CAUSES A RENEWAL OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

We have before related how the prince had been advised to raise a hearth-tax in his dominions: by which many thought themselves over-burdened, especially the Gascons; for those of the low countries of Poitou, Saintonge, and la Rochelle had acceded to it with tolerable good humour, as living nearer the residence of their prince, and as being more obedient and more tractably disposed to the ordinances of their lords, more to be depended on, and firmer in their allegiance than those from the more distant parts of the country.

* "King Henry assembled the states of the realm at Medina d'el Campo, to make arrangements for recompensing the French and other knights. They paid Bertrand du Guesclin one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins, The king also gave Soria, Almazan, Atiença, Montéagudo, and Seron, with their dependencies, to sir Bertrand: to Olivier de Mauny, Agreda: Ribadéo, with the title of count, to the Viguer de Villames, whom he married to a lady of the Guzman family: Aquilar de Campo to Geoffry Relor, and Villalpand to Arnold Solier."—*Ferreras Hist. d' Espagne*, vol. v., pp. 414, 415.

† "Anno Domini 1367, et regni 42 Edwardi, Leonellus dux Clarentiæ obiit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus."—*Lelandi Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 251.

"Quo anno (1368), mense Aprilis, Leonellus dux Clarenciæ, regis Edwardi tertii filius, cum electa multitudine nobilium Anglicorum transivit versus Mediolanum, an accipiendum in uxorem filiam domini Gallias, domini Mediolani, cum qua medietatem ejusdem dominii fuerat habiturus. Sed tamen modico tempore super conjuge vel dominio gaudere permissus est, morte (quæ cuncta disjungit & separat) mox præventus. Celebrato nempe inter eos cum maxima gloria matrimonio, Leonellus, circa festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ proximo sequentem diem clausit extremum."—*Tho. Walsingham Hist. Angli. Edw.* III. pp. 132, 3.

"Moreover, at the coming of Leonell, such abundance of treasure was in the most bounteous manner spent, in making of most sumptuous feasts, setting forth stately sights, and honouring with rare gifts above two hundred Englishmen who accompanied his son-in-law, as it seemed to surpass the greatnes of the most wealthy princes; for the banquet at which Francis Petrarch was present among the chiefest guests, had about thirty courses of service at the table, and betwixt every course there were as many presents of wondrous price intermixed; all which John Galeasius, chief of the choice youth, bringing to the table, did offer to Leonell. There were in one only course seventy goodly horses, adorned with silk and silver furniture; and in another silver vessels, falcons, hounds, armour for horses, costly coats of mail, breast-plates glistering of massy steel, helmets and corselets decked with costly crests, apparelled distinct with costly jewels, soldiers' girdles, and lastly, certain gems by curious art set in gold and purple, and cloth of gold for men's apparel in great abundance. And such was the sumptuousness of that banquet, that the meats which were brought from table would sufficiently have served ten thousand men. But not long after, Leonell, living with his new wife, whilst after the manner of his own country, as forgetting or not regarding his change of air, he addicted himself overmuch to untimely banquetings, spent and consumed with a lingering sickness, died at Alba."

This account from Stowe, pp. 267, 268, edition 1631, seems very naturally to account for the death of the duke of Clarence, without supposing it caused by treachery.

For a more particular account of this entertainment, see Corio's History of Milan, printed at Milan, 1503.

In order to carry these intentions of the prince into effect, several parliaments were held at Niort, Angoulême, Poitiers, Bordeaux, and Bergerac: but the Gascons declared they would never pay this tax, nor suffer it to be laid upon their lands, and asserted, that they had an appeal to the courts of the king of France. This claim of appeal much angered the prince, who answered, that they had no such appeal; for that the king of France had surrendered all right to appeals and jurisdictions, when he had given these territories to his lord and father, as was fully apparent by the treaties of peace; for that the negotiators of this peace had not reserved the slightest article whereby an appeal to the king of France could be made. To this the Gascons replied, that it was not lawful for the king of France, nor in his power, nor had ever been in his power, to free them from appealing to him, without the will of the prelates, barons, cities, and principal towns of Gascony, who would never have consented to it, nor ever will consent to it, if it were to be proposed, because it would be the cause of a perpetual warfare with France.

Thus were the prince and the barons of Gascony quarrelling with each other; for either party supported his own opinion, and maintained that it was the right. The earl of Armagnac, the earl of Comminges, the lord d'Albret, the earl of Perigord, and several other barons from Gascony, remained quiet at Paris, near the person of the king, and at his leisure moments informed his majesty, that the prince, through pride and presumption, was desirous of trampling them under his feet, and oppressing them with taxes upon their lands which had not been heard of before, and which they would never permit to be levied. They demonstrated to the king, that they had an appeal to him, and demanded that the prince should be summoned before the parliament and the peers, to answer for the grievances and oppressions he intended to lay on them.

The king of France listened with complacency to these lords of Gascony, when they requested from him help and assistance as from their sovereign lord, adding, that should he refuse it to them, they would withdraw their allegiance, and apply to some other court; so that, for fear of losing his claim to this sovereignty, he in the end complied with their request. He was, however, sensible that this affair must cause a war, which he was desirous not to begin without some appearance of right: besides, his kingdom was not recovered from the effects of the late war, nor from the oppressions of the free companies and other enemies. In addition also to these reasons, his brother the duke of Berry was still a hostage in England; so that he was determined to act with prudence and caution.

About this time, sir Guy de Ligny, earl of St. Pol, had returned to France from England, without permission of the English, by a very ingenious trick. As the full detail of it would take a considerable time, I pass it over. This earl hated the English more than words can express, and took much pains that the king of France should accede to the request of the Gascon lords; for he was well aware, that if the prince of Wales were summoned to appear before the parliament, it would create a war. Many prelates, barons, earls, and knights of France had united themselves with the earl of St. Pol, and had told the king, that the king of England had not in any way maintained the peace, nor paid any respect to what he had sworn and sealed, according to the tenor of the treaties which had been made at Bretigny near Chartres, and afterwards confirmed at Calais; for the English had carried on the war with France in an underhand manner, as much, if not more, since the peace had been made than before. They remonstrated with the king on the subject, adding, that if he would have the articles and treaty of peace read, which had been accepted by the king of England and his eldest son upon their faith and oath, he would find the truth of what they had told him.

Upon this, the king of France, to be better informed, and to preserve the rights of his crown, ordered all the papers relative to the last peace, to be brought to the council-chamber, where they were read several times, that the different points and articles might be fully examined. They were very carefully inspected, and among them they found one relating to the territories given up, which the king and his council fixed on with greater attention, because it spoke fully and clearly on the subject they were desirous to discuss. The paper was in these terms:

"Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know all, that in the agreement

and final peace entered into between our very dear brother the king of France and ourselves, there are two articles of the following tenor: Item, the aforesaid kings shall be found to have all the before-mentioned things confirmed by our holy father the pope; and they shall be strengthened by oaths, sentences, and censures of the court of Rome, and by every other bond in the strongest manner possible: and there shall be obtained from the aforesaid court of Rome dispensations, absolutions, and letters in regard to the perfecting and accomplishing this present treaty, which shall be forwarded to the different parties within three weeks at the latest after the king shall be arrived at Calais. Item, in order that the aforesaid things, which have been gone through and treated of, may be more firm and stable, the securities which follow shall be given; that is to say, letters drawn up in the best possible manner by the councils of the two kings, and sealed with the seals of the two kings, and also with the seals of their two eldest sons. The aforesaid kings, their eldest sons, and their children, as well as others of the branches of the royal family, and of the principal nobility of their kingdoms, to the number of twenty, shall swear they will keep, and help to keep as far as in them lies, all these articles which have been made, entered into and agreed upon, and will keep them without doing anything contrary, either by fraud, malice, or by any hindrance whatever. And if there should be any persons in the two before-mentioned kingdoms of France and England who shall be rebellious, and not consenting to the aforesaid treaties, the two aforesaid kings together shall use every exertion of body, fortune, and friends, to bring the aforesaid rebels into true obedience, according to the form and tenor of the aforesaid treaty. And withal the two aforesaid kings will submit themselves and their kingdoms to the coercion of our holy father the pope, in order that he may constrain by ecclesiastical censures, or other proper means, him who shall be rebellious, according to what shall be thought reasonable. And among the securities and assurances aforesaid, the two kings shall renounce for themselves and their heirs, upon their faith and oath, all wars and actions of war: and if through disobedience, rebellion, or power of some of the subjects of the kingdom of France, or through any other just cause, the king of France shall not be able to accomplish and fulfil all the things aforesaid, the king of England aforesaid, his heirs and kingdom, or any of them, shall not make war, nor cause war to be made upon the aforesaid king of France, nor upon his heirs nor kingdom; but both together shall unite and exert themselves in bringing back the aforesaid rebels to their proper obedience, and to the fulfilling the aforesaid things. And also, if in the aforesaid kingdom, and under the obedience of the king of England, there should be any not willing to surrender and give up those castles, towns, or fortresses which they hold in the kingdom of France, nor to obey the aforesaid treaty: or if, through any just cause, the king of England shall be prevented from accomplishing what is laid down in the aforesaid treaty, neither the king of France, his heirs, nor any one for them, shall make war upon the king of England, nor upon his kingdom; but both of them together will, with all their might, endeavour to regain the aforesaid castles, towns, and fortresses, and to bring back such rebels to their proper obedience, so that the perfect fulfilment of the aforesaid treaties may be wrought. And there shall be mutually given on both parts, according to the nature of the act, every sort of security which may be devised, as well by the pope and college of Rome as by others, for the maintaining the peace and other articles of the treaty. For which reasons, wishing to preserve and cherish a perpetual peace and love between us and our aforesaid brother and kingdom of France, we have renounced, and by these presents do renounce, all war and offensive acts against our brother aforesaid, his heirs and successors, the kingdom of France, and his subjects. And we promise and swear, and have promised and sworn upon the body of Jesus Christ, for ourselves and successors, that we will not do, nor suffer to be done, any act or word against this renunciation, nor against anything contained in these aforesaid articles. And if we should do or suffer to be done anything to the contrary, which God forbid, we are willing to be reputed false, wicked and perjured, and to incur such blame and infamy as a consecrated and crowned king ought to incur in similar cases. We renounce all idea of importuning any dispensation or absolution from the pope from our oath aforesaid; and if obtained, we declare it to be null and of no weight, and that no advantage whatever ought to be made of it. In order more fully to strengthen the aforesaid declarations, we submit ourselves, our heirs and successors, to the jurisdiction and coercion of the church of

Rome, and will and consent that our holy father the pope confirm all these things by ordering monitory and general mandates for the accomplishment of them, against us, our heirs and successors, and against our subjects, (whether commonalties, universities, colleges, or private persons of whatever description,) and by granting sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, to be incurred by us or by them, as soon as we or they shall attempt or do anything contrary to these articles, by occupying towns, castles, fortresses, or any other act, by giving comfort, aid, advice, or assistance, that may in any way infringe upon the true meaning of this treaty.

"We have caused our very dear eldest son, Edward, prince of Wales, to swear to the aforesaid articles, in like manner as ourself; and also our younger sons, Lionel earl of Ulster, John earl of Richmond, and Edmund of Langley; and also our dear cousin Philip de Navarre, the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, the earls of Stamford and Salisbury, the lord of Manny, the captal de Buch, the lord de Montfort, lord James Audley, sir Roger Beauchamp, sir John Chandos, lord Ralph Ferrers, lord Edward de Spenser, sir William and sir Thomas Felton, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Franque van Halle, sir John Moubray, sir Bartholomew Burghersh, sir Henry Percy, and several other knights. And we will have the aforesaid articles in like manner sworn to, as soon as we well can, by our other children, and by the greater part of our prelates, churchmen, earls, barons, and other nobles of our realm. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents, given in our town of Calais, the 24th day of October, in the year of grace 1360 *."

Among other letters which had been drawn up, as well at Bretigny near Chartres as at Calais, during king John's residence there, was the above letter, now under examination of king Charles, his eldest son, and the principal persons of his council. After it had been maturely considered by the prelates and barons of France who had been summoned to this council, they told the king, that neither the king of England nor the prince of Wales had kept or fulfilled the articles of the treaty of Bretigny; but, on the contrary, had taken possession of castles and towns by force, and had remained in the aforesaid kingdom of France, to its great loss; where they had pillaged and ransomed its subjects, by which means the payment for the redemption of the late king John was still part in arrear: that upon this, and upon other points, the king of France and his subjects had good right and just cause to break the peace, to make war upon the English, and deprive them of the possessions they had on this side the sea.

The king was also secretly advised, after much deliberation, in such words as these: "Dear sire, undertake with courage this war: you have a very good cause to induce you to do so: and know, that as soon as you shall have determined upon it, you will find that many in the duchy of Aquitaine will turn to your side; such as prelates, barons, earls, knights, squires, and citizens of the principal towns; for as the prince proceeds in levying this hearth-tax, in the same proportion will hatred and ill-will follow from all ranks, as they will be very miserable should he succeed in his attempt. As for those of Poitou, Saintonge, Rouergue, Quercy, and La Rochelle, from their nature they cannot love the English, who, in their turn, being proud and presumptuous, have not any affection for them, nor ever had. Add to this, that the officers of the prince are such extortioners, as to lay their hands on whatever they can find, and levy such heavy taxes, under the name of the prince, that they leave nothing to the subject: besides, the gentlemen of the country cannot obtain any offices, for they are all seized on by the English knights attached to the prince."

By these arguments, the king of France was determined to declare war; and the duke of Anjou, who at that time was at Toulouse, took great pains to bring it about; for he was very desirous that the war should be renewed with the English, as he was one who could not love them for some affronts they had put upon him in former times†.

On the other hand, the Gascons frequently said to the king of France; "Dear sire, we insist that we have an appeal to your court, (and therefore supplicate you to do us justice, as being the most upright prince in the world,) in regard to the great injuries and extortions which the prince of Wales and his people want to impose upon us. Should you refuse,

* See this and other treaties, in the Fœdera, relative to the peace of Bretigny.

† Very probably for having escaped dishonourably from England, where he was an hostage for his father king John.

however, to do us right, we will seek for it in other courts, and we will place ourselves under that lord who will exert himself to preserve our rights; by which means you may lose the principality."

The king of France, who very unwillingly would have suffered this loss, for it would have been of the greatest prejudice to his kingdom, made a courteous reply: "that never, for want of law or advice should they apply to any other court than his own; but it was proper such affairs should be treated with much deliberation and prudence." In this manner, he kept them in expectation for one year, detaining them privately at Paris; where, besides paying all their expenses, he made them handsome presents and gave them rich jewels. He, however, inquired secretly, whether, in case the peace should be broken, and war with the English recommence, they would support him: they replied, that he ought not to be alarmed, nor prevented from carrying on the war in their country, as they were sufficiently able to make head against the prince, and the force he could employ.

The king at the same time, sounded those of Abbeville, if they would return to their allegiance, and become good Frenchmen: they desired nothing more earnestly than to do so, for much did they hate the English. Thus did the king of France acquire friends on all sides: otherwise, he would not have dared to act as he did. At this time was born Charles of France, eldest son to the king of France, in the year of grace 1368, which gave great joy to the kingdom. Before this time, had been born Charles d'Albret. The birth of these two children, who were cousins-german, was highly pleasing to the whole realm, but particularly to the king of France.

CHAPTER CCXLVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS A SUMMONS TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, TO APPEAR IN THE CHAMBER OF PEERS AT PARIS, IN THE MATTER OF AN APPEAL FROM THE BARONS OF GASCONY.

The king of France was so strongly advised by his council, and so strenuously entreated by the Gascons, that an appeal was drawn up, and sent to Aquitaine, to summon the prince of Wales to appear before the parliament of Paris. It was in the names of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and of Comminges, the viscount of Carmaing, the lords de la Barde and de Pincornet, who were the principal appellants. In this appeal, the said Gascons complained of certain oppressive grievances which the prince of Wales and of Aquitaine was about to inflict on them and their vassals; and that the said Gascons appealed to and claimed the jurisdiction of the king of France, whom as a matter of right, they had chosen for their judge. When this appeal from the said barons and lords of Gascony had been well drawn out, and reduced to writing, after different corrections in the best possible manner by the wisest of the French council, and after it had been very fully considered, they resolved that it should be signified to the prince of Wales, that they summoned him to appear in person, in the chamber of peers at Paris, to answer the complaints made against him and attend the judgment: to which effect, orders were given to an eloquent lawyer, that the business might be more properly done, and a very noble knight of Beauce, called Caponnel de Caponnal.

These two commissioners left Paris with their attendants, taking the road towards Bordeaux. They passed through Berry, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and came to Blaye, where they crossed the Garonne: from thence they went to Bordeaux, where the prince and princess at that time resided, more than at any other place. These commissioners declared, wherever they passed, that they were come by orders of the king of France; by which means they were in all places well received. When they entered the city of Bordeaux, they took up their quarters at an inn (for it was late, about the hour of vespers), and remained there all that night. On the following day, at a proper hour, they went to the abbey of St. Andrew, where the prince of Wales kept his court.

The knights and squires of the prince received them kindly, out of respect to the king of France, by whom they said they were sent. The prince of Wales was soon informed of their arrival, and ordered them to be brought to him. When they came into his presence,

they bowed very low, and saluted him with great respect (as was on every account his due, and they well knew how to pay it), and then gave him their credential letters. The prince took them, and, after having read every word, said, "You are welcome; now communicate all that you have to say to us." "Respected sir," said the lawyer, "here are letters which were given to us by our honoured lord the king of France; which letters we engaged on our faith to publish in your presence, for they nearly relate to you." The prince upon this changed colour, from his great difficulty to conjecture what they could relate to: the barons and knights who were with him were equally astonished: but he restrained himself, and added, "Speak, speak: all good news we will cheerfully hear." The lawyer then opened the letter and read, word for word, the contents of it, which were:

"Charles, by the grace of God king of France, to our nephew the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, health. Whereas several prelates, barons, knights, universities, fraternities and colleges of the country and district of Gascony, residing and inhabiting upon the borders of our realm, together with many others from the country and duchy of Aquitaine, have come before us in our court, to claim justice for certain grievances and unjust oppressions which you, through weak counsel and foolish advice, have been induced to do them, and at which we are much astonished. Therefore, in order to obviate and remedy such things, we do take cognizance of their cause, insomuch that we, of our royal majesty and sovereignty, order and command you to appear in our city of Paris in person, and that you shew and present yourself before us, in our chamber of peers, to hear judgment pronounced upon the aforesaid complaints and grievances done by you to your subjects, who claim to be heard, and to have the jurisdiction of our court. Let there be no delay in obeying this summons, but set out as speedily as possible after having heard this order read. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seal to these presents. Given at Paris, the 25th day of January, 1369."

CHAPTER CCXLVIII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES IMPRISONS THE COMMISSIONERS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE WHO HAD BROUGHT HIM THE SUMMONS OF APPEAL FROM THE LORDS OF GASCONY TO THE COURT OF FRANCE.

When the prince of Wales had heard this letter read, he was more astonished than before. He shook his head; and after having eyed the said Frenchmen, and considered awhile, he replied as follows: "We shall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, since the king of France sends for us; but it will be with our helmet on our head, and accompanied by sixty thousand men." The two Frenchmen, upon this, fell on their knees, saying, "Dear sir, have mercy, for God's sake: do not bear this appeal with too much anger nor indignation. We are but messengers sent by our lord the king of France, to whom we owe all obedience (as your subjects in like manner do to you), and to whom it is proper we should pay it: therefore, whatever answer you shall wish to charge us with, we will very willingly report it to our lord." "Oh no," replied the prince, "I am not in the least angry with you, but with those who sent you hither. Your king has been ill advised, thus to take the part of our subjects, and to wish to make himself judge of what he has nothing to do with, nor any right to interfere in. It shall be very clearly demonstrated to him, that when he gave possession and seisin of the whole duchy of Aquitaine to our lord and father, or to his commissaries, he surrendered also all jurisdiction over it; and all those who have now appealed against us, have no other court to apply to but that of England, and to our lord and father. It shall cost a hundred thousand lives, before it shall be otherwise." On saying this, the prince quitted them, and entered another apartment, leaving them quite thunderstruck.

Some English knights came to them, and said: "My lords, you must go from hence, and return to your hôtel; you have well executed the business you came here upon, but you will not have any other answer to it than what you have just heard." The knight and lawyer returned to their inn, where having dined, they soon after packed up their baggage, and mounting their horses, set out from Bordeaux, taking the road to Toulouse, to relate to the duke of Anjou what they had done.

The prince of Wales was much cast down by this appeal which had been made against

him. His knights and barons were not in better spirits: they wished, and even advised the prince to kill the two messengers, as a salary for their pains; but the prince forbade it to be done. His thoughts, however, were ill-inclined to them: when he heard they were set out, and had taken the road towards Toulouse, he called sir Thomas Felton *, the high steward of Rouergue, sir Thomas de Pontchardon, sir Thomas Percy, his chancellor the bishop of Rhodez, and several others of his principal barons; of whom he asked, "Have these Frenchmen that are gone away any passports from me?" They answered, that they had heard nothing about it. "No," replied the prince, shaking his head; "it is not right that they should so easily leave our country, and go to relate their prattle to the duke of Anjou, who loves us little, and say how they have summoned us personally in our own palace. They are, upon due consideration, messengers from my vassals, the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord, Comminges and of Carmaing, rather than from the king of France; so that, for the vexation they have given us, we consent they should be detained and thrown into prison." The council of the prince were well pleased on hearing this, as it was before their advice, and said it had been but too long delayed.

The high steward of Agénois was charged with this commission: his name was sir William le Moine, a very gallant and noble knight of England: who immediately mounted his horse with his attendants, and left Bordeaux. He made such haste, in pursuing these Frenchmen, that he overtook them before they had passed the district of Agénois. Upon coming up with them, he arrested them under title of his office, and found another pretence for so doing without compromising the prince, whose name he never mentioned, but said, their host of the preceding evening had complained to him that they had taken one of his horses in mistake from his inn. The knight and lawyer were astonished on hearing this, and endeavoured to excuse themselves, but in vain, for they could not obtain their liberty. They were conducted to the city of Agen, and put in the prison of the castle. The English suffered some of their attendants to return to France, who, passing through Toulouse, related to the duke of Anjou every thing as it had happened. The duke was not much displeased thereat; for he thought it would be the beginning of the war, and prepared to take his measures accordingly.

News of the imprisonment of his commissioners was soon carried to the king of France; for their servants, being returned to court, told all they had seen and heard from their masters, in regard to the state, government and countenance of the prince of Wales; which, coming to the ears of the king, inflamed his anger: he was greatly vexed, and thought much upon it, as well as on the words of the prince, on receiving this appeal, namely, that he would attend the appeal in person, with his helmet on his head, accompanied by sixty thousand men. This haughty and proud answer occupied the mind of the king of France: he therefore, most prudently and wisely, began to make preparations for supporting the weight of this ensuing war; for in truth it was likely to be very heavy as well as hazardous, and to draw upon him the whole force of the king of England, against whom his predecessors had laboured so much in former times, as has been related in this history. But he was strongly solicited by the great lords of Guyenne on the other hand, who demonstrated to him the extortions of the English, and the great losses which this might in future occasion to him, the truth of which he well knew. What appeared to affect him the most, in beginning this war, was his consideration for the destruction of his poor people, which might continue for a long time, and the dangers and opprobrium which his nobles had suffered from the last war.

CHAPTER CCXLIX.—THE DUKE OF BERRY AND SEVERAL MORE LORDS, WHO HAD BEEN HOSTAGES IN ENGLAND, RETURN TO FRANCE.

THE king of France and his council, not regarding the haughty answer from the prince of Wales, made every preparation which might be necessary for the grand event about to take place. At this period, the lord John of France, duke of Berry, had returned home, through the favour of the king of England, who had granted him permission to remain a year in

* Barnes says, sir Thomas Felton was sénéschal of Aquitaine, and sir Thomas Wake sénéschal of Rouergue.

France. He acted so prudently, and made so many different excuses, that he never went back; for the war speedily broke out, as you will hear related. Sir John de Harcourt had also returned to his own country, where his estates had been granted him, through the solicitations of sir Louis de Harcourt his uncle, who was from Poitou, and at the time one of the prince's knights. Sir John de Harcourt fell sick, which happened to him very opportunely: for it lasted until the renewal of the war, so that he never again returned to England.

Sir Guy de Blois, who at that time was a young squire, and brother to the earl of Blois, obtained his liberty also; for when he perceived that the king of France, for whom he was hostage, had not thought of ransoming him, he made overtures to the lord de Coucy, who had married one of the king's daughters, and who had a very great revenue in right of his wife, assigned to him on the king's treasury. This treaty advanced so well between the king, his son-in-law, and sir Guy, that the latter, with the permission of his two brothers Louis and John, and with the consent of the king of France, gave up wholly and absolutely into the hands of the king of England, the county of Soissons; which county the king of England gave again, and presented to the lord de Coucy, who released it for four thousand livres a-year annual rent. Thus were these agreements and covenants finished. The earl Peter d'Alençon had, through the good will of the king of England, returned also to France, where he remained so long, and made so many excuses, that he never went back to resume his duty as hostage; but, I believe, at last he paid thirty thousand francs, to acquit his faith and oath.

Before this time, a fortunate circumstance happened to duke Louis de Bourbon, who was one of the hostages in England. By favour of the king of England, he had returned to France; and while he was at Paris with his brother-in-law king Charles, it chanced that the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, died. There was at that time a priest in England of the name of William of Wykeham: this William was so high in the king's grace that nothing was done, in any respect whatever, without his advice. When the chancellorship and bishopric thus became vacant, the king of England immediately wrote to the duke of Bourbon, at the request and prayer of the said William, to beg of him, through the affection he had for him, to go to the holy father Urban, and prevail on him to grant the vacant bishopric of Winchester to his chaplain; and that, in return, he would be very courteous to him as to his ransom.

When the duke of Bourbon received the messengers with the letters from the king of England, he was much pleased, and explained to the king of France what the king of England and sir William wanted him to do. The king advised him to go to the pope. The duke therefore, with his attendants, immediately set out and travelled, until they came to Avignon, where pope Urban resided, for he had not as yet set out for Rome. The duke made his request to the holy father, who directly granted it, and gave to him the bishopric of Winchester, to dispose of it as he should please; and if he found the king of England courteous and liberal as to his ransom, he was very willing that Wykeham should have this bishopric. The duke upon this returned to France, and afterwards to England, where he entered into a treaty with the king and his council for his ransom, shewing at the same time his bulls from the pope. The king, who loved Wykeham very much, did whatever he desired. The duke had his liberty, on paying twenty thousand francs; and sir * William Wykeham was made bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England.

In this manner, the French lords who were hostages in England obtained their liberty. We will now return to the war in Gascony, which first broke out on account of the appeal that has been already spoken of.

* "The custom of prefixing the addition of Sir to the Christian name of a clergyman was formerly usual in this country. Fuller, in his Church History, book vi., enumerates seven chauntries, part of a much larger number, in the old cathedral of St. Paul, in the time of king Edward VI., with the names of the then incumbents, most of whom had the addition of sir; upon which he remarks, and gives this reason why there were formerly more sirs than knights: such priests as have the addition of sir before their Christian names were men not graduated in the university, being in orders, but not in degrees; whilst others, entitled masters, had commenced in the arts. This ancient usage is alluded to in the following humorous catch:

'Now I am married, Sir John I'll not curse:
He join'd us together for better for worse.
But if I were single, I do tell you plain,
I'd be well advis'd, ere I married again.'"
—*Sir John Hawkins's Hist. of Music*, vol. ii. p. 518.

CHAPTER CCL.—THE EARL OF PERIGORD *, THE VISCOUNT OF CARMAING AND OTHER BARONS OF GASCONY, DEFEAT THE HIGH STEWARD OF ROUERGUE.

You have heard how much the prince of Wales was offended by the summons which had been served on him to appear at the court of the parliament in Paris. It was fully his intention to perform the answer he had given to the commissioners from the king, namely, that in the course of the summer he would come and take his seat, and personally appear at the feast of the lendit †. He therefore sent orders to those captains of English and Gascon companies who were attached to him, and in quarters upon the banks of the Loire, not to march to any great distance from that river, for he should shortly have occasion for them, and would find them employment. The greater part of these companies were much rejoiced at the news. The prince would not have failed in his intentions, but that his illness and the swelling daily increased (which had been caused by his expedition into Spain): so that his attendants were very much alarmed at it, for he could not at this moment mount his horse. The king of France had received accurate information of all this, and had been furnished with the statement of his case drawn up in writing; from which the physicians and surgeons of France judged that he had a confirmed dropsy, and declared him unable ever to recover.

As soon as the capture of sir Caponnel de Caponnal and the man of law was publicly known, who, as it has been before said, were arrested by sir William le Moine, and carried prisoners to Agen, the earl of Comminges, the earl of Perigord, the viscount of Carmaing, sir Bertrand Taude, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, and many more knights and squires who resided on their estates and lordships, were very much offended at this measure; since for them, and upon their account, had they undertaken this commission. They determined to have revenge for this violence, and to begin the war in their own country, by making prisoners some of those attached to the party of the prince. They had information that sir Thomas Wake was on his road to Rhodez, to examine the strength of the castle; that he was at Villeneuve d'Agénois, from whence he was to be escorted by only sixty lances.

When these knights heard this news, they were in high spirits, and resolved to lay an ambuscade for sir Thomas, consisting of three hundred lances; so that about two leagues from Montauban, as the high steward was continuing his route with sixty lances and two hundred archers, they were attacked by this large ambuscade of Gascons. The English were very much surprised: for they, not suspecting such an attack, were quite unprepared for it: however, they began to exert themselves stoutly in self-defence; but the Gascons, who had formed their plan at leisure, were too many for them, and at the first shock numbers were dismounted: the English, not being able to resist the violence of the Gascons of Perigord, Comminges and Carmaing, were thrown into disorder, and, being defeated without much resistance, turned their backs. Many were taken and slain. Sir Thomas was obliged himself to fly, otherwise he would have been made prisoner; and he owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, which carried him to Montauban. The Gascons and others returned to their own country, carrying with them their prisoners and booty.

News was very soon brought to the prince of Wales, who at that time resided at Angoulême, how his high steward of Rouergue had been defeated by the earl of Perigord, and by those other noblemen who had summoned him by appeal to the chamber of peers at Paris. Much enraged was the prince, when it was told him: he said, he would have a severe and early revenge for this, upon the persons and lordships where this outrage had been

* The earls of Carmaing have since taken the name of Foix, by an alliance with an heiress of this name, who brought to them the county of Foix, in the 14th century. The earls of Perigord bear to this day the same name; they are likewise known under those of princes of Chalais, earls of Perigord, or earls of Talleyrand, which is the primitive name of their house. M. de Talleyrand de Perigord was bishop of Autun, of which office he divested himself, when, in the course of the revolutionary furor, episcopacy became unpopular, and is now minister for foreign affairs to the republic of France, 1803.—[Prince Talleyrand has within these few days (May 1838) departed this life, after reconciling himself to the church of Rome.—Ed.]

† Leudit,—a great fair kept (in a field near St. Denis) from the second Wednesday in June until Midsummer eve—whence *lendits*,—gate-money, fairings, or yearly presents, bestowed by the scholars of the university, especially those of Paris, on their tutors.—*Cotgrave.*

committed. He wrote directly to sir John Chandos, who had retired to his estate at St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin, ordering him to come to him, without delay, as soon as he should have received his letter.

Sir John Chandos, desirous of obeying the prince, made all possible haste, and came to Angoulême to the prince, who received him with great joy. Soon after, the prince sent him to Montauban, with a large body of men at arms and archers, to make war upon the Gascons and French, who were every day increasing in numbers, making incursions upon the territories of the prince. Sir Thomas Wake collected his scattered men as well as he could, and went to Rhodez, which he amply reinforced and re-victualled, as well as the castle of Milhaud upon the confines of Montpelier; and in every place he put men at arms and archers.

Sir John Chandos made the town of Montauban his head-quarters, and gallantly defended the frontiers against the Gascons and French, with the other knights whom the prince of Wales had sent thither; such as, the captal de Buch, the two brothers de Pommiers, sir John and sir Helie, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord of Partenay, the lord of Pons, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pinaine, the lord de Tannaybouton and sir Richard de Pontchardon. These knights, with their companies, made frequent attacks upon the forces of the earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the earls of Perigord and Comminges, the viscounts of Carmaing and of Tharide, the lord de la Barde, and several other barons and knights of the same connexion, who, with their companies, were upon this frontier. Sometimes one side was victorious, sometimes the other, as in war such things commonly happen.

The duke of Anjou remained very quiet, and made not the smallest movement, notwithstanding the rumours he heard; for the king of France had strictly ordered him not to make war upon the prince of Wales, nor on his subjects, until he should receive from him positive orders for so doing.

CHAPTER CCLI.—THE KING OF FRANCE GAINS OVER SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF THE FREE COMPANIES.—HE SENDS HIS DEFIANCE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

The king of France, all this time, was secretly and ably gaining over several of the captains of the free companies, and others attached to the party of the English, who had ascended the river Loire, and were on the confines of Berry and Auvergne, where the king of France had given his permission for them to reside. Not one of the companies of France was in motion; for the king did not wish that his name should yet be made use of in this war, lest it might do his affairs harm, and lest he should lose the county of Ponthieu, which he was very anxious to regain.

Had the king of England perceived that the king of France intended war, he would easily have prevented the loss of Ponthieu by reinforcing the garrisons of Abbeville with English, and others attached to him; so that he would have been master of the whole country; and in the like manner would he have done to all the other garrisons dependent on that county. The king of England had at this time, for high steward of Ponthieu, a good English knight called sir Nicholas Louvain, in whom the king had great confidence, and with justice; for, sooner than commit any cowardly or unworthy deed, he would have had his limbs torn from him.

At this period, the king of France sent to England the earl of Saltzburg and sir William des Dormans, to remonstrate with the king and his council, and to complain that part of the country of France had been, and still was, much harassed, as well by the daily incursions of the free companies, who had for these last six years made war upon France, as by other oppressors, of which the king of France and his council had had information, and were very ill satisfied that the king of England and his eldest son the prince of Wales should act in such a manner as to countenance them. These two personages remained in England for the space of two months: and during this time, they proposed various agreements and reasons to the king, which made him frequently out of humour and in a passion; but they did not pay much attention to this, for they had received instructions from the king of France and his council how to act and what to say.

When the king of France had received such information as he could depend on, that the inhabitants of Abbeville were in their hearts Frenchmen; that the war was begun in Gascony; that all the men at arms in the kingdom of France were prepared, and eager to wage war upon the prince of Wales and to enter his territories; he was anxious that no reproach might be cast on him, either at the present moment, or in times to come, for having ordered an army into the territories of the king of England, or the prince of Wales, to take cities, castles, towns or fortresses, without having sent them a challenge: he therefore resolved to defy the king of England; which he did by sealed letters. One of his valets, who was from Brittany, carried them. He met at Dover the earl of Saltzburg and sir William des Dormans, who were returning from England to France, having accomplished the business they had been sent on. The Breton, according to the orders he had received, told them what he was going about; which they no sooner heard than they set off as quickly as possible, and crossed the sea. They were very happy when they found themselves in the town and fortress of Boulogne.

About this time, sir Guiscard d'Angle, marshal of Aquitaine, had been sent by the prince of Wales to pope Urban V. at Rome, on affairs relating to Aquitaine. He had found the pope very polite in complying with the requests he had to make to him. On his return, he first heard the news of war being made on the prince, and that the French had entered the principality. He was very much surprised at this, and dubious how he should be able to continue his journey. He went, however, to the gallant earl of Savoy, whom he found at the town of Pignerol, in Piedmont, engaged in war with the marquis de Saluces. The earl of Savoy received sir Guiscard and his company with great pleasure: he entertained them for two days with much magnificence, and presented them with handsome gifts, particularly sir Guiscard, who had the larger share: for the gallant earl respected him greatly, on account of his hardy knighthood.

When sir Guiscard and his companions had left the earl of Savoy, the nearer they approached the boundaries of France and Burgundy the worse news they heard, and more disagreeable to their feelings. Sir Guiscard having well considered all the information he could gain, saw that it would be impossible for him to return to Guyenne in the state he travelled. He therefore delayed as much as he could, and gave the command of his whole army and attendants to a knight called sir John Shore, who had married his daughter. Sir John came from Brittany, and spoke very good French: he took the command of all the attendants and baggage of his father-in-law: when coming to the estate of the lord of Beaujeu, he crossed the river Saône, and became so well acquainted with the lord of Beaujeu that he conducted him and his whole company to Rion in Auvergne, to the duke of Berry: he there offered to become a true Frenchman, provided he were suffered to return peaceably to his house in Brittany, as it had before been settled between him and the lord of Beaujeu.

In the meantime, sir Guiscard, under the disguise of a poor chaplain, ill mounted and badly equipped, passed through France, Burgundy, and Auvergne, and with great difficulty entered the principality. On his arrival at Angoulême, he was heartily received by the prince of Wales. Another knight, whose name was sir William de Sens, who had accompanied him on this embassy to Rome, took refuge in the abbey of Clugny in Burgundy, from whence he never stirred for five years, and at last turned Frenchman.

We will now return to the Breton who was the bearer of the challenge from Charles king of France to Edward king of England.

CHAPTER CCLII.—CHALLENGES FROM FRANCE ARE DELIVERED TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE EARL DE ST. POL AND THE LORD DE CHATILLON CONQUER THE COUNTY OF PONTHIEU.

The valet before mentioned made haste to London, as he had heard the king of England and his council were assembled at the palace of Westminster. The king had for some time held various councils upon the state of the prince's affairs, who was at war with the barons and knights of Gascony, to examine into the best means of assisting him, and to consider

whom he should send from England to the prince's aid. He soon heard other news, which troubled him more than before; for the valet who was the bearer of these letters managed so as to enter the chamber where the king and his council were sitting. He said he was a valet belonging to the household of the king of France, and had been sent by that king with letters addressed to the king of England, but was ignorant what were their contents, nor did it belong to him to know. He presented them on his knees to the king; who, being desirous to know what might be their subject, ordered them to be taken, opened, and read. The king and all those with him were much surprised when they heard the challenge they contained. They examined them very carefully every way, as well as the seal, and clearly saw that the challenge was good. They ordered the valet to withdraw, telling him he had done his business well, and that he might boldly set out on his return, for he would not meet with any obstacle to his doing so, as indeed he did not: he therefore went back to France as speedily as possible.

The earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earl of Porcien, the lord de Maulevrier, and several others at this time in England, as hostages for the king of France, were in the greatest anxiety on hearing the above intelligence; for they were doubtful of the intentions of the king of England and his council, and what they meant to do to them.

It is proper to be known that the king and his council were greatly offended that this challenge should have been brought by a valet: they said it was not decent that a war between two such great lords as the kings of France and of England should be announced and declared by a common servant; that it would not have been unworthy of a prelate, or of a valiant baron or knight, to have been the bearer of such a declaration; however, nothing more was done.

In this council, the king was advised to send directly reinforcements of men at arms to Ponthieu, to guard that country, more particularly to Abbeville, which ran much risk of being taken. The king approved of this, and ordered the lord Percy, the lord Neville, the lord Carbestone* and sir William Windsor on this business, with three hundred men at arms and one thousand archers.

While these lords were making their preparations, and were already as far advanced on their road as Dover, to cross the sea, other news was brought which did not please them much. For as soon as the earl Guy de St. Pol and sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was at that time master of the cross-bows of France, could suppose that the king of England had received the defiance, they advanced towards Ponthieu, having before sent privately their summons to the knights and squires of Hainault, Artois, Cambresis, Vermandois, Vimeu, and Picardy; so that their whole force amounted to not less than a hundred and twenty lances, with which they appeared before Abbeville. The gates were immediately opened, as had before been privately concerted; and these men at arms entered the town without doing any harm to the inhabitants.

Sir Hugh de Châtillon, who was the leader of this expedition, marched to that part of the town where he thought he should find the high steward of Ponthieu, sir Nicholas Louvain, and exerted himself so effectually as to make him his prisoner, as well as a very rich clerk and valiant man who was treasurer of Ponthieu. The French made this day many a good and rich prisoner; for the English lost everything they had in the town. On the same day, the French advanced to St. Valery, which they took by storm; they did the same to Crotoy†, as well as to the town of Derne‡ upon the sea.

Shortly after, the earl of St. Pol went to Pont de St. Remy on the Somme, where some English were collected. The earl ordered them to be attacked. There was a grand skirmish, with many valorous deeds of arms. His eldest son, Galeran, was created a knight, and did honour to his new knighthood. The English were so roughly handled, that they were either slain or made prisoners, and the bridge and fort conquered by the French. In short, the whole territory and county of Ponthieu were freed from the English, so that none remained who could any way do mischief.

News was brought to the king of England, who was at London, how those of Ponthieu had

* Barnes says, lord Henry Percy, lord William Neville, and lord William Windsor, and *one* lord more, but does not name him.

† Crotoy,—a town opposite to St. Valery, on the Somme.

‡ "Derne." No such place. Q. if not Rue, which is a small town on the coast, two miles from St. Valery?

deserted him, and turned to the French. The king was much enraged at this, and at first had intentions of severely retaliating upon those of the hostages who were still in London; but he thought it would be cruel to make them answer for his ill fortune. Nevertheless, he sent all the citizens who had been given as hostages from the cities and principal towns of France, to other towns, castles, and forts in his kingdom, and did not allow them the same liberty they had before enjoyed. He ransomed the earl dauphin d'Auvergne for thirty thousand francs, and the earl of Porcien for ten thousand. The lord de Roye, however, remained in prison, in great peril; for, as he was not in any favour at the court of England, he was obliged to endure much ill treatment, until delivered by accident and great good fortune, as you will hear in the continuance of this history.

CHAPTER CCLIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS A LARGE BODY OF MEN AT ARMS TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND.—THE DUKES OF BERRY AND OF ANJOU ISSUE THEIR ORDERS FOR THEIR VASSALS TO ATTACK THE PRINCE OF WALES.

When the king of England thus saw himself defied by the king of France; the county of Ponthieu lost, after having cost him such sums in the reparation of towns, castles, and houses (for he had expended one hundred thousand francs in addition to the revenues he drew from it;) he was in a mighty passion. He had, however, more fears of a war from Scotland than from France: he knew the Scots did not love him, for the great mischiefs he had done them in former times. He therefore sent large detachments of men at arms to Berwick, Roxburgh, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and to the whole border, to guard it. He also ordered detachments to Southampton, Guernsey, and to the island of Blisso*; for he had procured information that the king of France was making great preparations, and collecting a number of ships, in order to invade England. He did not know what part to guard the most; and, to speak truth, the English were very much alarmed.

As soon as the dukes of Berry and of Anjou were certain that the challenge had been delivered, and war declared, being unwilling to remain idle, they issued their special orders; one in Auvergne, the other at Toulouse; for their vassals to enter the principality. The duke of Berry had under his command all the barons of Auvergne, of the bishoprics of Lyons and Mâcon, the lords de Beaujeu, de Villars, de Tournon, sir Godfrey de Boulogne, his brother-in-law sir John d'Armagnac, sir John de Villemur, the lords de Montagu and de Talencon, sir Hugh Dauphin, the lord de Rochefort, and several more. These men at arms immediately advanced to Touraine, and to the borders of Berry, from whence they carried the war into the fine country of Poitou; but they found it well filled with knights and squires, who did not permit them to gain much advantage.

Sir Louis de St. Julian, sir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton, were at that time in garrison in the French castles of Touraine. These three were great captains, brothers in arms: they performed many gallant deeds, and did much harm to the English, as will hereafter be more fully related.

CHAPTER CCLIV.—SEVERAL CAPTAINS OF COMPANIES SIDE WITH DIFFERENT PARTIES.—THE KING OF ENGLAND SENDS THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND THE EARL OF PEMBROKE TO THE ASSISTANCE OF HIS SON THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THEY PASS THROUGH BRITTANY.

The duke of Lancaster possessed, as part of his inheritance in Champagne, a castle situated between Troyes and Châlons, called Beaufort; of which an English squire, named the Poursuivant d'Amour† was the captain. When this squire perceived that the war was

* "Blisso." Q. of Wight. Lord Berners says the Isle of Wight.—Ed.

† Poursuivant d'Amour, was a title that knights and squires gave themselves, on account of their wearing the portrait or colours of their mistresses, and challenging each other to fight in honour of their ladies. Barnes calls him Percival Damorie, but I do not see on what foundation: it seems to me to be a corruption of Poursuivant d'Amour.

renewed between the kings of France and England, he turned to the king of France, and swore to him faith and loyalty from this time forth, as a good Frenchman. The king for this enriched him greatly, and left this castle under his care, in conjunction with another squire of Champagne called Yvain *. The poursuivant and Yvain were great friends. They performed many feats of arms against the English, and against their partisans

The canon de Robesart, who had before been a loyal and good Frenchman, on the renewal of the war turned to the English, and became the liege man of the king of England, who was well satisfied with his services. In this manner, several knights and squires changed their party. The duke of Anjou had been so active among the free companies of Gascony that sir Perducas d'Albret, le petit Mechin, le bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, Jacquet de Bray and Arnaudon de Pans, turned Frenchmen; which much displeased the English, as their forces were greatly weakened by it. Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg de l'Esparre and le bourg Camus, remained steady to the English; as well as the most approved captains among them, such as sir Robert Briquet, Robert Thin, John Tresnelle, Gaillard de Motte, and Aimery de Rochechouart. These companies of English and Gascons, with their followers, fixed their quarters in the bishopric of Mans in lower Normandy; where they took a town called Vire†, and destroyed and ruined all the neighbouring country. Thus these free companies changed their sides; but all of them were engaged for the French or English.

The king of England determined to send his son, Edmund of Langley earl of Cambridge, and his son-in-law, John Hastings earl of Pembroke, to the assistance of the prince of Wales in the duchy of Aquitaine, with the command of a body of men at arms and cross-bowmen. He also named such as he thought right to send with them: and in the number were, the lord Braddeston‡, sir Bryan Stapleton, sir John Trivet, sir Thomas Banaster and divers others. They embarked as speedily as they could, and put to sea, having with them four hundred men at arms and as many archers. They steered their course for Brittany; and, having a wind to their wish, they landed at the port of St. Malo. When John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, was informed of their arrival, he was much rejoiced, and immediately sent some of his knights to receive and entertain them; namely, sir John de Laigniguay and sir John Augustin. The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke were well pleased on seeing these knights: but they were not perfectly assured if the barons and principal towns of Brittany would permit them to pass through the country, in their way to Poitou. The English lords, therefore, made this their request to the duke and to the country. The duke, being very partial to the English, complied directly with their wishes, and acted so efficaciously with the barons and principal towns, that it was agreed they should pass through the country in a peaceable manner, upon paying for whatever they might have occasion to use: to which terms the English joyfully assented.

The earls of Cambridge and Pembroke prepared to march with their army to join those free companies who were in the province of Maine, at Château Gontier§ and at Vire; where they had destroyed and pillaged the whole country; declaring their intentions to advance farther into the interior of the kingdom. The Bretons entered into treaty with them; and

"The duke of Lancaster at this same time lost his castle of Beaufort, between Troyes and Châlons. He had intrusted this place to the guard of Evan of Wales. This Evan was called le Poursuivant d'Amour. He was the son of Edmund, the last of the ancient sovereigns of Wales, who had been beheaded by Edward. He had been brought up at the court of Philip de Valois, as page of honour to his chamber, and made his first campaign under king John. At the peace, the duke of Lancaster, who was probably ignorant of his birth, made him governor of his castle of Beaufort. Being naturally an enemy to the English, he eagerly seized this opportunity of revenging himself for the ancient injuries of his house. The king of France accepted his offers of service, and gave him the command of some ships, with which he made incursions on the English coasts."—*Hist. de France, par Villaret*, tome v. p. 396.

There must be some mistake in the preceding account from Villaret, for Wales was finally conquered by Edward I. in 1283, by the defeat of Llewelin, and the disgraceful manner in which Edward murdered his brother David. The surrender of the castle of Beaufort happened nearly one hundred years afterwards, so that Evan could not have been a son of one of our last sovereigns.

* It seems probable that this chevalier was the Welshman mentioned in the foregoing note, and that the Poursuivant was a totally different person. Who Evan really was it is not easy to discover.—Ed.

† Vire,—a town in Normandy, on the river Vire, diocese of Bayeux.

‡ In Froissart, it is "le sire de Tarbestonne," which I think must be Braddeston. See Dugdale's Baronage.

§ Château Gontier,—a town in Anjou, diocese of Angers.

it was agreed that they should have liberty to pass through that country, by crossing the river Loire at the bridge of Nantes, engaging not to do any mischief on their march,

At this time, sir Hugh Calverley was on the borders of Arragon, with a large body of the free companies, who had lately quitted Spain. As soon as he heard that the French were making war upon the prince, he set off with all the men at arms of the companies, passed through Arragon and Foix, entered Bigorre, and hastened until he came to the prince, who at that time held his court in the city of Angoulême. When the prince saw him arrive, he gave him a handsome reception, and thanked him much for the assistance he had brought. He prevailed with him to be his guest until the companies which had left Normandy (having first sold those fortresses which they held there) were come; for the Bretons allowed them to pass through their country, provided they behaved themselves well. As soon as they were arrived at Angoulême and in that neighbourhood, the prince appointed sir Hugh Calverley to be their captain. They were in the whole, including those who had come with them from Arragon, two thousand fighting men. The prince immediately ordered them to march to the estates of the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, to burn and destroy them. In consequence of this order, they made a very disastrous war, and did great damages.

CHAPTER CCLV.—THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE ARRIVE AT ANGOULEME.—THE PRINCE SENDS THEM TO OVERRUN THE COUNTY OF PERIGORD.—SOME ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED NEAR TO LUSIGNAN.

THE earls of Cambridge and Pembroke remained at St. Malo with their troops, as has been before said, until all the free companies of their party had come through the country with the assent of the duke of Brittany. When they had sufficiently recruited themselves, and had permission to march, they set out from St. Malo, and by easy days' journeys arrived at Nantes, where the duke received these lords most honourably, and kept them with him for three days, which were spent in magnificent feasts. On the fourth day they crossed the great river Loire over the bridge at Nantes, and then continued their march until they came to Angoulême, where they found the prince and princess. The prince was much rejoiced at the arrival of his brother the earl of Cambridge and the earl of Pembroke. He inquired after the healths of the king his father, the queen, and his other brothers: to which questions he received satisfactory answers. After they had remained with him three days, and had refreshed themselves, the prince ordered them to set out from Angoulême, to make an excursion into the county of Perigord.

The two lords and the knights who had come with them from England instantly made preparations to provide themselves with every thing that might be necessary. Having taken leave of the prince, they marched off in grand array. They were, in the whole, full three thousand combatants: among these were several knights and squires from Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Quercy and Rouergue, whom the prince ordered to accompany them. These lords and men at arms entered hostilely the county of Perigord, which they overran, and did much mischief to it. When they had burnt and destroyed the greater part, they laid siege to a fortress called Bordeilles*, of which two squires of Gascony were governors: they were brothers, named Ernaldon and Bernardel de Batefol. There were in this garrison of Bordeilles, with the two captains, a number of men at arms, whom the earl of Perigord had sent thither. It was also amply provided with artillery, wine, provision and everything else that might be necessary to hold out for a considerable time; and those in garrison were well inclined to defend it: so that during the siege of Bordeilles many gallant deeds of arms, many a skirmish and many an assault, were daily performed. The two before-mentioned squires were bold, proud and enterprising: they little loved the English, and in consequence advanced frequently to their barriers to skirmish with them. Sometimes one side conquered, sometimes the other, as it happens in such adventures and deeds of arms.

* Bordeilles,—a town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

On the other hand, there were full one thousand combatants, French, Burgundians, Bretons, Picards, Normans and Angevins, in Poitou, and on the borders of Anjou and Touraine, who were overrunning the lands of the prince of Wales, and daily committing great devastations. The leaders of these men at arms were, sir John de Bueil, sir William de Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julian and Carnet le Breton.

In order to oppose this force, some knights and squires of the prince, in particular sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus, were quartered on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge: but they were scarcely a fourth part of the strength of the French. Whenever the French made any excursions, they amounted always to a thousand fighting men: whereas the English were never more, at the utmost, than two or three hundred; for the prince had sent off three very large detachments,—one to Montauban, of five hundred men at arms, under sir John Chandos, to ravage the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret,—another of considerable numbers, under sir Hugh Calverley,—and the largest division under the command of his brother, the earl of Cambridge, before Bordeilles. Notwithstanding this, those who were in Poitou did not fail to acquit themselves gallantly, and to do their duty in making excursions on the lands of France, and in guarding their own. The English, with their partisans, have always acted in this manner, and have never refused nor dreaded the combat because they were not in greater numbers.

It happened then one day, that the French had gained exact information how the English had taken the field and were out on an excursion, which gave them such spirits that they collected all their forces, and placed themselves in ambuscade, to fall upon the English as they returned from the inroad which they had made between Mirebeau * and Lusignan †. It was on a broken causeway that the French, to the amount of five hundred men, commanded by the before-mentioned captains, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien, and Carnet le Breton, advanced to attack them. A sharp engagement ensued, when many were unhorsed; for the English defended themselves bravely, and fought gallantly as long as it lasted. Many valorous actions were performed. Sir Simon Burley and the earl of Angus proved themselves good knights: but in the end they had the disadvantage, for they were only a handful of men when compared with the French. They were therefore defeated, and compelled to fly. The earl saved himself as well as he could, and gained the castle of Lusignan; but sir Simon Burley was so closely pursued, and surrounded on the broken causeway near Lusignan, that he was made prisoner by the French: most of his people being killed or taken, for very few escaped.

The French returned to their garrisons rejoiced at the issue of this adventure, as was also the king of France when he heard it. Not so the prince of Wales, who was much vexed, and bitterly lamented the capture of his good knight sir Simon Burley, whom he loved well, as indeed he had reason; for, to say the truth, he was a most expert man at arms for his time, very courageous, and had always carried himself valiantly for his lord the king of England and his country. His companions who had been slain or made prisoners on the causeway had behaved equally well; for whose loss the prince was in great sorrow, and much enraged. It is a common saying, that one man is worth a hundred, and that a hundred is not worth one man; for, in truth, it happens sometimes, that by the good conduct and courage of one man, a whole country is preserved, whilst another person may totally ruin and destroy it. Thus things frequently fall out.

CHAPTER CCLVI.—SIR JOHN CHANDOS TAKES TERRIERES.—THE EARL OF PERIGORD AND MANY OTHER KNIGHTS LAY SIEGE TO REALVILLE ‡ IN QUERCY.

After this defeat, which happened, as has been related, between Mirebeau and Lusignan, the English and Poitevins, when they made any excursions, acted with greater prudence and

* "Mirebeau,"—a town in Poitou.
† "Lusignan,"—a town in Poitou, seven leagues from Poitiers.
‡ "Réalville,"—a town of Quercy, on the river Aveyron, about two leagues from Montauban.

kept more together. We will now speak of sir John Chandos, sir Guiscard d'Angle*, and others who were in Montauban, seven leagues distant from Toulouse, and who made frequent sallies from that place very much to their honour. However, whilst they were there, they thought they could employ their time more profitably than in guarding the frontiers, and in consequence determined to lay siege to Terrières in the Toulousin. They made therefore every necessary preparation, and, marching from Montauban in grand array, came to Terrières. The whole army being arrived, it was surrounded closely; for they depended on gaining it by means of mines, as it could not easily be taken by assault. Their miners were set to work, who laboured so well that at the end of fifteen days they took the town; all who were in it were killed, and the place pillaged and destroyed. In this excursion, they had intended to take another town, three leagues from Toulouse, called Laval, and had placed an ambuscade in a wood near that place. They advanced with about forty men, armed, but dressed in peasants' clothes. They were, however, disappointed by a country boy, who, following their footsteps, discovered their intentions; by which means they failed, and returned to Montauban.

The earl of Perigord, the earl de Comminges, the earl de l'Isle, the viscount de Carmaing, the viscount de Brunikel, the viscount de Talar, the viscount de Murendon, the viscount de Laustre, sir Bertrand de Tharide, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, sir Perducas d'Albret, the little Mechin, the bourg de Breteuil, Aimemon d'Ortige, Jacquet de Bray, Perrot de Savoye, and Arnaudon de Pans, took the field about this period. There were among these free companies full ten thousand fighting men. By orders from the duke of Anjou, who at that time resided in Toulouse, they entered Quercy in great force, where they brought on much tribulation by burning and destroying the whole country. They advanced to Réalville, wherein they besieged the high steward of Quercy, who had before provided it with everything necessary for the defence of a town, and with good English soldiers, who had resolved never to surrender but with their lives: notwithstanding the inhabitants were well inclined to the French.

During the time these knights and barons of France were besieging this town, they sent to Toulouse for four great engines, which were immediately brought thither. They were pointed against the walls of Réalville, into which they flung night and day large stones and pieces of timber that did much mischief and weakened it. They had also miners with them, whom they set to work, and who boasted that in a short time they would take the town. The English, however, behaved like good and brave men, supported each other, and in appearance held these miners very cheap.

CHAPTER CCLVII.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOULOUSE TURNS THE CITY OF CAHORS AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS TO THE PARTY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKES OF GUELDRES AND OF JULIERS SEND DEFIANCES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Whilst the French men at arms were thus quartering themselves in Quercy, and upon the borders of Limousin and Auvergne, the duke of Berry was in another part of this last province, where he had a large body of men at arms, under sir John d'Armagnac, his brother-in-law, the lord John de Villemur, Roger de Beaufort, the lord de Beaujeu, the lords de Villars, de Sergnac, de Calencon, sir Griffon de Montagu, sir Hugh Dauphin, and a great many other good knights. They made inroads on the confines of Rouergue, Quercy, and Limousin, and carried ruin and devastation wherever they went, for nothing was able to stand before them. By the advice of the duke of Berry, the duke of Anjou sent the archbishop of Toulouse from that city, during the time these armies were overrunning the country, to the city of Cahors, of which place his brother was bishop. This archbishop was a very learned clerk, as well as a valiant man. He preached up this quarrel of the king of France so earnestly, and so well, that the city of Cahors turned to the French side: and the

* Sir Guiscard d'Angle was created a peer, by the title of earl of Huntingdon, 1st Ric. II. He was also a knight of the Garter, which dignity he received for having been instrumental to the marriage of the duke of Lancaster with a daughter of don Pedro of Castile.

inhabitants swore that from this time forth they would be loyal and faithful subjects to the king of France. After this, the archbishop continued his journey through the country, preaching everywhere, with such good success, the rights of the king of France, that all the people of those parts embraced his opinions: and upwards of sixty towns, castles, and fortresses were turned to the king of France, with the assistance of the army of the duke of Berry; that is to say, of sir John d'Armagnac and the others who were overrunning the country. He caused also Sigeac, Gaignac, Capedonac, and several other principal towns and strong castles to change sides; for he remonstrated and preached, that the king of France had a good and clear right in this quarrel, with such effect, that all who heard him were convinced: besides, naturally in their hearts they were more French than English, which greatly helped this business.

In like manner, as the archbishop went preaching and remonstrating on the justice of the quarrel of the king of France along the confines of Languedoc, there were in Picardy many prelates and lawyers who were as active in doing the same duty, by preaching and converting the people of the cities, large towns, and villages. Sir William des Dormans, in particular, distinguished himself by preaching this quarrel of the king of France from city to city, and from town to town, so wisely and ably that all people listened to him willingly; and it was wonderful how well he coloured the whole business through the kingdom by his harangues. In addition to this, the king of France, moved by devotion and humility, ordered frequent processions of the whole clergy: when he himself, as well as the queen, attended without stockings, and bare-footed. In this manner, they went praying and supplicating God to listen to them, and to the necessities of the kingdom of France, which had been for so long a time under tribulation. The king ordered all the subjects of his realm to do the same, by the advice of the prelates and churchmen.

The king of England acted in a similar manner in his kingdom. There was at that time a bishop of London* who made several long and fine sermons: he demonstrated and preached in these sermons, that the king of France had most unjustly renewed the war, and that it was against right and reason, as he plainly showed in different points and articles. In truth, it was but proper, that both kings, since they were determined on war, should explain and make clear to their subjects the cause of the quarrel, that they might understand it, and have the better will to assist their kings; to which purpose they were all equally alert in the two kingdoms.

The king of England had sent to Brabant and Hainault, to learn if he could have any assistance from either of them; and had frequently, on account of his near connection, requested duke Albert, who at that time governed the country for his brother, to allow him to pass through his territories, or to remain there, if there should be occasion, and to enter through his country the kingdom of France, to carry the war into the heart of it.

Duke Albert would willingly have complied with the requests of the king of England, his uncle, and of queen Philippa his aunt, through the mediation and advice of lord Edward de Gueldres, who was of the king's party, and also by means of the duke of Juliers his cousin-german, but he had been already gained, as you will hear. These two were in those times strictly connected, by faith and homage, to the king of England, who had desired each of them to engage for him as many as a thousand lances, for which they should be well satisfied. On this account, these two lords would have been very glad to have had duke Albert in alliance with the king of England. The duke was much tempted to join them by the magnificent presents which the king offered to make him; which promises were frequently repeated by these two lords, as well as by other knights whom he sent over to him, and principally by the lord de Comines†, who chiefly on this account had returned to

* Dr. Simon Tibald, alias Sudbury.—*Barnes.*

† "Lord de Comines." My MSS. have Gommegines. This passage seems very much confused. Lord Berners says, in his translation, that the lord de Comines was at the French court, and came away to prevent duke Albert joining the king of England.—[This passage has been, as D. Sauvage expresses it, "horribly corrupted." He had considerable difficulty in settling it, and quotes the parallel passage from two other copies besides his own text, all varying from each other. It is not at all clear from these that Comines or Gommegines was not on the French party as lord Berners represents him to be, and this appears more probable from a former passage, where he is represented as attached to the French party; and, again, at page 411, Mr. Johnes in that place uses a third orthography, and spells the name Comminges, but all three appear to be the same name.]—Ed.

Hainault, after having resided some time with the king. But the king of France and his council had gained over the lord John de Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, who governed the whole country. He was a wise man, a valiant knight, and a good Frenchman. This high steward had so much weight, and was so beloved by the duke and duchess, that he overset all the expectations of the English, with the assistance of the earl of Blois, sir John de Blois his brother, the lords de Ligny and de Barbançon, and exerted himself so that duke Albert and the whole country remained neuter, and would not take either side, which was the answer made by the lady Jane duchess of Brabant.

King Charles of France, who was wise and artful, had taken the previous measures, and settled all this business three years * before. He well knew that he had good friends in Hainault and Brabant, especially among the greater part of the counsellors of the principal noblemen. In order to put a better colour on his war, he had copies made by learned men of different papers relative to the peace, which were signed at Calais, in which he stated all the facts in his favour, and those articles the king of England and his children had sworn to maintain, and to which they had submitted by sealed deeds, with the orders which they ought in consequence to have given to their subjects: in short, all the points and articles which were favourable to him, and condemned the actions of the English. These papers were made public in the town-halls, and in the presence of different noblemen and their counsellors, that they might be fully informed on the subject.

On the other hand, the king of England acted in like manner; for he sent memorials and remonstrances through Germany, or wherever he expected to gain assistance. The duke of Gueldres (who was nephew to the king of England, being the son of his sister, and thus cousin-german to the children of the king), and the duke of Juliers, were at that time true and loyal Englishmen: they had been very much affronted by the manner of the king of France sending his challenge by a servant, and rebuked the king for it, highly blaming both him and his council for this unbecoming form of sending it. They said, that war between such great and renowned lords as the kings of France and of England should have been declared by proper messengers, such as dignified prelates, bishops or abbots. They added, that the French had not followed this usual mode, through pride and presumption. These lords sent their challenge to the king of France in a handsome manner, as did several other knights of Germany. It was their intention immediately to have entered France, and to have done such deeds there as twenty years should not efface: but their schemes were broken by means they did not expect, as you will hereafter find recorded in this history.

CHAPTER CCLVIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, BROTHER TO KING CHARLES V. MARRIES THE DAUGHTER OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—THE KING OF ENGLAND ENTERS INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING OF NAVARRE.

It has been before related how much the king of England solicited and intrigued, during upwards of five years, the marriage of his son, Edmund earl of Cambridge, with the daughter of the earl of Flanders. As the detailed account of the different negotiations would be too long, I shall briefly pass them over: but you must know that the king of England could not by any means whatever obtain from pope Urban V. a dispensation. As this was absolutely necessary, the marriage remained in suspense. The earl of Flanders being solicited, on the other hand, by the king of France, for his brother the duke of Burgundy; and seeing that the marriage not being likely to take place with England, his daughter ought to marry, as he had not any other children; having also learnt that the countess of Artois, his mother, was favourable to the duke of Burgundy's suit, for it was a grand and well-assorted alliance; for these reasons he sent noble ambassadors to England, to treat with the king for an acquittal of his engagements between them.

These ambassadors managed the business so ably that the king of England, who always wished to act honourably, assented to the earl of Flanders' request. They returned, there-

* Three years. Denys Sauvage suspects it ought to be three months, but gives no reason for it.

fore, to Bruges, and related to the earl their lord what they had done. The earl was much pleased at their success. It was not long before the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with the heiress of Flanders was determined on. There were great treaties, agreements and alliances made between both parties; and it was then told me, that the earl of Flanders, in consideration of this marriage, received upwards of fifty thousand crowns *: that the towns of Douay and Lille were given up to him, on account of the money which the king of France was to give his brother on this marriage. The earl of Flanders took possession of these towns, put his own subjects into them, and they were esteemed as part of Flanders, on account of the sums they were pledged for. But I know nothing further.

Soon after these arrangements were concluded, they proceeded to the marriage, which was celebrated in the city of Ghent. There were great feasts at the solemnity of the wedding, and afterwards, which were attended by crowds of lords, barons and knights. The gallant lord of Coucy was there, whose presence was so acceptable at a feast, of which none knew better how to do the honours: it was for this reason the king of France had sent him thither. After they had been magnificently entertained, as well with tournaments as otherwise, they separated, and returned to their homes.

The king of England, who saw that from this marriage the earl of Flanders must become the ally of the king of France, was ignorant whether the earl would take part against him with the duke of Burgundy his son, who of course would be his heir to the county of Flanders, and what treaties had been entered into by the earl with the king of France. The king, therefore, was much harder upon the Flemings than before, and harassed them by sea and land, and whenever he found them in his own country with their merchandise. The king of France was not displeased at this, and would willingly have seen a war declared between the Flemings and the English: but the prudent men of Flanders and the citizens of the principal towns were averse to it, for the commonalties of Flanders maintained the quarrel between the two kings to be more just on the part of England than of France.

King Edward was gaining friends on all sides, and much need had he of them, from the appearance of the great wars and rebellions that were breaking out in his dominions beyond sea. He was given to understand, that his cousin king Charles of Navarre, who at that time resided in lower Normandy, would join his party; for he hated the king of France, on account of some estates which the king of Navarre claimed as his inheritance, and which the king of France denied his right to. Counsellors on each side had frequently met, but they could never come to any agreement. The affair had remained in this situation, and each was on his guard. The king of Navarre had amply provided his towns and castles in Coutantin, in the county of Evreux, as well as his principal towns in Normandy, with all sorts of stores: he had filled Cherbourg, where he resided, with men at arms.

At this time, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was with the king of Navarre: he was governor of a town called Carentan †, beyond the fords of St. Clement in Coutantin, which he held under the king of Navarre, being part of his inheritance: sir Eustace was also one of his privy counsellors: so that the king of England sent to him (for he was his liege man and knight), to sound the intentions of the king of Navarre. He found him well inclined, and treated so successfully that the king of Navarre, with a small retinue, embarked on board a ship called the Lynne, and visited the king of England, who was right glad to see him. He entertained him handsomely; and they had many conferences together, in which they understood each other so well that, on the return of the king of Navarre, he was to declare war against the king of France, and to admit English garrisons into all his castles.

After these engagements and treaties had been concluded, the king of Navarre returned to Cherbourg in Normandy. He was escorted thither by some of the knights of the household of the king and queen of England, who were unfortunate as they came back; for they met some pirates of Normandy that attacked their vessels, and, being the strongest, overpowered them, and killed every person: they gave no quarter to any one. The king of England was much enraged when he heard this, but he could not possibly then remedy it.

* One of the fragments or abridgments made use of by D. Sauvage in his ed. and quoted by him as "*La Chaux*," has 100,000 crowns.—Ed.

† Carentan,—a town of Normandy, three leagues from the sea-coast, diocese of Coutances.

Soon after the return of the king of Navarre to Cherbourg, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt (who had been sent for by the prince of Wales, and whose heralds had summoned his attendance) took his leave, in order to obey the prince. The king parted with him with much regret, but sir Eustace explained his reasons so fully that he allowed him to depart. He embarked with his attendants, and sailed for St. Malo, where he landed, and then rode to Nantes, in order to pass the river Loire, with the permission of the duke of Brittany and the inhabitants, who as yet had not taken any part in this war. He continued his journey until he arrived in Poitou, at the town of Angoulême, where the prince received him with great pleasure, and shortly afterwards sent him to sir John Chandos and the captal de Buch, who were in Montauban, guarding the frontiers against the French. Sir Eustace, on his arrival, was most joyfully greeted by his former companions *.

CHAPTER CCLIX.—THE CONSTABLES OF FRANCE AND OF HAINAULT UNDERTAKE A GRAND EXPEDITION TO ATTACK ARDRES.—THE FORTRESS OF REALVILLE IS TAKEN, AND ALL THE ENGLISH WHO WERE IN IT PUT TO THE SWORD.

The knights of Picardy, about this period, were preparing a grand expedition of men at arms, with the intention of paying a visit to those of Ardres †. Sir John Moreau de Fiennes, constable of France, and sir John Werthin, constable ‡ of Hainault, were appointed, by order of the king of France, the leaders of it. Their rendezvous was in the good town of St. Omer. They amounted, in the whole, to a thousand lances, knights and squires. These men at arms advanced, to show their array, before the fort of Ardres, which was well garrisoned with English. They encamped there, and gave out that they intended to lay siege to it. The English in Ardres were not alarmed, but made every necessary preparation to defend themselves, if they should be attacked. One day these lords of France and of Hainault drew out their army to the field in gay spirits, and in noble array. It was a fine sight to behold the banners of these lords flying before them, and the gallant muster they made. They began an attack, but with little advantage: for many were killed and wounded; and nothing gained. According to the information which I then received, I believe it was on the fifth day they left Ardres, without any other action, and each man returned to his own home. Thus was this expedition put an end to.

We will now return to what was going forwards in a distant part of the country, and relate the siege of Réalville in Quercy by the French. There were upwards of twelve thousand combatants, all good men at arms; and at two days' march were the duke of Berry, sir John d'Armagnac, sir John de Villemur, the lord de Beaujeu, and others from Auvergne and Burgundy, in all about three thousand fighting men, who were ready to advance should there be occasion. Sir John Chandos, the captal de Buch, sir Guiscard d'Angle, and the others who were guarding the frontiers of Montauban, knew well what was passing at Réalville, and what the strength of their own forces in that part of the country consisted of. They found they were not strong enough to fight, nor to raise the siege: for the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, who were besieging Bourdeilles, would not give up that siege.

The French had set their miners to work at Réalville, and by their machines, which cast stones, &c. into it day and night, had harassed the garrison so much, they could not sufficiently watch these miners, who succeeded in their operations, and flung down a great part of the walls; by which means the town was taken, and all the English in it were put to death without mercy, which was a pity, for there were among them several good squires. The

* From the Fœdera it would appear, that Charles of Navarre sent two ambassadors to England; for there is a passport for Peter Terturon, his secretary, and one also for William Dordane, dated the 6th June, 1370. The king's passport is dated the 12th August, 1370, when, I suppose, he came to England, where he must have remained some time, for the passport for his return is dated the 28th November, 1370. The convention between the two kings is in the Fœdera, to which I refer for further particulars. The king of Navarre, when returned to Cherbourg, sent other ambassadors to England, as their passport in the Fœdera is dated the 1st December, 1370.

† Ardres,—a strong town in Picardy, four leagues from Calais. Near this place was held the famous interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.

‡ Sir John Werthin, or Verchin, constable. He was before sénéschal.

inhabitants were pardoned on their promising from that time forth to be loyal Frenchmen. The French commanders appointed captains and men at arms to guard it, as well as others to give advice in the article of repairs, or in whatever other business occasion might require.

After the conquest of Réalville, the army dispersed itself over the countries of Quercy and Rouergue, to get refreshments and recruit themselves. The companies went to the city of Cahors and its neighbourhood. Their leaders were, Aimemon d'Ortige, Perrot de Savoye, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray and Arnaudon de Pans, who despoiled the whole country. The earl of Perigord, the earl de l'Isle, the earl de Comminges *, the viscount de Carmaing and the other lords returned to their own estates; for sir Hugh Calverley, sir Robert Briquet, John Tresnelle, Lanut, Naudon de Bagerant, le bourg Camus, le bourg de l'Esparre and other captains of these free companies, were carrying on a destructive war there, and had burnt and ravaged the lands of the earl d'Armagnac and the lord d'Albret.

There was at this time, as high steward of Rouergue, a very valiant man and good knight, an Englishman, called sir Thomas Whiteval †. He resided in the town and castle of Milhaud ‡, a day's journey from Montpelier; and notwithstanding the whole country surrounding it had changed sides, and was conquered, he kept this garrison upwards of a year and a half, and also another fortress in Rouergue called Vauclerc. He made many expeditions, and different sallies much to his honour, until sir Bertrand du Guesclin drove him out, as you will hear related anon in the course of this history.

The town and castle of Bourdeilles still remained besieged.

CHAPTER CCLX.—THE FRENCH TAKE LA ROCHE POSAY §.—THE SENESCHAL OF POITOU BURNS AND DESTROYS THE LANDS OF THE LORD DE CHAUVIGNY, AND TAKES BY ASSAULT HIS PRINCIPAL TOWN OF BRUX.

Sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton, remained on the frontiers of Poitou, with upwards of twelve hundred fighting men, and studied night and day by what means they could take, gain by surprise or otherwise, any towns, castles or fortresses in Poitou. From these measures it happened that they took by scalado a castle called La Roche Posay, at the entrance of Poitou, on the river Creuse, two leagues distant from La Haye ‖ in Touraine, and tolerably near to Châtelheraut on the same river. The whole country was exceedingly alarmed at this; for the French placed a large garrison in it, repaired the walls, and amply provided it with all sorts of provision, ammunition and artillery.

When this news was brought to the prince, he was much displeased; but he could not prevent it. He sent orders to sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, and several others who were at Montauban with sir John Chandos, to return to him directly, as he wanted to employ them in another part of the country. The aforesaid lords, in consequence of this command, left Montauban, and journeyed to Angoulême, where the prince was, who immediately sent them to Poitiers, to guard that city and defend the frontiers against the French.

There had lately turned to the French party a great baron of Poitou, called the lord de Chauvigny, viscount de Brux. This town had followed his example, which he had filled with Bretons and men at arms: he himself had left the country, and gone to France to the king. The prince and all the barons of Poitou were exasperated at this defection. The viscount de Rochechouart was also suspected: and the prince, being informed that he was about to change sides, sent for him to Angoulême, where he told him what he had heard. The viscount denied it, and excused himself as well as he could: notwithstanding this, he was committed a close prisoner, and remained a considerable time in this dangerous situation.

* See note page 407.

† Whiteval. Q. if not Whitwell. Barnes calls him sir Thomas Wake.

‡ Milhaud, or Millau,—a town in Rouergue, on the river Tarne.

§ La Roche Posay,—a town in Touraine, on the Creuse, noted for its medicinal springs.

‖ La Haye,—four leagues from Châtelheraut.

Sir James Audley was at this period high steward of Poitou, a right sage and valiant knight. He made preparations for a grand expedition. There were with him sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, the lord de Pinane, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir William de Montaudire, and many other knights and squires of Poitou. They amounted in the whole to twelve hundred lances; and there was also with them sir Baldwin Freville, high steward of Saintonge. These lords made Poitiers their place of rendezvous: from that place they rode in grand array, and advanced until they entered Berry, where they began to burn and destroy the country, and to pillage poor people, to whom they did great damage. They then returned to Touraine. Wherever they passed, the countries suffered most exceedingly; for none ventured to oppose them, as they were in such force as to be masters of the country. These men at arms entered the lands of the lord de Chauvigny, whose lord had lately turned Frenchman, which they burnt and destroyed without hindrance, except the towns and strongholds. They came to his principal town of Brux *, attacked it, and continued the attack a whole day with their men at arms, but gained nothing. They then encamped, and declared they would not thus leave it, for it was to be taken. They rose at day-break, and, having made everything ready, sounded their trumpets for an assault. The Poitevins and English being formed into battalions, each lord with his men under his own banner, they made, on this Saturday, a most fierce attack. It lasted some time: for there were in the town men at arms, and some from the companies, who defended themselves as well as they could, as they knew their lives depended upon it. Many, therefore, were the gallant deeds of arms performed. The two high stewards of Poitou and Saintonge were anxious to gain the town. They made their archers shoot so quickly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the walls to defend it. On this Saturday morning, the town of Brux was so vigorously attacked, that it was won at last, and the gate thrown open for every one to enter it who chose.

All the men at arms of the viscount were taken: and the lords of the army had sixteen of them hanged in their armour, from hatred to the viscount, who was not in the country, but with the king of France at Paris. The town was burnt, and the inhabitants lost their all: there were besides very many slain and drowned. The English returned to Poitiers with their army, the better to refresh themselves.

CHAPTER CCLXI.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES IS APPOINTED CAPTAIN OF THE PRINCE'S COMPANY.—HE CAUSES SIR PERDUCAS D'ALBRET TO TURN TO THE ENGLISH.—HE BESIEGES THE FRENCH COMPANIES IN THE FORT OF DURMEL.

Sir Robert Knolles resided in Brittany, where he had a fine and large estate: he had always been a good and loyal Englishman, and had served under the king of England, and the prince of Wales his eldest son, in their different expeditions, by whom he was much loved: having heard that the French were carrying on a disastrous war against the prince, and meant to take from him his inheritance of Aquitaine, which he had assisted in gaining for him, he was very much surprised and displeased. He therefore resolved in his own mind to collect as many men at arms as he possibly could, and go with them to serve the prince of Wales at his own cost and charges. As he had resolved, so did he execute: he sent to summon all his vassals, and to entreat his friends to accompany him. He gathered about sixty men at arms, with as many archers of his own dependants and friends, and made his preparations for embarking them on board four large vessels, at a town and sea-port in Brittany called Conquet †. When all his purveyances had been completed and sent on board, he set out from his castle at Derval ‡, and followed them, when he embarked on board his vessel, perceiving that his people were already at sea. He made sail, and arrived

* Brux,—a town in Poitou, near Chaunay, diocese of Poitiers.

† Conquet,—a sea-port, situated five leagues from Brest.

This name is much disfigured in all my copies, except in the Lamoignon manuscript.

‡ Derval,—a village between Nantes and Rennes, thirteen leagues from Nantes.

at the quay of La Rochelle, where the inhabitants gave him a grand entertainment, much against their inclinations; but they dared not do otherwise. He found there sir John Devreux, who commanded for the prince of Wales, as high steward, sir Thomas Percy being with sir John Chandos. Sir John Devreux received sir Robert Knolles with great joy, and entertained him in the best manner he could. Sir Robert remained there two days, to refresh himself and his people. On the third day, he set out, taking the road to Angoulême, and continued his journey until he arrived there. The prince and princess were exceedingly pleased to see sir Robert, and it seemed they could not do enough to show it. The prince appointed him captain of the knights and squires of his household, out of love to him, and as a reward for his valour and honour. He ordered them to pay sir Robert the same obedience as to himself, which they promised willingly to do.

When sir Robert had remained with the prince about five days, and those who were to accompany him in an expedition were ready, he was informed to what part it was meant that he should lead them: he took his leave of the prince, and set out from Angoulême well attended by the prince's knights. There were sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Dagloiret, sir Nêle Loring, sir William Torceil, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Trivet, sir Thomas Despenser, sir Tancon *, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Moine, the high steward of the Agénois, sir Baldwin Freville, and upwards of sixty knights. They amounted in the whole to about sixty men at arms, five hundred archers, and as many foot soldiers, all in high spirits, eager to meet the French †. This small army, of which sir Robert Knolles was the leader, advanced towards Agen, to enter Quercy, where the free companies had quartered themselves, and continued their march until they came to the city of Agen. They halted there a short time to refresh themselves, and to wait for the enemy. Whilst sir Robert made this halt at Agen, he learnt that sir Perducas d'Albret (a famed captain of the free companies, who had upwards of three hundred men under his command) was in that part of the country, and that, through the solicitations of the duke of Anjou, he had embraced the French side. Sir Robert immediately sent to him a herald, with other messengers, who managed so well, that he consented to meet him at an appointed place in the open fields, on the faith of his passport. When sir Robert met sir Perducas d'Albret, he feasted him well, and then by degrees entered upon the business of his having left the prince. He blamed him very much for having turned Frenchman, and for quitting the service of a prince who loved him so much, and who had advanced him to honours. Why should I make a long story of it? Sir Robert argued and talked the matter over so ably that sir Perducas d'Albret changed to the English party, and went over to them with upwards of five hundred Gascons from the free companies. The duke of Anjou was much angered at this when he heard it, and held sir Perducas cheap for his breach of promise, as did all the others who were of the French party, and hated the English more than ever.

This news was soon carried to the city of Cahors, and to the other free companies, who formed a large garrison there, and had done so for a considerable time. When their leaders, Aimemon d'Ortige, le petit Mechin, Jacques de Bray, Perrot de Savoye and Arnaudon de Pans, heard that sir Perducas d'Albret had, with his whole company, gone over to the English, they were very much disheartened and alarmed. Finding that the city of Cahors was of too great an extent for them to hold out against the English, they departed, after having given up the town to the bishop and the inhabitants. They went to the priory of Durmel, that was not far distant, which they had fortified some time before, and was not difficult to defend. They entered this place in good order, to wait for their enemies, who came as soon as they knew they had retired thither: they surrounded it, and made many a gallant attack: but those within, being tried men at arms, and well supplied with everything, made very light of it. As soon as sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, sir John de Pommiers, sir Thomas Percy, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, and the other knights attached to the prince in Montauban, heard that sir Robert Knolles was besieging the companies in Durmel, they

* "Tancon." Q. Sir Richard Taunton.—*Barnes*

† There seems some mistake relative to the number of men at arms; for sir Robert brought with him sixty men at arms. We must suppose, that many of the prince's household were at the time of sir Robert's arrival with sir John Chandos or sir James Audley, and, though mentioned by name, were not perhaps present.

determined to march to his assistance; for it seemed to them that much glory might be acquired. Upwards of three hundred lances went from Montauban, leaving behind in garrison full two hundred, under the command of sir Aimery de Chartres, the souldich de l'Estrade, sir Bernardet d'Albreth, and the lord de Gironde. They pressed their march to arrive at the siege of Durmel. In their road, they came to a tolerably strong French town, called Moissac*. It was only guarded by the townsmen, for there was not a gentleman in it. They sent their scouts to examine the place, who brought information that it was sufficiently strong, and that without a siege they could not well gain it. The leaders immediately called a council, to see what was best to be done; and they resolved in this council, that it should be wrong for them to stop at this place, which would interfere with their intentions regarding Durmel. They therefore continued their march: it was but early morning: and they had not advanced more than a league from the place before they met four carriers' horses laden with provision, who were immediately stopped and seized. They enquired whence they came, and whither they were going. The carriers truly answered, that they had come from Toulouse, and were going to Moissac, with the intent of selling their provision. They were then questioned as to the state of that town, and what was the force within it. The carriers, not daring to tell a lie, said, that the town was much distressed by a scarcity, and they did not believe there were in it provisions for four days, if they should be besieged; and that there were no gentlemen in it, nor had it any defenders but the citizens.

The chiefs then called a council, and determined not to march further till they should have conquered this town. They returned, and, keeping the provision for themselves, gave the carriers their horses, telling them to go and seek for more. They halted before Moissac, and encamped as if they meant to fix their quarters before it for a month: this first day they made preparations seemingly for an assault on the following, and pointed their cannon against the walls. When the inhabitants of Moissac saw what was going forwards, they were much frightened, knowing they could not long hold out: for they were in great want of all sorts of provision; they opened a treaty with the English knights, which was soon concluded. By it they acknowledged the prince of Wales for their lord, and agreed to hold the town from him for ever, without fraud or treachery. On which they had peace granted, and nothing was taken from them. Sir John Chandos and the other knights, at the request of the inhabitants, appointed a knight, called sir Robert Mytton†, governor, with twenty men at arms, and forty archers, to be maintained and paid at the expense of the town. They then marched to Durmel, where sir Robert Knolles and his army were. There was great joy at their arrival, and thus all meeting together again. The new comers united with their former friends in pushing on the siege with vigour.

CHAPTER CCLXII.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS RAISE THE SIEGE OF DURMEL.—THEY LAY SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF DOMME‡.

During the siege of Durmel, there were many attacks, skirmishes, and gallant feats of arms; for they were good and able men, as well those who besieged the place as those who defended it. Had they not been such skilful soldiers, they could not have held out as they did. The English and their partisans who lay before it, did not gain much advantage, for they were overpowered in two ways: it rained night and day, which hurt both men and horses: added to this, there was such a scarcity of provision, they had great difficulty in procuring wherewithal to satisfy their hunger. A loaf was sold there for three old groats. They were distressed to obtain any even at such a price. Of wines, they had a sufficient quantity, which to them were of the greatest comfort. In this situation, they remained upwards of five weeks. When they perceived that they made no impression, nor were likely to take the

* Moissac,—a town of Quercy, on the Tarne, seven leagues from Montauban.

† "Mytton." Barnes calls him Mutton, and quotes "the true use of armoury, in the life of the lord John Chandos," p. 88.

‡ Domme,—a town in Perigord, election of Sarlet, on the Dordogne.

garrison of Durmel, and that they remained there in a very comfortless state, they determined to raise the siege, and to march for the town and castle of Domme, which was situated in a richer country.

Sir Robert de Domme, the lord of it, was governor of the town and castle; and there was with him a knight, his cousin, called sir Peter Sanglet. These two knights had collected large quantities of everything necessary from the low countries, which they had brought into the town. When the English and Gascons, who were fifteen hundred men at arms, two thousand archers and foot soldiers, arrived at Domme, they drew up in array, to lay siege to it, and began a brisk attack on the place. They pointed large machines against the walls; and many severe skirmishes and assaults were made on each side. After they had besieged this place for fifteen days, and found they did not gain any advantage, nor were likely to conquer it, but were much straitened themselves, they determined to inform the prince of Wales of their situation, who was at that time at Angoulême. Chandos, the herald, was ordered to carry this message, who immediately set out, and journeyed until he came to Angoulême, where he found the prince with very few attendants, for all his knights and squires were away on different expeditions.

When the herald, Chandos, was arrived in the presence of the prince, he dropped on his knees, and recommended to him his masters who had sent him, and whom he had left at the siege of Domme. He then related their situation most wisely, as he had been ordered to do, and gave the credential letters, which he had brought to the prince. The prince listened attentively to all that was told him, and said he would consider this subject. He kept the herald with him five days, and, on the sixth, he had letters delivered to him under the prince's seal, who said to him on his departure, "Chandos, salute from me all our companions." He replied, "Most willingly, my lord." When the herald set out, he took the road through Quercy. I will now relate what passed in the army, and what things they did during the absence of this herald.

CHAPTER CCLXIII.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AND SIR JOHN CHANDOS MARCH FROM DOMME, WITHOUT DOING ANY THING.—THEY TAKE GAVACHES *, ROCHEMADOUR †, AND SEVERAL OTHER TOWNS WHICH HAD TURNED TO THE PARTY OF THE FRENCH.

Soon after Chandos had left his masters at the siege of Domme, sir John Chandos, sir Robert Knolles, sir Thomas Felton, the captal de Buch, sir James Audley, and other knights, held a council, and resolved to break up this siege, for they gained nothing, and to make an incursion more into the country, in order to conquer such towns and garrisons as had lately turned to the French, through the means of the duke of Berry, and the free companies. They decamped, and marched from Domme, taking the road for Gramat, which immediately surrendered: the inhabitants turned again to the English the moment they came before it. The chiefs and the army remained for three days in Gramat, to refresh themselves, and during that time considered whither they should go next. When they went away, they made for a fortress which the companies had newly taken, called Frons. As soon as the garrison perceived the English advancing with so great a force, and learnt that those of Gramat had become English, they also changed their side, and swore that they would be faithful to the English; but they lied. The English continued their march, and halted before Roquemadour. The inhabitants had strongly fortified themselves, not having any inclination to surrender.

The English having well examined the situation of the town of Roquemadour and the countenance of its inhabitants, brought forward their engines and artillery, and began to attack it with great vivacity and vigour. I can say, that many and sharp were the attacks: several were slain and wounded by the arrows from those within and without. This assault lasted one whole day. Towards vespers, the English retired to their camp, with the

* Gavaches. I cannot find this in the Gazetteer, and suspect it must be Gramat, a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

† Rochemador,—Roquemadour,—a town in Quercy, election of Figeac, near Peyrac.

intention of renewing the attack on the morrow: but during the night those of Roquemadour, who the preceding day had severely felt the courage of their opponents, and how hardly they had pushed them, called a council. The wisest among them said, that in time they must surrender; and if they were taken by assault, they would all be slain, the town burnt without mercy; and that, weighing the bad and good, they advised opening an immediate treaty with the English. This was soon concluded. They declared that from that day forward, they would be true to the English, which they afterward solemnly swore to observe. They were also obliged to supply the army with fifty horse-load of provisions from the town, during the space of fifteen days, which were to be paid for at a certain fixed price: and thus Roquemadour obtained peace.

The English continued their march towards Villefranche, in the Toulousin, burning and destroying the flat countries, bringing great calamities on the poor inhabitants, and conquering such towns and castles as had changed sides; some by treaty, others by force. They came at length before Villefranche, which was tolerably well inclosed, and provided with provision and artillery; for all those of the surrounding flat country had retired into it. They commenced the attack, on their arrival, with much intrepidity. During the four days they lay before it, frequent were the assaults, and many were killed on both sides. The garrison having reflected on their situation, found they could not hold out much longer, and, as there was no appearance of help coming to them, they surrendered to the English, on condition that neither themselves nor their town should receive any harm. In this manner did Villefranche, on the borders of Toulouse, become English; which when told to the duke of Anjou, who was at Toulouse, grieved him much. Sir John Chandos appointed governor and captain of Villefranche an English knight, called sir Robert le Roux *, and then continued his march, burning and destroying the country.

We will now return to the siege of Bourdeilles, and relate how the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke persevered in it.

CHAPTER CCLXIV.—THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND OF PEMBROKE CONQUER THE GARRISON OF BOURDEILLES.

WHILST these last-mentioned barons and knights of England, with their army, were making excursions and conquests in Rouergue, Quercy and the Agénois, where they continued a considerable time, the siege of Bourdeilles was still going on. It had lasted upwards of nine weeks. All this while there were daily skirmishes, attacks and gallant deeds of arms. The besieged had a custom of advancing every day with their whole army without the gate, where they skirmished valorously with all comers, and behaved themselves so gallantly that they acquired great praise even from the enemy. The garrison remained in this situation some time, and would have continued so longer, if pride and presumption had not tempted them; for they were in sufficient numbers, all tried men, with plenty of provision, and artillery to defend themselves. The besiegers began to grow weary, notwithstanding they acted much to their honour, for they considered that their expenses were greater than the conquest they were attempting was worth. After holding a council, to consider by what means they could the sooner bring this business to an end, they determined to arm all their people by four o'clock in the morning, and to keep them in their quarters, sending a part of them to skirmish with the garrison as usual: for the garrison were so eager for these combats, they would frequently march into the open fields to engage in them. The English ordered their party to make a feint, and to retreat by degrees towards their own army, as if they were defeated, in order to draw them further out, and then a body of cavalry was to sally forth, and, by getting between them and the town, prevent them from entering it again. The plan was adopted; for they said, if they could not win the place by this means, they should not easily gain it. On the morrow morning they armed themselves, and sent two hundred to skirmish with the garrison.

* Sir Robert le Roux. Barnes calls him sir John Roos. Why not sir Robert Roos?

When the companies in Bourdeilles, and their captains Ernaudon and Bernardin, saw them approach, they were very much rejoiced, and quickly made themselves and their men ready. There might be about seven score young men, active soldiers, who, having ordered the gate to be thrown quite open, advanced to their barriers, and met the English lances and bucklers very handsomely. They fought so well that the English gave way, and retreated as they had been ordered; which being observed, those of the garrison ordered their standard to be advanced, crying out at the same time, "By St. Anthony's head, we shall take them." On which they attacked them with greater fury as they were flying before them, so that some were unhorsed, wounded or made prisoners. But because they were so eager to gain every thing, and as the proverb says, "All covet, all lose," they had advanced so far from the town that when they wished to return they could not; for sir John Montague *, who had the command of the ambuscade, which consisted of five hundred chosen men, placed himself between them and the town. He was knighted on the field, by the earl of Cambridge, and directly attacked them with great vigour. When the companies of Bourdeilles saw themselves thus entrapped, they were sensible of their folly in pursuing so far: however, they collected themselves in a body like brave men, and began to fight valiantly, and to perform such feats of arms as were marvellous to behold. This combat lasted upwards of two hours: and they annoyed their enemies so much, and behaved so gallantly, that the English lords were much delighted with them. Sir John Montague proved himself deserving of his knighthood, by his valour and prowess in attacking the enemy. At last, those of Bourdeilles were entirely defeated: all were killed or made prisoners, for not one of them escaped. Those of the English who had been taken were rescued. Sir John Montague made the two governors, Ernaudon and Bernardin de Batefol, his prisoners.

During the time of this skirmish, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke had advanced to the barriers and gate, which having gained, they entered the town, the earl of Cambridge's banner displayed before them. Thus did the English conquer Bourdeilles. They made the inhabitants swear fealty and allegiance to the prince. The chiefs ordered the lord de Mucident to remain there as governor, and gave him sixty archers, in addition to his own people. They then broke up their encampment, having determined to march to Angoulême, to know from the prince what he wished them next to do. Thus ended the siege of Bourdeilles; and the lords with their companies set out on their return. We will now speak of those knights of England and Gascony, who were making inroads in Quercy, and of Chandos the herald, and the news he brought from the prince of Wales.

CHAPTER CCLXV.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES, SIR JOHN CHANDOS, AND SIR THOMAS FELTON, MARSHAL THEIR MEN, AND RETURN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

As these knights and their army were making incursions on the borders of Rouergue and Quercy, taking towns and castles, and distressing the whole country, Chandos the herald returned. He found them before a castle in Quercy, which they had hard pressed. When they saw the herald, they received him joyfully, and inquired what news he had brought. He told them that his highness the prince saluted them all, and was very desirous of seeing them; and at these words he gave them the letters from the prince, which the barons took and read. They found that, with many assurances of affection and friendship, he desired that sir John Chandos, sir Thomas Felton, and the captal de Buch should return to him at Angoulême; and that sir Robert Knolles with his army, and all the free companies, should remain where they were to continue the war.

When these three lords, who were the chiefs of the army, heard the prince's orders, they looked at each other, and asked what was best to be done. With one voice, they addressed themselves to sir Robert Knolles, and said, "Sir Robert, you see and hear how our lord the prince orders us back, and directs that you should remain in this country to be the leader of the army." "My lords," replied sir Robert, "his highness the prince does me more honour than I could wish. Know, that I will never remain here without you, and that, if you go

* Sir John Montague,—nephew and heir to the earl of Salisbury.—*Barnes.*

I will not stay behind." So they resolved to return all four to the prince, to learn more fully what were his intentions. This grand expedition was broken up: and, when the time of separation arrived, they ordered sir Perducas d'Albret to the town of Roquemadour with his company to defend that part of the frontiers against the French. The lords then addressed the other free companies as follows: "Gentlemen, you hear how our lord the prince sends for us to come to his presence; for what cause we are as yet ignorant. We will therefore explain to you what we wish you to do in our absence. You will collect all your forces into one body, and with them pass the frontiers of Limousin and Auvergne, to carry the war thither; for without war you cannot subsist; and we swear and promise you faithfully, that whatever town, castle or fortress of France ye shall take and conquer, wherever it may be situated, and ye shall be besieged in it, we will fly to your assistance, and will cause the siege to be raised." Those who heard this promise replied, "It is well spoken, and we will abide by it; for perhaps we may be obliged to have recourse to you."

In this manner they separated: the excursion was put an end to by the lords on one side, and the companies on the other. The lords returned to the town of Angoulême, where the prince entertained them handsomely. A short time before, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, with sir John Montague and several others, had also returned from Perigord. We will now mention the companies and men at arms who had separated from sir John Chandos, and how they prospered.

CHAPTER CCLXVI.—THE FREE COMPANIES ATTACHED TO THE ENGLISH TAKE THE CASTLE OF BELLEPERCHE*, AND THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WHO WAS IN IT.—THEY ALSO TAKE THE STRONG CASTLE OF ST. SAUVEUR† IN BERRY.

Among the leaders of these companies, there were three squires from the territories of the prince, who were great captains and valiant men at arms, very enterprising, and determined scalers of fortresses. One of them was named Ortingo, another Bernard de Wifle, and the third Bernard de la Salle‡. These three captains wished not to remain long idle, nor without being spoken of for some gallant deed of arms. They marched with their companies into Limousin, to refresh themselves. At that time, sir John Devreux was séneschal and governor of the province for the prince. These three squires, having considered what castle they might conquer from France, fixed upon that of Belleperche, in the Bourbonnois. It was beautiful and strong. The mother of the duke of Bourbon, and of the queen of France, made it her residence. They learnt by their spies that the good lady was alone, and had not any guards with her except her own household; and that the governor of the castle, making frequent excursions from it, was very far from being attentive or on his guard.

These captains, and such companions whom they had picked out, did not let their intentions sleep after they had formed them, but rode day and night, and arrived by break of day at Belleperche, which they took by escalade, and the mother of the queen of France who was in it. Finding the castle was so strong, and handsome, and in so rich a country, they declared they would keep it against all opposers. In that same night, they also took another castle, called St. Sauveur, on the borders of Limousin, and gave it to sir John Devreux.

News was soon carried to France, that Belleperche was taken by the English, and the mother of the queen made prisoner. The king was very much vexed at this, as were the queen and duke of Bourbon, but they could not better themselves, at least for the present. About this time, sir Louis de Sancerre was nominated a marshal of France: he was a valiant and hardy knight. Sir Arnold d'Andreghen was still alive, but so old and worn out with bearing arms, and from his former labours, that in truth he could not be of any service, nor was he able to do the duties of his office; but he was willing to carry arms whenever it might be necessary. We will say a little of the affairs of Picardy, as we have been some time with those of the distant parts, and speak of an assembly which was held in the city of Rouen.

* Belleperche,—a town and abbey on the Garonne, in the diocese of Montauban, near to Castel Sarasin.
† St. Sauveur,—a village in Berry, diocese and election of Bourges. ‡ Q. these three names. One of my MSS. calls the second Bernard de Wiske, and so does Barnes.

CHAPTER CCLXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE, INTENDING TO SEND A LARGE NAVAL ARMAMENT TO THE ENGLISH COAST, IS PREVENTED BY THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AT CALAIS.

The king of France, during the summer (1369), had made great preparations of ships, barges and other vessels in the port of Harfleur, with the intent of sending a large force to England, well furnished with men at arms, knights and squires. His brother, the lord Philip, duke of Burgundy, was appointed commander of this army, which was to destroy all England. The king of France fixed his residence in the good city of Rouen in order to attend more promptly to this business. He visited his fleet two or three times every week, to which he showed much affection. Added to this, his summons were so extensive that it was wonderful to see the numbers of men at arms who were collected in Vexin, Beauvoisis, and in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Provisions and other stores were so abundantly brought there, that they would have been sufficient for a voyage to Spain or Portugal. The lord de Clisson, who was one of the privy counsellors to the king, approved not of this expedition to England, and did all he could to dissuade the king and his nobles from it. He told them, they were not so much accustomed to naval engagements as the English, and urged many reasons in support of this, as one who was better acquainted with the manners and habits of the English, and the state of that country, than many others. Notwithstanding this, neither the king nor his council would change their mind, but resolved this armament should sail.

The king of England and his son the duke of Lancaster, as well as several of his council, had received information of this army, and of the intentions of the French to invade and carry the war into England. They were much rejoiced at this, and had provided all the ports and harbours opposite to Ponthieu and Normandy with sufficient garrisons of men at arms and archers to receive them, if they should come. The whole kingdom of England was ready prepared to give them a good reception whenever they should land. The king, having determined to send the duke of Lancaster, with a body of men at arms to Calais, immediately named those whom he ordered to accompany him.—There were the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, sir Walter Manny, the lord Roos of Hamlake, sir Henry Percy, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughby of Eresby, the lord Delaware, the lord de la Pole, sir Thomas Grandison, sir Alan Boxhall, sir Richard Stury*, and many others; the whole force amounted to about five hundred men at arms, and as many archers. They marched to Dover and its neighbourhood. When the transports were ready, they embarked, and having a favourable wind, arrived at the strong town of Calais, where they landed, and by little and little disembarked everything which belonged to them. They took up their quarters in the town.

About this time the king of England sent ambassadors to entreat most earnestly sir Robert de Namur to assist him in the war, with all the men at arms that were dependent on him. Sir Robert, who had ever been steady and loyal to the English, replied, that he should be as soon on his march as was necessary; for having been informed that the king or one of his sons was to be at Calais, to make an incursion, the moment he should hear of the duke of Lancaster's arrival, he would summon all his companions, and those whose assistance he wished for; his arms and every thing else being already prepared.

We will now return to what was passing in Poitou.

CHAPTER CCLXVIII.—THE CASTLE OF LA ROCHE SUR YON SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.—THE GOVERNOR OF IT PUT TO DEATH, BY ORDERS FROM THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

You will remember, that when the herald Chandos brought the orders from the prince of Wales, the barons and knights of Guienne, who were upon an expedition in Quercy and Rouergue, returned with one accord to the town of Angoulême, where they found the prince.

* Sturie. Barnes calls him Sterrie; Hollingshead, Sturrie.

who received them with great joy. Some little time before, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had also returned with their army, after the conquest of Bourdeilles, as you have before heard. The lords and barons rejoiced exceedingly at this meeting, and great entertainments were made by them. They considered which way they should next march, to make the most of the season. They found, on examining the country, that there was near the borders of Anjou a fine and strong castle, called la Roche sur Yon *, which was a dependency of Anjou: there they resolved to march, lay siege to it, and conquer it if they were able. They made their preparations, and set out for that part of the country. They were joined by all the barons and knights of Poitou: sir James Audley, the lord de Pons, the lord de Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, and the séneschal of La Rochelle, sir Thomas Percy. These men at arms and gallant company of lords, when they were all assembled, amounted to more than three thousand lances. They took the field, and came before the castle of la Roche sur Yon, which was well built and strong, with a good garrison, and well provided with provisions and artillery. The duke of Anjou had appointed governor a knight called sir John Blondeau, who had under his command many good companions, at the charge and pay of the duke.

The lords and barons formed the siege in a handsome manner, and with great display. They surrounded the castle, for they were strong enough to do so, and had ordered from Poitiers and Thouars † large engines on carriages, which they pointed against the fort, as well as several cannons and springalls, with which the army was provided, and from long custom had always carried with them. They had also great plenty of provision, which was brought to them daily from Poitiers and the adjacent country. Sir John Blondeau, finding himself thus besieged by so many good men at arms (for almost all the knights of Aquitaine were there), and that no aid was likely to be sent to him, began to be alarmed: he well knew that those lords would never leave the place until they had won it by fair or foul means.

In the army of the earl of Cambridge, with sir John Chandos and the other barons, were some knights from Poitou well acquainted with the governor, and who in former times had been his companions in arms. These knights advanced to the barriers, and upon their faith and assurances held a conversation with him, and talked the matter over so ably (for he was not a sensible man, though a valiant knight,) that he entered into a treaty to deliver up the castle, if he were not succoured, nor the siege raised, within a month; when he was to receive the sum of six thousand francs for the provisions in it. The treaty thus entered into was ratified; and the garrison remained quiet, under condition, that if the castle was not relieved within a month, it should be surrendered. This being done, the knight sent information of it to the king of France, the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, and to all the lords from whom he expected assistance, in order that he might be secure from any reproaches they might cast upon him. Notwithstanding these informations, that the castle was strong, and absolutely essential to France, on account of the provinces of Touraine and Anjou, no relief was sent; so that, when the month was expired, the English lords summoned the governor to perform his promise, for which he had given good hostages. Sir John did not intend to break his engagement: he said to his companions, "Since the king of France and the duke of Anjou are determined to lose this castle, I cannot defend it alone:" he therefore delivered it up to the English, who took possession with great joy. The governor received the sum of six thousand francs, as agreed upon for the provision in the castle, which was well worth it: and he and his garrison were escorted to the town of Angers.

Instantly on his arrival, he was arrested by the governor of Angers, and thrown into prison; and, as I have heard, was the same night put into a sack, cast into the river, and drowned by the orders of the duke of Anjou, for having accepted money to surrender a castle, which had been well provided, and was strong enough to have held out for a year, if the governor had chosen. Thus did the English gain the castle of la Roche

* La Roche sur Yon,—a town in Poitou, on the Yon, eight leagues from Luçon, fourteen from Nantes.

† Thouars,—an ancient city of Poitou sixteen leagues from Poitiers.

sur Yon in Anjou, which they well garrisoned and strengthened: they then returned to the prince of Wales at Angoulême.

After the conquest of la Roche sur Yon, which enraged the French much, the lords, as I have said, returned to Angoulême, where the prince gave leave for some to go to their homes. Lord James Audley, that valiant knight and séneschal of Poitou, went to his residence at Fontenay le Comte*, where he was attacked by so severe a disorder that it ended his life. The prince and princess were exceedingly grieved at this event, as were all the knights and barons of Poitou. His obsequies were performed at Poitiers in a most magnificent manner, and were attended by the prince in person†. Soon afterward, at the request of the barons and knights of Poitou, sir John Chandos, who was constable of Aquitaine, was appointed séneschal of Poitou, and went to the city of Poitiers, which he fixed on for his residence. He frequently made excursions upon the French, and kept them under such continual alarms, they never dared to venture abroad but in very large bodies.

About this time, the viscount de Rochechouart obtained his liberty. The prince of Wales had kept him a prisoner, because he suspected him of being inclined to the French; but at the solicitations of his friends in Poitou, who were at that time with the prince, he gained his freedom, and was restored to his estate. When the viscount de Rochechouart had got his liberty, he went in disguise as speedily as he could to Paris, to the king of France, where he turned Frenchman, and then came back to his estate, without any one being informed of the matter. Having placed Thibaut du Pont, a Breton and expert man at arms, in his castle, he directly sent his challenge to the prince of Wales, against whom he kept up a vigorous warfare.

CHAPTER CCLXIX.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES FROM THE CITY OF ROUEN, WITH THE INTENTION OF COMBATING THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AND THE ENGLISH.—THE TWO ARMIES ARE ENCAMPED OPPOSITE TO EACH OTHER AT TOURNEHEM‡.

When the duke of Lancaster was arrived at Calais, as has been before mentioned, and had refreshed his army a little, he was not willing to remain there without performing some warlike deeds upon the French: he therefore marched out with his two marshals and full three hundred lances, with as many archers. They passed through Guines§, and continued their march until they had crossed the river Dostre, and overran that whole country. They turned towards the abbey of Liques‖, where they collected a large booty, which they brought safe with them to Calais. On another day, he made an excursion towards Boulogne, where he did much damage to the flat countries. The count Guy de St. Pol and sir Galeran his son were at the time in the city of Terouenne, with many men at arms; but they made no sally against the English, when they were on these expeditions, for they did not think themselves sufficiently strong to oppose them in the field.

News was brought to the king of France, who at that time was holding his court at Rouen in the greatest pomp and magnificence, that the duke of Lancaster was come to Calais, and that from thence he was daily making inroads into France. When the king and his council heard this, their minds were occupied on a different subject; for this same week the duke of Burgundy was to embark with his whole army, consisting of upwards of three thousand fighting men, to invade England. The king demanded from his prelates and council what was best to be done, supposing the English had crossed the sea, whether to advance to them and offer battle, or to continue their plan of operation for the invasion of England. This last proposition was given up, and orders sent to the French army to break up their quarters in and near Rouen as soon as possible, and to prepare every thing for marching towards Calais with the duke of Burgundy. Such were the commands of the king of France,

* Fontenay le Comte,—a city in Poitou, near la Vendée, diocese of la Rochelle, twenty-five leagues from Poitiers.

† Barnes says this is a mistake—of the son for the father. Sir James Audley, son of lord James Audley, séneschal of Poitou, died in Gascony about this time; and on this loss, lord James, with the prince's leave, retired to England, where he lived many years. He died in 1386, in the seventy-third year of his age. Sir John Chandos was nominated séneschal of Poitou, on lord James retiring to England.

‡ Tournehem,—a small town of Artois, bailiwick of St. Omer.

§ Guines,—a town in Picardy, two leagues and a half from Calais.

‖ Abbey of Liques,—diocese of Boulogne-sur-mer.

for he was desirous of combating the English on that side of the water. The men at arms heard these orders with great joy, and were soon ready. The duke of Burgundy, with his whole army, took the field, and formed his march so as to cross the river Somme at Abbeville. He continued until he came to Montreuil *-sur-mer, and from thence to Hesdin† and St. Paul‡, where they halted for the rear of the army to join them.

News was brought to the duke of Lancaster, that the French were on their march to offer him battle; upon which the duke, with his whole army, left Calais, and took up their quarters in the valley of Tournehem. He had not been long there before that gallant knight sir Robert de Namur came in grand array to serve under him, with a hundred lances of good men at arms, accompanied with knights and squires. The duke of Lancaster was much rejoiced on his arrival, and said: "My good uncle, you are heartily welcome; for they say that the duke of Burgundy is on his march, and wishes to fight with us." Sir Robert replied, "My lord, by God's help, we will willingly meet him."

The English found good quarters in the valley of Tournehem, where they fortified themselves with strong hedges, and there came daily to them provision in abundance from Calais. Their light horse scoured the country of Guines, but they gained little; for all the low countries had been spoiled, and their most valuable things carried for safety to the adjoining fortresses. The duke of Burgundy arrived with all his chivalry, and fixed his quarters at the hill of Tournehem, where his marshals immediately encamped the men at arms opposite to where the English lay.

The French lodged themselves orderly, and without delay: they took up much ground, and with good reason; for I have had it mentioned to me as a certain fact, that the duke of Burgundy had under his command four thousand good knights. You may judge therefore of the great difference between the two armies. Each army remained in these positions a considerable time without doing any thing; for the duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding he was so much superior in force, and had with him, of good men at arms, seven to one, would not engage without the positive orders of the king of France, his brother, who was not desirous of it. In truth, had the French come forward to battle, the English would not have refused it; for they were daily drawn out, and in readiness to receive them. They had made every preparation, and each person knew what he was to do, should the enemy show any inclination to fight: but because they were so small a body, and so well fortified, they would not foolishly lose an advantage by quitting their camp. Some knights advanced from each army to skirmish; and, as usual in such cases, sometimes one side gained, and sometimes the other.

The earl of Flanders, at this time, was very anxious for the honour and reputation of the duke of Burgundy, his son-in-law: he resided in a handsome house which he had lately built near to Ghent: he frequently heard from or sent to the duke, by messengers who were constantly employed on this service. The earl strongly advised his son-in-law, for his own honour, not to exceed, on any account, the orders which he had received from his brother the king of France, or from his council.

We will now return to the affairs of the distant provinces, where the knights had frequently more employment, and met with adventures in greater abundance than any where else, on account of the war being carried on more vigorously.

CHAPTER CCLXX.—SIR JOHN CHANDOS DOES GREAT MISCHIEF TO THE PROVINCE OF ANJOU.—HE DESPOILS THE ESTATES OF THE VISCOUNT DE ROCHECHOUART, EXCEPT THE FORTRESSES AND STRONGHOLDS.

DURING the time of this expedition to Tournehem, and in that neighbourhood, some feats of arms were performed in Poitou, which ought not to be forgotten. Sir John Chandos, being séneschal of Poitou, and a hardy and valiant knight, had a great desire to meet the

* Montreuil,—a town in Picardy, seventeen leagues and a half from Calais. † Hesdin,—a strong town in Artois, eighteen leagues and a half from Calais. ‡ St. Paul,—a small town in Picardy, diocese of Beauvais.

French: he therefore did not remain long idle, but collected, during the time he passed at Poitiers, a body of men at arms, English and Poitevins, and said he would make an incursion with them towards Anjou, and return by Touraine, to look at the French who were assembled in those parts. He sent information of the expedition he meditated to the earl of Pembroke*, who was in garrison at Mortagne-sur-mer† with two hundred lances.

The earl was much pleased with this intelligence, and would willingly have been of the party; but his attendants and some knights of his council prevented him, by saying: "My lord, you are a young and noble knight, formed to excel: if you at this moment unite yourself with sir John Chandos and his army, he will obtain all the glory of the expedition, and you will be only named as his companion. It is therefore more proper for you, who are of such high rank and birth, to act for yourself, and let sir John Chandos do so on his part, who is but a knight-bachelor when compared with you." These and such like words cooled the ardour of the earl of Pembroke, who, having no longer any wish to go, sent an excuse to sir John Chandos.

Sir John would not, however, give up his enterprise, but ordered his rendezvous at Poitiers; from whence he marched, with three hundred lances, knights, and squires, and two hundred archers. In this number were, lord Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, sir Richard Taunton, lord Thomas Spencer, sir Nêle Loring, the earl of Angus‡, sir Thomas Banaster, sir John Trivet, sir William de Montendre, sir Maubrins de Linieres, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, and several other knights and squires. These men at arms and archers marched boldly forth and in good array, as if going upon some grand enterprise, and, having passed through the province of Poitou, entered that of Anjou. When they were arrived in that country, they fixed their quarters in the flat parts of it, and sent out their light divisions to burn and destroy everything. They did infinite mischief to this rich and fine country, without any one attempting to prevent them; and they remained there upwards of fifteen days, especially in that part of it called the Loudunois. They retreated from Anjou down the river Creuse, which separates Touraine from Poitou; and sir John Chandos, with his army, entered the lands of the viscount de la Rochechouart, where everything, excepting the fortresses, was ruined. They advanced to the town of Rochechouart, and vigorously assaulted it, but without effect; for there were excellent men at arms within it, commanded by Thibault du Pont and Helyons de Talay, who prevented it from being taken or injured.

The English continued their march to Chauvigny§, where sir John Chandos received information that the lord Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, with a great body of men at arms, were at la Haye|| in Touraine. He was very desirous to march that way, and sent in great haste to the earl of Pembroke to signify his intentions, and to beg of him to accompany him to la Haye in Touraine, and that he would meet him at Châtelheraut¶. Chandos the herald was the bearer of this message. He found the earl of Pembroke at Mortagne busily employed in mustering his men, and preparing, as it appeared, to make an excursion. He excused himself a second time, by the advice of his council, saying he could not accompany him. The herald, on his return, found his master and the army at Châtelheraut, to whom he delivered his answer. When sir John Chandos heard it, he was very melancholy, knowing that pride and presumption had made the earl refuse to be a party in this expedition, and only replied, "God's will be done." He dismissed the greater part of his army, who separated, and he, with his attendants, returned to Poitiers.

* Lord John Hastings, second earl of Pembroke, only son of the earl mentioned in the former part of this history. He was not more than 21 years old at this period, and it seems doubtful whether he had yet succeeded to the title, as the received date of his father Lawrence's death is 1375, and the events above related took place in 1369.—Ed.

† "Mortagne,"—a town in Saintonge, on the Garonne.

‡ David king of Scotland created sir John Stuart of Bonkill earl of Angus. He and his heirs held the estates, but the Umphravilles of England (the earl mentioned in the text) grasped at the title for many generations.—*Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 7.

§ "Chauvigny,"—a town in Poitou, on the Vienne, six leagues from Poitiers.

|| "La Haye,"—a town in Touraine, on the Creuse.

¶ "Châtelheraut,"—a town in Poitou, on the Vienne.

CHAPTER CCLXXI.—THE LORD LOUIS DE SANCERRE SURPRISES THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.—SEVERAL OF HIS MEN ARE SLAIN, AND THE EARL IS BESIEGED IN A HOUSE AT PUIRENON.

We will now relate how the earl of Pembroke prospered. As soon as he knew that sir John Chandos had disbanded his army, and was returned to Poitiers, he assembled his own forces, which consisted of three hundred English and Poitevins, and marched from Mortagne. He was joined by some knights and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, as well as by some English knights that had been in sir John Chandos' army. These men at arms, therefore, advanced under the command of the earl of Pembroke, and took the direct road to where sir John Chandos had been, burning and despoiling all those parts of Anjou which the first had left, or which had been ransomed. They halted to refresh themselves in the Loudunois, and then took the road for the lands of the viscount de Rochechouart, to which they did great damage.

The French who were in garrison on the frontiers of Touraine, Anjou, and Poitou, consisting of a large body of men at arms, heard the whole truth of these two excursions, and how the earl of Pembroke, who was a young man, would not, through pride, serve under sir John Chandos. They therefore resolved to conquer him, if they could; for they thought they should more easily defeat him than sir John Chandos. They made, in consequence, a secret levy of their forces from all the garrisons; and sir Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, took the command of them. They marched all night to la Roche-posay* in Poitou, which was in the French interest. There were in this expedition, sir Robert de Sancerre, cousin to the marshal, sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Louis de St. Julien, and Carnet le Breton; in the whole, seven hundred fighting men.

The earl of Pembroke had finished his excursion, and re-entered Poitou, having completed the total destruction of the viscount de Rochechouart's estate. In his company were, sir Baldwin de Franville, séneschal of Saintonge, lord Thomas Percy, lord Thomas Spencer, the earl of Angus, sir John Orwich†, sir John Harpedon, sir James de Surgeres, sir John Cousins, sir Thomas de St. Alban, sir Robert Twiford, sir Simon Ausagre, sir John de Mortain, sir John Touchet, and several others. The English and Poitevins marched on without any thought or precaution, having heard nothing of these men at arms: they had entered Poitou with all their pillage, and came, one day about noon, to a village called Puirenon, where they halted, after the manner of persons in perfect security. But when the servants were about to put the horses in the stable, and to prepare the supper, the French, who well knew what they were about, entered the village of Puirenon, with their lances in their rests, bawling out their cry, "Our Lady, for Sancerre the marshal‡!" and then overthrew all they met in the streets. The noise became so violent, that the English ran to the head-quarters with great alarm, to inform the earl of Pembroke, lord Thomas Percy, sir Baldwin de Franville, and the others, that the French had suddenly attacked and surprised them. These lords were soon armed, and, sallying out from their hotels, collected their men together; but they could not all assemble, for the numbers of the French were so considerable that the English and Poitevins were overpowered; and, in this first attack, more than one hundred and twenty were killed or made prisoners. The earl of Pembroke and some knights had no other remedy but to retire, as quickly as they could, into an unembattled house, which belonged to the knights-templars, without a moat, and only enclosed with a stone wall. All who could get there time enough shut themselves in: the greater part of the others were slain or made prisoners, and their arms and horses taken. The earl of Pembroke lost all his plate.

The French, who closely pursued them, finding those who could get together had shut

* "La Roche-posay,"—a town in Touraine, on the Creuse

† "Sir John Orwich." Q. Barnes calls him sir Nèle Loring. Why not Norwich?

‡ And *cried* their cryes, "Our lady of Sanxerre for the marshal of Fraunce."—*Lord Berners.*

themselves up in this house, were much rejoiced, saying among themselves: "They must be our prisoners, for they cannot escape; and we will make them dearly repay the damages they have done in Anjou and Touraine." On which, they advanced to this house in regular order, and with a good will to assault it: when they were come thither, it was evening: after they had examined it narrowly on all sides, to see if it might be easily taken, they began the attack, in which were performed many gallant deeds of arms, for the French were in great numbers, and were all well tried men. They made different attempts on this house, which was very strong, and gave the earl of Pembroke and his men enough to do; for the English being so few, laboured hard to defend themselves, as it was to them of the greatest consequence. Scaling ladders were brought, and fixed against the walls, which some bold adventurers mounted, with their shields over their heads to shelter themselves from stones and arrows; but when they were got to the top they had done nothing, for they found there, ready to receive them, knights, squires, men at arms, with lances and swords, with which they handsomely fought hand to hand, and made them descend much quicker than they had mounted. Add to this, that there were English archers intermixed with these men at arms, at two feet distance on the walls, who shot so well that the French beneath suffered much.

The English continued under constant alarm, repelling these attacks until night, when the French, tired with fighting and fatigue, sounded their trumpets for the retreat, saying they had done enough for one day, but that they would return to the attack on the morrow; adding, that, as they could not escape from them, they would starve them to surrender. They returned to their quarters in high spirits, and made merry, having placed a strong guard in front of the house to be more secure of their enemies. It will readily be believed that the earl of Pembroke and those who were thus blockaded were not much at their ease: they were aware that this house was not of sufficient strength to hold out long against so many men at arms. It was as badly provided with artillery, to their great sorrow, as with provision; but this last was not of much consequence, for they could well fast a day and night, if necessary, in defending themselves.

When it was dark, they entreated a squire, an expert soldier, and in whom they placed great confidence, to set out directly by a postern, and ride as fast as he could to Poitiers, to inform sir John Chandos and his friends how awkwardly they were situated, and to beg they would come to their assistance; in the hopes of which they would hold out until noon; and, if he made haste, he might easily make this journey by early morning. The squire, who perceived the extreme danger in which all the lords were, very cheerfully undertook it, but boasted a little too much of his knowledge of the roads. He set out about midnight by a postern-gate, and took the straight road, as he thought, for Poitiers; but it so fell out, that during the whole night he wandered about, until it was broad day, before he hit upon the right road.

At day-break, the French, who were besieging the English at Puirenon as you have before heard, sounded their trumpets to arm, saying it would be better to make their attacks in the cool of the morning than in the heat of the day. The earl of Pembroke and the knights shut up with him, instead of sleeping, had fortified themselves with whatever they could find, making use even of benches and stones, which they had carried to the top of the walls. They found the French were preparing to renew the attack, and comforted each other upon it. Some time before sun-rise, the French were ready, when they marched by companies, and with great vigour, to the assault of the hôtel. They acquitted themselves too well, and having brought scaling ladders, placed them against the walls, mounting them with the utmost eagerness, covered by their shields, otherwise they would not have ventured: it was hel l highly honourable to those who mounted the first, as in truth it was a very brave act. The English were not idle nor faint-hearted in their own defence, but fought marvellously well, and flung down upon the shields of the assailants stones and great beams of wood, with which they beat them so severely, that they killed or wounded several. They did their duty excellently well, and so small a fort was never seen to hold out so long against such a force. This assault continued from early dawn until six o'clock.

CHAPTER CCLXXII.—SIR JOHN CHANDOS COMES TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, BESIEGED IN PUIRENON.

Between six and nine o'clock, after the heat of the attack, the French, indignant that the English had made so long a defence, sent orders to all the villagers thereabouts to bring pick-axes and mattocks to undermine the walls, which was what the English were most afraid of. The earl of Pembroke called one of his own squires and said to him, "My friend, mount a horse, and sally out from the back gate, where they will make way for you *, and ride as fast as possible to Poitiers to sir John Chandos, to tell him our situation and the imminent danger we are in: recommend me to him by this token." He then took off his finger a rich ring of gold, adding, "Give him this from me: he will know it well again." The squire, who thought himself much honoured by this commission, took the ring, mounted the best courser he could find, and set off by the back gate during the attack, for they opened it for him. He took the road to Poitiers; and, whilst he was making all the haste he could, the assault was carried on warmly by the French, and as vigorously opposed by the English: indeed, it behoved them so to do.

We will now say something of the first squire, who had left Puirenon at midnight, and who, having lost his road, had wandered about all the night. When it was broad day, he knew his road, and made straight for Poitiers; but, his horse being tired, he did not arrive there until about nine o'clock, when he dismounted in the square before the hôtel of sir John Chandos, and immediately entered it, having learnt that he was at mass: he approached him, and, falling on his knees, delivered his message. Sir John Chandos, who had not yet recovered his vexation at the earl of Pembroke's refusal to join him in his expeditions, was not very eager to give him assistance: he coldly said, "It will be almost impossible for us to get there in time and hear the whole mass." Soon after mass the tables were spread, and dinner set out. His servants asked sir John, if he would dine: "Yes," said he, "since it is ready," and then entered the hall, where his knights and squires had preceded him with water to wash his hands. As he was thus employed, and before he had sat down to table, the second squire from the earl of Pembroke entered the hall, and, having knelt down, drew the ring from his purse, saying, "Dear sir, my lord the earl of Pembroke recommends himself to you by this token, and entreats you most earnestly to come to his assistance, and rescue him from the imminent danger he is now in at Puirenon." Sir John Chandos took the ring, and, having examined it, knew it well. He then replied, "It will not be possible for us to arrive there in time, if they be in the situation you describe." He added, "Come let us dine."

Sir John seated himself with his knights at table, and ate of the first course: as the second was served, and indeed begun on, sir John Chandos, who had much thought on this business, raised his head, and, looking at his companions, spoke as follows, which gave much pleasure to those around him:—"The earl of Pembroke (a lord of such high birth and rank that he has even married a daughter of my natural lord the king of England, and is brother in arms as in everything else with my lord of Cambridge,)—entreats me so courteously, that it behoves me to comply with his request to succour and rescue him, if it be possible to arrive in time." He then pushed the table from him, and, rising, said to his knights and squires, "Gentlemen, I am determined to go to Puirenon." This was heard with joy, and they were soon ready to attend him. The trumpets sounded, and every man at arms in Poitiers was mounted in the best way he could; for it had been speedily told abroad, that sir John Chandos was marching to Puirenon, to the assistance of the earl of Pembroke and his army, who were there besieged by the French. When these knights and squires took the field, they amounted to upwards of two hundred lances, and increased every moment. They marched with all haste: news of this was brought to the French, who had constantly been engaged at this assault from daybreak until noon, by their spies, who said: "Dear lords, look well to yourselves; for sir John Chandos has marched from Poitiers with upwards of two hundred lances, and is advancing with great haste and a greater desire to meet with you."

When sir Louis de Sancerre, sir John de Vienne, sir John de Beuil, and the others who

* And *we* shall make you way, says lord Berners, which is more likely than that the French would willingly permit a messenger to depart.—Ed.

were present, heard this, the best informed among them said, "Our men are tired and worn down by their assaults upon the English, yesterday and to-day: it will be much wiser for us to make a handsome retreat with all we have gained, and our prisoners, than to wait the arrival of sir John Chandos and his company, who are quite fresh; for we may lose more than we can gain." This plan was immediately followed, for there was not a moment to lose: the trumpets were ordered to sound a retreat: their men assembled in a body, and, having sent off their baggage, they themselves took the road to la Roche-Posay.

The earl of Pembroke and those with him, imagining the French must have had some intelligence, said among themselves: "Chandos must certainly be on his march, for the French are retreating, not daring to wait his coming: come, come, let us immediately quit this place and take the road towards Poitiers and we shall meet him." Those who had horses mounted them: and others went on foot, and several rode double. They thus left Puirenon, following the road to Poitiers: they had scarcely advanced a league before they met sir John Chandos and his army in the condition I have before told: some on horseback, some on foot, and some riding double. Much joy was shown on both sides at this meeting; but sir John said, he was sorely vexed that he had not been in time to have met the French. They rode together conversing for about three leagues, when they took leave of each other and separated. Sir John Chandos returned to Poitiers; the earl of Pembroke to Mortagne, the place he had marched from; and the marshal of France and his army to la Roche-Posay, where they refreshed themselves and divided their booty; they then retired to their garrisons, carrying with them their prisoners, whom they courteously admitted to ransom, as the French and English have always been accustomed to act towards each other.

We will now return to the armies in Tournehem; and speak of the death of the most courteous, noble, and liberal queen that ever reigned in her time, the lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England and of Ireland *.

CHAPTER CCLXXIII.—THE DEATH OF QUEEN PHILIPPA OF ENGLAND: SHE MAKES THREE REQUESTS TO THE KING ON HER DEATH-BED.—SOME FRENCHMEN, HAVING ATTACKED THE ENGLISH CAMP AT TOURNEHEM, ARE REPULSED BY SIR ROBERT DE NAMUR.

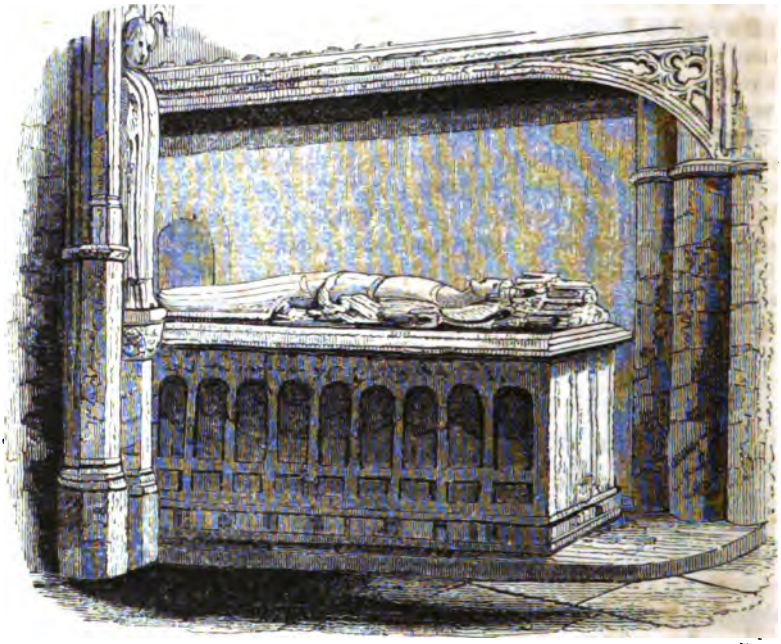
During the time that such numbers of noblemen of the kingdom of France were assembled at Tournehem under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and the duke of Lancaster was encamped with his army in the valley opposite to them, a circumstance happened in England, which, though so very common, was not the less unfortunate for the king, his children, and the whole kingdom. That excellent lady the queen of England (who had done so much good, and during her whole life had assisted all knights, ladies, and damsels who had applied to her †, who had had such boundless charity for all mankind, and who had naturally such an affection for the Hainault nation, being the country from which she sprung,) lay at this time dangerously ill at Windsor castle, and her disorder daily increased.

When the good lady perceived her end approaching, she called to the king, and, extending her right hand from under the bed-clothes, put it into the right hand of the king, who was

* The moost gentyll quene, moost lyberall, and moost courteise that ever was quene in her dayes, the whiche was the fayre lady Philipp of Heynault, quene of England and Irelande.—*Lord Berners.*

† Froissart does not intimate that she waited to be *applied* to, and indeed his own case shows that she needed no instigation but her own "liberal and most courteous" nature to prompt her bounty. The passage is one of the gems of Lord Berners, and is worthy to be given entire. "There fell in Englande a heuy case and a comon, howbeit it was right pyteouse for the kyng, his chyldren, and all his realme For the good quene of Englande, that so many good dedes had done in her tyme, and so many knights socoured, and ladyes and damosels comforted, and had so largely departed of her goodes to her people, and naturally loued always the nacyon of Heynaulte, the countrey where she was borne· She fell sicke in the castell of Wyndsore, the which sickenesse contynewed on her so longe, that *there was no remedye but dethe.* And the good lady, whanne she knewe and parceyued that there was with her no remedy but dethe, she desyred to speke with the kynge her husbande. And whan he was before her she put out of her bedde her right hande and toke the kynge by his right hande, who was right sorowfull at his hert. Than she sayd, 'Sir, we haue in peace, ioye, and great prosperyte used all our tyme toguyer. Sir, nowe, I pray you, at our departyng, that ye will graunt me thre desyres.' The kynge, ryght sorowfully wepynge, sayd, 'Madame, desyre what ye wyll, I graunt it.' 'Sir,' sayd she, 'I requyre you, firste of all, that all maner of people, suche as I haue dault withall in their marchaundyse, on this syde the see or beyond, that it may please you to pay euery thynge that I owe to theym, or to any other. And, secondly, sir, all such ordynaunce and promyses as I haue

very sorrowful at heart, and thus spoke: "We have enjoyed our union in happiness, peace, and prosperity: I entreat, therefore, of you, that on our separation, you will grant me three requests." The king, with sighs and tears, replied, "Lady, ask: whatever you request shall be granted." "My lord, I beg you will acquit me of whatever engagements I may have entered into formerly with merchants for their wares, as well on this as on the other side of the sea. I beseech you also to fulfil whatever gifts or legacies I may have made, or left to churches, here or on the continent, wherein I have paid my devotions, as well as what I may have left to those of both sexes who have been in my service. Thirdly, I entreat that, when it shall please God to call you hence, you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you will lie by my side in the cloisters of Westminster." The king, in tears, replied, "Lady, I grant them."



Tomb of Queen Philippa, Westminster Abbey.—From an Original Drawing.

Soon after, the good lady made the sign of the cross on her breast, and, having recommended to God the king and her youngest son, Thomas, who was present, gave up her spirit, which, I firmly believe, was caught by the holy angels and carried to the glory of Heaven; for she had never done anything, by thought or deed, that could endanger her losing it. Thus died this queen of England, in the year of grace 1369, the vigil of the assumption of the Virgin, the 15th of August.

Information of this loss was carried to the English army at Tournehem, which greatly afflicted every one, but particularly her son the duke of Lancaster. However, as there is no death but what must be passed over and forgotten, the English did not neglect to keep up very strict discipline in their camp, where they remained a long time facing the French. It happened that some of the French knights and squires, seeing the enemy every day before

made to the churches as well of this countrey as beyond the see, whereas I haue hadde my deuocyon, that it maye please you to accomplysshe and to fulfyll the same. Thirdely, sir, I requyre you that it may please you to take none other sepulture, whansoeuer it shall please God to call you out of this transytorie lyfe but beside me in Westmynster.' The kynge, all wepynge, sayde, 'Madame, I graunt all your desyre.' Than the good lady and quene made on her the signe of the crosse, and commaunded the kynge her husbande to God, and her youngest son, Thomas, who was there beside her. And anone, after, she yelded up the spiryte, the whiche I beleue surely the holy angels receyued with great ioy up to heuen, for in all her lyfe she dyd neyther in thought nor dede thyng whereby to lese her soul, as ferr as any creature coulde knowe. Thus the good quene of Englande dyed in the yere of our lorde MCCCLXIX. in the vigyll of our lady in the myddes of August."—Ed.

their eyes, held a conversation, and, after discussing the matter, agreed to meet on the morrow, at day-break, to skirmish with them, and beat up the guard. There were upwards of three hundred knights and squires, the greater part of them from the Vermandois, Artois, and Corbiois, who had entered into this agreement, and, without mentioning it to their marshals, had each informed the other of their intentions. When the morning came for this expedition, they were all ready armed, mounted, and assembled. They rode forth in this array, nothing doubting of success, and began to make a circuit round the hill of Tournehem, in order to gain an advantageous position, and to fall upon one of the wings of the English army.

This wing was allotted to sir Robert de Namur and his people. Sir Robert had been on guard that night, but towards day-break had entered his tent, and was then sitting at supper, quite armed, except his helmet, and the lord Despontin * with him. The French at this moment arrived at the quarters of sir Robert, which were also those of some other German and English lords; but the guard very fortunately had not disarmed themselves: they immediately opposed the Frenchmen who came up spurring and galloping, and checked their career. News soon reached sir Robert that his men were fighting, having been attacked by the French. In an instant, he pushed the table from him where he had been seated, and said to the lord Despontin, "Come, come to the assistance of our men." Instantly he fixed his helmet on his head, and ordered his banner, which was placed before his tent, to be displayed. Some one said, "My lord, send to the duke of Lancaster, and do not engage without him." He bluntly replied, "Not I: I shall go the shortest way I can to help my men. Those may send to my lord of Lancaster who will; but let all who love me follow me."

He then advanced, sword in hand, to meet the enemy: the lord Despontin and sir Henry de Sancelle were with him, as well as his other knights, who directly engaged in the battle, having found their men fighting with the French, in great numbers, and who, to speak truth, ought to have done much this day: but no sooner did they perceive sir Robert de Namur marching with his banner than they wheeled about and gave up their plan, for they thought the whole army was ready to fall on them: indeed it was so in different parts of the camp, for the sun was now risen. A Vermandois knight was slain under the banner of sir Robert de Namur, called sir Robert de Coulogne, who was much regretted; for he was rich, amiable, and courteous, and an honourable knight in every station. Thus ended the affair. The French retreated without doing anything more, for they were afraid of greater loss than gain. Sir Robert did not pursue them farther than was wise, but brought back his men when he found the enemy was quite gone, and returned to his quarters.

CHAPTER CCLXXIV.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND HIS ARMY DECAMP WITHOUT A BATTLE.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER RETURNS TO CALAIS.

Since this last affair, nothing happened worth relating. It was very displeasing to many on both sides that they thus remained so long without a battle: every day it was said, "We shall engage to-morrow;" but that morrow never came; for, as I have said before, the duke of Burgundy would not act contrary to the orders of the king. The orders he received were very strict; for there were continually messengers going from the king to the duke, and from the duke to the king on this subject. At last the duke of Burgundy, as I was then informed, having considered, that he was encamped at a very heavy expense, and could not remain so much longer with any honour; for he had upwards of four thousand knights, while the enemy was but a handful in comparison, with whom, however, he had not fought, nor had had any intentions of so doing: the duke, I say, sent some of his knights to lay his situation before the king, and to explain to him his wishes. The king thought the duke judged rightly, and ordered him, on the receipt of his letters, to break up his camp, to dismiss his army, and come to Paris, where he himself was going.

When the duke received these orders, he sent for the principal lords of his army, and told them secretly their contents; saying, "We must break up our camp, for the king sends for us back." When it was midnight, those to whom he had given this information, having

* Lord Despontin. Q. Barnes calls him lord of Ponthieu.

packed up every thing, were mounted, and had set fire to their quarters. At this hour, sir Henry de Sancelle was returning to his tent, having been on guard with sir Robert de Namur's men, to whom he was attached; and seeing first one, then two, and then three fires in the enemy's camp, he said to himself, "These French think, perhaps, to surprise us: they have the appearance of intending it. Let us go," said he to those near him, "to sir Robert's tent, and awaken him, that, should it be so, he may be prepared in time." Sir Henry went thither, and, calling his chamberlains, told them, they must instantly awaken sir Robert. They went to his bed-side and sir Henry de Sancelle with them, who awakened him, and told him all that he had seen. Sir Robert made answer, "We shall soon hear other news: let our men be instantly armed and made ready." He himself was soon armed. When his men were drawn up, he had his bannner displayed, and marched to the tent of the duke of Lancaster, who was arming also, for he had received similar information. It was not long before the different lords came thither, one after another: as they arrived, they were drawn up and remained quiet without any light.

The duke of Lancaster ordered his marshals to march the archers to where he hoped the French would make their attack, if they came; for he certainly expected a battle. When they had remained at their posts for two hours, and saw no one advancing to them, they were more surprised than before. The duke called to him his lords, and asked them what he had best now to do. Some replied one thing, and some another, and each defended his own opinion. The duke, perceiving that valiant knight sir Walter Manny, said, "And you, sir Walter, what do you advise?" "I do not know," replied sir Walter, "but, if you will follow my advice, I would draw up my men at arms and archers in order of battle, and would advance slowly; for, as it will soon be day, we shall then see clearly before us." The Duke assented to this proposal: but others were of a contrary opinion, and advised him not to march from where he was. This discussion continued until orders were given for some of the troops of sir Robert de Namur and sir Waleran de Bourne * to mount their horses, because they were lightly accoutred and rode well. Thirty horsemen were chosen from the best mounted, and sent off towards the French camp.

Whilst they were gone on this expedition, sir Walter Manny, addressing the duke, said, "My lord, never believe me again, if these French be not fled: mount your horse, and order the others to do the same, that you may pursue them, and I will engage you will have a fine day of it." The Duke replied, "Sir Walter, I have hitherto always followed the advice of my council, and intend now doing so; for I can never believe that so many brave men at arms and noble knights would thus run away. Perhaps the fires we see may have been lighted to entrap us. Our scouts will soon return, and then we shall know the truth." As they were thus conversing, the scouts returned, and confirmed all that sir Walter Manny had thought: they said they had found none but some poor victuallers, who followed the army. Sir Walter Manny gained great credit. The duke went to his tent to disarm: he would that day have dined in the French camp, but the fire was too great: he and his men at arms, however, supped there, and took up their quarters on the mountain for the night, and made themselves comfortable with what they found there. On the morrow they decamped, and returned to Calais.

The duke of Burgundy, when he marched off, made his quarters at St. Omer, where he and all his army remained until they were disbanded, and every man returned to his home. There was afterwards much trouble to re-assemble them again.

CHAPTER CCLXXV.—THE EARL OF PEMBROKE, DESIROUS OF AVENGING HIMSELF FOR THE DEFEAT HE RECEIVED AT PUIRENON, MAKES AN INCURSION TO ANJOU.—THE ABBEY OF ST. SALVIN IN POITOU IS BETRAYED TO THE FRENCH, AND FORTIFIED.

The same week that the armies quitted Tournehem, the earl of Pembroke (who was in Poitou, and had been much mortified at the defeat he had suffered from sir Louis de Sancerre, sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil and the others at Puirenon, as has been

* Sir Waleran de Bourne. Q. Barnes calls him Van Bornfeo.

related) resolved to have his revenge, if possible; and for this end he marched from Mortagne with his army, which consisted of about two hundred lances, and came to Angoulême, where the prince received him most courteously. The earl entreated of him permission to lead another expedition, and to lend him some of his men, as he was very anxious to avenge himself of the affronts he had suffered from the French. The prince, who had much affection for him, immediately granted his request. Sir Hugh Calverley was just returned from his excursion into the county of Armagnac, with five hundred fighting men; and the prince gave him leave to accompany the earl of Pembroke in his intended expedition. He also requested the company of sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Perceval de Coulogne, the lords de Pons, de Partenay and de Pinane, lord Thomas Percy, sir Richard de Pontchardon, and several knights of the prince's household, who willingly accepted the invitation, for they were ready for any excursion: so that, when they were assembled, they amounted to five hundred lances, three hundred archers, and fifteen hundred foot soldiers, armed with pikes and shields, who followed the army on foot. This army marched, under the command of the earl of Pembroke as their leader, and took the road towards Anjou: where they no sooner arrived than they began to destroy, and to do every damage to the country they passed through, by razing castles and forts, burning such towns as could not hold out against them, and levying contributions on all the flat country as far as Saumur * on the Loire. They gained possession of the suburbs, and began an assault on the town; but they could not take it, for sir Robert de Sancerre was in it with a large body of men at arms, who defended it from suffering any damage: all the country round about it, however, was pillaged, burnt, and ruined.

Sir Hugh Calverley and his division advanced to a bridge on the Loire, called le Pont de Cé †; when he defeated those who guarded it, took the bridge, and placed such a garrison of his own men there, after he had fortified it well, that they kept possession of it for a long time. The English, in this expedition, took a large abbey called St. Maur ‡, on the Loire, which they repaired and fortified, and placed therein a considerable garrison, which, during the ensuing winter and summer, did great mischief to the adjacent country.

At this time, there was in Poitou an abbey which still exists, called St. Salvin §, situated seven leagues from Poitiers; and in this abbey there was a monk who hated the abbot, as he afterwards showed. It was on account of this hatred which he bore him that he betrayed the abbot and the whole convent, and delivered up the abbey and the town to sir Louis de St. Julien and to Carnet le Breton, who took possession of it, repaired it, and made it a strong garrison. Sir John Chandos was much vexed at St. Salvin being thus surprised, and not being able to retake it; for, as he was séneschal of Poitou, he was angry that such a house should have been taken in his government, and declared, that if he should live long enough, he would have it again by some means or other, and make them pay dearly for the insult they had put upon him. We will now quit Poitou, and return to the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER CCLXXVI.—THE COUNTY OF ST. POL IN PICARDY IS PILLAGED AND RUINED BY THE ENGLISH.—SIR HUGH DE CHASTILLON IS TAKEN PRISONER.

When the duke of Lancaster had retreated to Calais after the decampment of Tournehem, as has been before related, and had refreshed himself and men for three days, he resolved, by advice of his council, to draw out his troops, and make an excursion into France. His marshals, the earl of Warwick and sir Roger Beauchamp, were ordered to muster the army, which orders they very readily obeyed, for they were desirous of making an inroad on France. The men at arms and archers marched from Calais in excellent array: every man was apprised what he was to do, and where he was going. The first day's march was only five leagues from Calais. On the morrow, they came before St. Omer, where there were many skirmishes at the gates; but the English did not make any long halt: they continued

* Saumur,—on the Loire, diocese of Angers.

† Pont de Cé.—Pont de Sé,—two leagues from Angers.

‡ St. Maur, on the Loire, election of Saumur.

§ St. Salvin,—St. Savin,—a village in Poitou, election of Poitiers.

their march, and that night encamped on the heights of Hersault *. On the third day, they arrived at the city of Terouenne †, where was the count de St. Pol with a large company of men at arms. The English did not halt, but continued their march, taking the road to Hesdin ‡, and fixed their quarters at night on a small river.

When the count de St. Pol found that the English were taking the road to his country, he knew they were not going thither for his good, for they hated him too much: he set out, therefore, in the night, and gave the government of the city to the lord de St. Py and sir John de Roye §; and riding hard, he arrived at his town of St. Pol ‖. The English came before the place very early on the morrow morning, and several severe skirmishes happened; but the arrival of the count was fortunate for himself and for the town, as he, with the assistance of those who had accompanied him, prevented the place from being taken. The duke of Lancaster, therefore, and his army refreshed themselves at their ease in the county of St. Pol, which they overran, and did great damage to all the flat country. They advanced to the castle of Pernes ¶, where the countess dowager resided. They examined well the fort, and the duke sounded the depth of the ditches with a lance: notwithstanding this, they made no attack, though they showed every appearance of it. They made no long stay, but continued their march, and went towards Lucheux **, a handsome town, which belonged to the count. They burnt the town, and, without touching the castle, continued their road for St. Riquier ††. The English did not march more than three or four leagues a-day, so that they burnt and destroyed all the countries they passed through. They crossed the river Somme at Blanchetaque below Abbeville, and then entered the country of Vimeu ‡‡, with the intention of pushing forward to Harfleur on the Seine, in order to burn the navy of the king of France.

The count de St. Pol, and sir Moreau de Fiennes, constable of France, with a large body of men at arms, pursued and hovered about the English army, so that they could not disperse nor quit the straight road, but were obliged to keep in a compact body, to be ready to combat the French should they be so inclined. In this manner they marched through Vimeu and the county of Eu: entering the archbishopric of Rouen, they passed Dieppe, and continued their march until they came before Harfleur, where they fixed their quarters. The count de St. Pol had out-marched them, and had entered the town with two hundred lances, at the utmost. The English remained three days before Harfleur, but did nothing: on the fourth, they decamped, and returned through the lands of the lord d'Estoville, whom they did not love much, and burnt and destroyed the whole or greater part. They then passed through Vexin Normand in their way to Oisemont §§, to recross the Somme at Blanchetaque.

Sir Hugh de Chastillon, master of the cross-bows in France, was at this time captain and governor of Abbeville. When he heard that the duke of Lancaster was returning that way, he armed himself, and ordered twelve of his people to do the same. On mounting their horses, he said he was going to view the guard of the gate of Rouvray, that it might not be wanting in defence, and that the English should not find it too weakly guarded. It was early in the morning, and there was a thick fog. Sir Nicholas Louvaine, who had been séneschal of Ponthieu, and whom, this very year, sir Hugh de Chastillon had taken and ransomed for ten thousand francs, remembered this so sorely that, having a great desire to recover his losses, he set out on the point of day from the duke's army, accompanied by only twenty men. As he was well acquainted with all the roads and passes of that country, having resided there for upwards of three years, he intended lying in ambuscad ebetween Abbeville and the castle of Rouvray, in the hope of taking some prize: he had crossed a small rivulet which ran through a marsh, and hid himself and men in some old uninhabited houses.

Sir Hugh never dreamed that the English would form an ambuscade so near the town.

* Hersault. Q. if not Herissart; but that seems to be too great a distance.

† Terouenne—is now in ruins. It was taken by Henry VIII. by a stratagem of pointing wooden guns painted, which were thought to be real ones, and threatening to batter down the town, if not surrendered.

‡ Hesdin,—a strong town in Artois, on the Canche.

§ Two of my MSS. have different names, the lord de Sampy, sir Guy de Roye. One has sir John de Roye.

‖ St. Pol,—a town in Artois, five leagues from Hesdin.

¶ Castle of Pernes,—a town in Artois, three leagues from St. Pol.

** Lucheux,—a town of Picardy, near Doulens.

†† St. Riquier,—an ancient town in Picardy, two leagues and a half from Abbeville.

‡‡ Vimeu,—in Picardy, St. Valery is its capital.

§§ Oisemont,—a market-town in Picardy, five leagues from Abbeville.

Sir Nicholas and his men kept themselves very quiet: they perceived sir Hugh de Chastillon riding down the road which leads to Rouvray, with only twelve others, armed at all points, except his helmet, which one of his pages bore on a courser behind him. He crossed the little rivulet, and made for the gate of Rouvray to see what the guard of cross-bowmen were about, and to enquire if they had heard or seen the English. When sir Nicholas Louvaine, who was on the watch, saw him, he recognized him directly, and was more rejoiced than if any one had given him twenty thousand francs. He sallied out from his ambush, saying, "Follow me: here is what I wished for: it is the master of the cross-bows, and I ask for nothing better." Then sticking spurs into his horse, and pointing his lance, he came upon sir Hugh, crying, "Surrender, Chastillon, or thou art a dead man." Sir Hugh, who was much puzzled to conjecture whence these men could come, had neither time to put on his helmet nor to mount his courser: finding himself in such a strait, he asked, "To whom am I to surrender?" Sir Nicholas replied, "To Louvaine, to Louvaine." In order, therefore, to avoid the danger he could not escape from, he said, "I surrender." He was then taken, and told, "Ride on quickly, for the army of the duke of Lancaster marches on before us." On this occasion was slain, a very valiant citizen of Abbeville, called Lawrence Dancons *, who was much regretted. Thus was taken and entrapped sir Hugh de Chastillon, at that time master of the cross-bows in France and governor of Abbeville, through the good fortune of sir Nicholas Louvaine: with which capture the duke of Lancaster and the English were much rejoiced. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Abbeville were exceedingly vexed at it; but for the present they could not better themselves.

The English marched on, crossed the Somme at Blanchetaque, and then passed through the towns of Rue-sur-mer and Montreuil-sur-mer, until they at last arrived at Calais. The duke of Lancaster there dismissed all the foreigners, when sir Waleran de Bourne and the Germans departed. The duke returned to England, and the Germans to their own country, as there was not any intention of continuing the war until the ensuing summer, for now Martinmas was passed: but the duke informed them, that in the approaching spring, he should cross the sea with a greater force than he had hitherto done, and should entreat his cousins the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers to accompany him into France. We shall now be silent as to the affairs of Picardy, for indeed nothing of great moment happened since this time, and return to Poitou, where warlike deeds were oftener performed.

CHAPTER CCLXXVIII.—SIR JOHN CHANDOS IS SLAIN IN A SKIRMISH.—THE FRENCH, AT FIRST VICTORIOUS, ARE IN THE END DEFEATED.

Sir John Chandos, being séneschal of Poitou was seriously afflicted with the loss of St. Salvin: he was continually devising means to retake it, whether by assault or by escalade was perfectly indifferent to him, so that he could gain it. He made many nightly ambuscades, but none succeeded; for sir Louis, who commanded in it, was very watchful, as he knew the capture of it had highly angered sir John Chandos. It happened that, on the night preceding the eve of the new year (1370), sir John Chandos, who resided in the city of Poitiers, had sent out his summons to the barons and knights of Poitou to come to him as secretly as they could, for he was going on an expedition. The Poitevins would not refuse him any thing, being much beloved by them: they obeyed his summons, and came to Poitiers. Sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons, de Partenay, de Pinane, de Tannaybouton, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Maubrun de Linieres, lord Thomas Percy, sir Baldwin de Franville, sir Richard de Pontchardon, came thither, with many others. When they were all assembled, they were full three hundred lances.

They left Poitiers in the night, and no one, except the principal lords, knew whither they were going. The English, however, had scaling-ladders and every thing they might have occasion for with them. They marched to St. Salvin; and, when there arrived, were told what was intended; upon which they all dismounted, and, giving the horses to their valets, the English descended into the ditch. It was then about midnight. They were in this

* Dancons. My two MSS. have Dentels.

situation, and would very shortly have succeeded in their expedition, when they heard the guard of the fort wind his horn. The reason was this. That very night Carnet le Breton had come from la Roche-Posay, with forty lances, to St. Salvin, to request sir Louis de St. Julien to accompany him in an expedition to Poitou: he therefore awakened the guard and those within the fort.

The English, who were on the opposite side, ignorant of the intentions of this body of Frenchmen wanting to enter the fort, thought they had been seen by the guard, or that spies had given information of their arrival to the garrison. They immediately left the ditch, and said, "Let us away; for this night we have been disappointed in our scheme." They mounted their horses, and advanced in a body to Chauvigny on the river Creuse, two short leagues distant. When all were arrived there, the Poitevins asked sir John Chandos if he wished them to remain with him: he answered, "No: you may return in God's name: I will to-day stay in this town." The Poitevins departed, and with them some English knights: in all, about two hundred lances.

Sir John Chandos entered an hotel, and ordered a fire to be lighted. Lord Thomas Percy, séneschal of la Rochelle, and his men, remained with him. Lord Thomas asked sir John Chandos if he intended staying there that day: "Yes," replied sir John; "why do you ask?" "Because, sir, if you be determined not to go further, I shall beg of you to give me leave to make an excursion, to see if I shall meet with any adventure." "In the name of God, go then," replied sir John. At these words, lord Thomas Percy set out, attended by about thirty lances. Sir John Chandos remained with his own people. Lord Thomas crossed the bridge of Chauvigny, taking the longest road to Poitiers, having left sir John Chandos quite low-spirited for having failed in his intended attack on St. Salvin. He continued in the kitchen of the hotel, warming himself at a straw fire which his herald was making for him, conversing at the same time with his people, who very readily passed their jokes in hopes of curing him of his melancholy. After he had remained some time, and was preparing to take a little rest, and while he was asking if it were yet day, a man entered the hotel, and came before him, saying, "My lord, I bring you news." "What is it?" asked sir John. "My lord, the French have taken the field." "How dost thou know this?" "My lord, I set out from St. Salvin with them." "And what road have they taken?" "My lord, that I cannot say for a certainty; but it seemed to me they followed the road to Poitiers." "And who are these French?" "My lord, they are sir Louis de St. Julien and Carnet le Breton, with their companies." "Well, it is indifferent to me," replied sir John: "I have not any inclination to exert myself this day: they may be met with without my interference." He remained a considerable time very thoughtful; after having well considered, he added: "Notwithstanding what I have just said, I think I shall do right to mount my horse; for at all events I must return to Poitiers, and it will be soon day." "It is well judged," replied the knights who were with him. Sir John ordered everything to be got ready, and his knights having done the same, they mounted and set off, taking the road to Poitiers, following the course of the river. The French might be about a good league before them on this same road, intending to cross the river at the bridge of Lussac*. The English suspected this from perceiving the tracks of the horses, and said among themselves, "Either the French or lord Thomas Percy are just before us." Shortly after this conversation, day appeared; for in the early part of January the mornings begin to be soon light. The French might be about a league from the bridge of Lussac, when they perceived lord Thomas Percy and his men on the other side of the river. Lord Thomas had before seen them, and had set off full gallop to gain the bridge. They said, "There are the French: they are more in number than we are; let us hasten to take advantage of the bridge." When sir Louis and Carnet saw the English on the opposite side of the river, they also made haste to gain the bridge: however the English arrived first, and were masters of it. They all dismounted, and drew themselves up to defend and guard it. The French likewise dismounted on their arrival, and giving their horses for the servants to lead them to the rear, took their lances, and advanced in good order, to attack the English and win the bridge. The English stood firm, although they were so few in comparison with the enemy.

Whilst the French and Bretons were considering the most advantageous manner to begin

* "Lussac,"—a town in Poitou, diocese of Poitiers.

the onset, sir John Chandos arrives with his company, his banner displayed and flying in the wind. This was borne by a valiant man at arms, called James Allen, and was a pile gules on a field argent. They might be about forty lances, who eagerly hastened to meet the French. As the English arrived at a small hillock, about three furlongs from the bridge, the French servants, who were between this hillock and the bridge, saw them, and, being much frightened, said, "Come away: let us save ourselves and our horses." They therefore ran off, leaving their masters to shift as well as they could. When sir John Chandos, with displayed banner, was come up to the French, whom he thought very lightly of, he began from horseback to rail at them, saying: "Do you hear, Frenchmen! you are mischievous men at arms: you make incursions night and day at your pleasure: you take towns and castles in Poitou, of which I am seneschal. You ransom poor people without my leave, as if the country were your own; but, by God, it is not. Sir Louis, sir Louis, you and Carnet are too much the masters. It is upwards of a year and a half that I have been endeavouring to meet you. Now, thanks to God, I do so, and will tell you my mind. We will now try which of us is the strongest in this country. It has been often told me, that you were very desirous of seeing me: you have now that pleasure. I am John Chandos: look at me well; and, if God please, we will now put to the proof your great deeds of arms which are so renowned." With such words as these did sir John Chandos greet them: he would not have wished to have been anywhere else, so eager was he to fight with them.

Sir Louis and Carnet kept themselves in a close body, as if they were willing to engage. Lord Thomas Percy and the English on the other side of the bridge knew nothing of what had passed, for the bridge was very high in the middle, which prevented them from seeing over it. During this scoffing of sir John Chandos, a Breton drew his sword, and could not resist from beginning the battle: he struck an English squire, named Simkin Dodenhale, and beat him so much about the breast with his sword that he knocked him off his horse on the ground. Sir John Chandos, who heard the noise behind him, turned round, and saw his squire on the ground and persons beating him. This enraged him more than before: he said to his men, "Sirs, what are you about? how suffer you this man to be slain? Dismount, dismount:" and at the instant he was on foot, as were all his company. Simkin was rescued, and the battle began.

Sir John Chandos, who was a strong and bold knight, and cool in all his undertakings, had his banner advanced before him, surrounded by his men, with the scutcheon above his arms. He himself was dressed in a large robe which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white sarcenet, argent, a pile gules; one on his breast, and the other on his back; so that he appeared resolved on some adventurous undertaking; and in this state, with sword in hand, he advanced on foot towards the enemy.

This morning there had been a hoar-frost, which had made the ground slippery; so that as he marched he entangled his legs with his robe, which was of the longest, and made a stumble: during which time a squire, called James de St. Martin (a strong expert man), made a thrust at him with his lance, which hit him in the face, below the eye, between the nose and forehead. Sir John Chandos did not see the aim of the stroke, for he had lost the eye on that side five years ago, on the heaths of Bordeaux, at the chase of a stag: what added to this misfortune, sir John had not put down his vizor, so that in stumbling he bore upon the lance, and helped it to enter into him. The lance, which had been struck from a strong arm, hit him so severely that it entered as far as the brain, and then the squire drew it back to him again.

The great pain was too much for sir John, so he fell to the ground, and turned twice over in great agony, like one who had received his death-wound. Indeed, since the blow, he never uttered a word. His people, on seeing this mishap, were like madmen. His uncle, sir Edward Clifford, hastily advanced, and striding over the body, (for the French were endeavouring to get possession of it,) defended it most valiantly, and gave such well-directed blows with his sword that none dared to approach him. Two other knights, namely sir John Chambo and sir Bertrand de Cassilies*, were like men distracted at seeing their master lie thus on the ground.

The Bretons, who were more numerous than the English, were much rejoiced when they

* "Sir John Chambo,—sir John Cassilies." Q. Barnes calls the last Case.

saw their chief thus prostrate, and greatly hoped he was mortally wounded. They therefore advanced, crying out, "By God, my lords of England, you will all stay with us, for you cannot now escape." The English performed wonderful feats of arms, as well to extricate themselves from the danger they were in as to revenge their commander, sir John Chandos, whom they saw in so piteous a state. A squire attached to sir John marked out this James de St. Martin, who had given the blow; he fell upon him in such a rage, and struck him with his lance as he was flying, that he ran him through both his thighs, and then withdrew his lance: however, in spite of this, James de St. Martin continued the fight. Now if lord Thomas Percy, who had first arrived at the bridge, had imagined anything of what was going forwards, sir John Chandos' men would have been considerably reinforced; but it was otherwise decreed: for not hearing anything of the Bretons since he had seen them advancing in a large body towards the bridge, he thought they might have retreated; so that lord Thomas and his men continued their march, keeping the road to Poitiers, ignorant of what was passing.

Sir John Chandos at the head of his troops, in the act of making his death charge on the French. Designed from various MS. authorities in the Harleian and Cottonian Libraries.

Though the English fought so bravely at the bridge of Lussac, in the end they could not withstand the force of the Bretons and French, but were defeated, and the greater part made prisoners. Sir Edward Clifford stood firm, and would not quit the body of his nephew. If the French had had their horses, they would have gone off with honour, and have carried with them good prisoners; but, as I have before said, their servants had gone away with them. Those of the English also had retreated, and quitted the scene of battle. They remained therefore in bad plight, which sorely vexed them, and said among themselves, "This is a bad piece of business: the field is our own, and yet we cannot return through the fault of our servants. It is not proper for us who are armed and fatigued to march through this country on foot, which is quite against us; and we are upwards of six leagues from the nearest of any of our fortresses. We have, besides, our wounded and slain, whom we cannot leave behind." As they were in this situation, not knowing what to do, and had sent off two or three of the Bretons, disarmed, to hunt after and endeavour to

find their servants, they perceived advancing towards them, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Partenay, de Tannaybouton, d'Argenton, de Pinane, sir James de Surgeres, and several others. They were full two hundred lances, and were seeking for the French; for they had received information that they were out on an excursion, and were then following the traces of their horses. They came forwards, therefore, with displayed banners fluttering in the wind, and marching in a disorderly manner.

The moment the Bretons and French saw them they knew them for their enemies, the barons and knights of Poitou. They therefore said to the English: "You see that body of men coming to your assistance: we know we cannot withstand them; therefore," calling each by his name, "you are our prisoners; but we give you your liberty, on condition that you take care to keep us company; and we surrender ourselves to you, for we have it more at heart to give ourselves up to you than to those who are coming." They answered, "God's will be done." The English thus obtained their liberty. The Poitevins soon arrived, with their lances in their rests, shouting their war-cries; but the Bretons and French, retreating on one side, said, "Holla! stop my lords: we are prisoners already." The English testified to the truth of this by adding, "It is so: they belong to us." Carnet was prisoner to sir Bertrand de Cassilies, and sir Louis de St. Julien to sir John Chambo: there was not one who had not his master.

These barons and knights of Poitou were struck with grief when they saw their séneschal, sir John Chandos, lying in so doleful a way, and not able to speak. They began grievously to lament his loss, saying, "Flower of knighthood! oh, sir John Chandos! cursed be the forging of that lance which wounded thee, and which has thus endangered thy life." Those who were around the body most tenderly bewailed him, which he heard, and answered with groans, but could not articulate a word. They wrung their hands, and tore their hair, uttering cries and complaints, more especially those who belonged to his household.

Sir John Chandos was disarmed very gently by his own servants, laid upon shields and targets, and carried at a foot's pace to Mortemer, the nearest fort to the place where they were. The other barons and knights returned to Poitiers, carrying with them their prisoners. I heard that James Martin, he who had wounded sir John Chandos, suffered so much from his wounds that he died at Poitiers. That gallant knight only survived one day and night. God have mercy on his soul! for never since a hundred years did there exist among the English one more courteous, nor fuller of every virtue and good quality than him.

When the prince, princess, earls of Cambridge and Pembroke, and the other English knights in Guienne heard of this event, they were completely disconcerted, and said, they had now lost every thing on both sides of the sea. Sir John was sincerely regretted by his friends of each sex: and some lords of France bewailed his loss. Thus it happens through life. The English loved him for all the excellent qualities he was possessed of. The French hated him because they were afraid of him. Not but that I have heard him at the time regretted by renowned knights in France; for they said it was a great pity he was slain, and that, if he could have been taken prisoner, he was so wise and full of devices, he would have found some means of establishing a peace between France and England; and was so much beloved by the king of England and his court, that they would have believed what he should have said in preference to all others. Thus were the French and English great losers by his death, for never have I heard otherwise; but the English the most, for by his valour and prudence Guienne might have been totally recovered*.

* Sir John Chandos was buried at Mortemer. Underneath is his epitaph, from les Annales d'Aquitaine par Bouchet.

Je Jehan Chandault, des anglois capitaine.
Fort chevalier, de Poictou séneschal
Après avoir fait guerre tres lointaine
Au rois françois, tant à pied qu'à cheval.
Et pris Bertrand de Gueselin en un val,
Les Poitevins prés Lussac, me diffirent,
A Mortemer, mon corps enterrer firent,
En un cercueil elevé tout de neuf,
L'an mil trois cens avec soixante neuf.

[For the satisfaction of the English reader, we have endeavoured to imitate these rhymes as closely as a metrical version will permit. The reader must pardon their being as rude as the original.

I John Chandos, an English knight,
Séneschal of all Poictou,
Against the French king oft did fight
On foot and horseback; many slew:
Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner too
By me was taken in a vale.
At Lussac did the foe prevail;
My body then at Mortemer
In a new tomb my friends inter,
In the year of grace divine,
Thirteen hundred sixty-nine.—Ed.]

He founded and endowed the Carmelite convent at Poitiers.

"He was never married. Elizabeth and Eleanor, two

Lord Thomas Percy was appointed séneschal of Poitou after the death of sir John Chandos. His estates of St. Sauveur le Vicomte fell to the king of England, who gave them to one of his own knights, by name sir Aleyne Boxhull *, an uncommonly able man. The prince of Wales succeeded as heir to the other riches of sir John Chandos, as he was never married, and therefore had no children, to the amount of four hundred thousand francs†. Shortly afterwards, those captains who had been made prisoners at the bridge of Lussac were ransomed, and received their freedom on paying down the sums agreed on, in which the king of France assisted them. Sir Louis de St. Julien, sir William des Bourdes, and Carnet le Breton returned to their garrisons.

CHAPTER CCLXXIX.—THE LORD DE COUCY AND THE LORD DE POMMIERS ARE UNWILLING TO TAKE PART WITH EITHER SIDE IN THIS WAR.—THE LORDS DE MALEVAL AND DE MARNEIL TURN TO THE FRENCH.

At this time, there were knights in France greatly hurt at seeing this war between the two kings carried on with increasing vigour; and in particular, the lord de Coucy, who was much interested in it, as indeed he ought to be, for he held a very large estate in England, as well in his own right as in that of his wife, who was daughter of the king of England; which estate it would be necessary for him to renounce, if he wished to serve the king of France, whose kinsman and countryman he was: he therefore thought it most profitable to dissemble between the two kings, and to travel to foreign parts. He very wisely took all his measures; and, having obtained leave of the king of France, he set out with few attendants, and went to Savoy, where he was honourably received by the earl, barons and knights of that country. When he had remained there as long as he judged proper, he departed, and, continuing his road, entered Lombardy, visited the lords of Milan, the lords Galeas and lord Barnabo Visconti, when at first he was made heartily welcome by them. In like manner did sir Aimemon de Pommiers, who was one of the prince's knights, quit the duchy of Aquitaine. He declared, that during this war, he would not bear arms for one side nor the other. This knight crossed the sea to Cyprus. He visited the holy sepulchre, and travelled to several other places. At this period, sir John de Bourbon‡ came to Paris. He held some lands of the prince; and the king of France would have gladly seen him return the homage to the prince, but the count de la Marche would not listen to it. The lord de Pierre Buffiere, a Limousin knight at that time at Paris, followed his example. But two other barons and great lords in Limousin unfortunately acted otherwise: sir Louis de Maleval and sir Raymond de Marneil his nephew, who being at Paris turned Frenchmen, and from their fortresses afterwards made a disastrous war on the prince.

The king of England and his council were much vexed at this; for it appeared that the barons and knights of Guienne thus changed their sides without any constraint, and of their own free will. The king therefore, by the advice of his council, ordered letters to be written and sealed with his seal, which he ordered to be sent by two or three of his knights, into Poitou and Aquitaine, to publish them in all the cities, castles and principal towns.

At this time, sir Caponnel de Caponnal was delivered from his prison at Agen, in exchange for one of the prince's knights, by name sir Thomas Banaster, who had been taken in a skirmish before Perigord. But the counsellor of state who had been sent with him remained prisoner in Agen, and sir Caponnel returned to France. We will report the letter which the king of England sent into Aquitaine.

of his sisters, (the latter being the wife of sir Roger Collins) and Isabella, daughter to Margaret the third sister, at that time married to sir John Annesley, were found to be his next heirs."—*Barnes.*

* Sir Aleyne Boxhull was the 52d knight of the Garter, constable of the Tower of London, custos of the parks of Clarendon, &c. He lies buried near St. Erkenwalde's shrine in St. Paul's church, about the year 1380.

Sir Aleyne Boxhull had a commission to restrain the excesses of Charles de Navarre in Normandy, and to put the castle in good repair, dated the 24th November, 1370. —*Rymer.*

† I should imagine Froissart must mean that the prince inherited all he possessed in Aquitaine, &c. but his sister's children were his heirs in England.

‡ "Sir John de Bourbon." He was son of sir James de Bourbon who combated the free companies, chapter CCLXVII., and was count de la Marche.—*Denys Sauvage—Annot.* 120.

CHAPTER CCLXXX.—THE FORM OF THE LETTER WHICH THE ENGLISH KING SENT INTO AQUITAINE.—CHATELHERAUT IS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH, AND BELLEPERCHE IS BESIEGED.

EDWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to all who shall see or hear these present letters: know, that we having considered the matter of the boundaries of our lordship of Aquitaine, as well as its extent under various lords, have had information relative to some oppressions done, or intended to have been done, by our very dear son the prince of Wales, to this lordship aforesaid: for which cause we hold it a duty to endeavour to obviate and remedy any such improper acts, and to conciliate all hatred and rancour that may have arisen between us and our loyal friends and subjects. We therefore announce, pronounce and ordain, out of our deliberate and perfect good will, and by the resolutions of our council for this cause assembled, that our very dear son the prince of Wales desist from all sorts of exactions, done or about to be done; and that he restore and make restitution to all of each sex who may have been oppressed by him, or by his officers in Aquitaine, with all costs, fees and expenses that they may have incurred under the name of these taxes, aids or fouages. And if any of our feal subjects and friends, as well prelates as other members of the church, universities, barons, knights, townships, inhabitants of cities and large towns have turned, or may be willing to turn, through bad information or weak advice, to the party of our adversary the king of France, we pardon this misdeed, if, after having read this letter, they shall return to us within one month from the date hereof. And we entreat those our loyal and trusty friends, that they so comport themselves not to draw on them any reproach as to their faith and homage; which thing would greatly displease us, and with sorrow should we perceive it. If our very dear son the prince of Wales, or any of his dependants, complain of being hurt or oppressed, either now or in former times, we will have such oppressions amended; so that in reason it may be sufficient to encourage love, peace and concord between us and those within our boundaries in our aforesaid lordship. And, in order that these things may be publicly known, we will that each person have a copy of this present letter, the conditions of which we have solemnly sworn to observe, and not break through, upon the body of Jesus Christ, in the presence of our very dear son John, duke of Lancaster, William, earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Hereford, Walter Manny, the bastard of Percy, lords Neville, Bourchier and Stafford, Richard Pembridge, Roger Beauchamp, Guy Brian, the lords Mohun and Delaware, Aleyne Boxhull and Richard Sterry, knights. Given at our palace of Westminster, the fifth day of November, in the forty-fourth year of our reign *.

This letter was carried by two of the king of England's knights into the principality and duchy of Aquitaine, proclaimed and published every where. Copies of it were promptly and secretly sent to Paris, to the viscount de la Rochechouart, the lords de Maleval and de Marneil, as well to several others of the French nation as to those who had turned to that interest. Notwithstanding the letter they had proclaimed in the country of Aquitaine and elsewhere, I never heard that it had any effect, or that any one was prevented by it from following his own inclinations; but that more turned to the party of France, and the French daily advanced in their conquests.

As soon as sir Louis de St. Julien was returned to la Roche-Posay, sir William des Bourdes to his garrison of La Haye in Touraine, and Carnet le Breton † to St. Salvin, they secretly planned a new expedition of men at arms, and companions well mounted on whom they could depend. They set off to scale the walls of the town of Chatelheraut, and, arriving there at early morn, would have made prisoner sir Louis de Harcourt, who was sleeping at his hôtel in the town, not any way suspecting such an enterprise, if he had not fled with his

* This letter is not in Rymer.

† His name was Jean de Keranlouet. In the proofs attached to the Histoire de la Bretagne, are several acquittances from Jean de Keranlouet, in which he is styled, Ecuyer, Huissier, d'Armes du Roi notre Sire, Capitaine de la Ville de la Roche-Posay, for his own pay as well as for his soldiers. He was to conduct four hundred combatants into Guienne 1371; and also to march to the assistance of Moncontour.

bed-clothes, without shoes or stockings, from house to house, and from garden to garden, in great dread of being taken by the French, who had scaled the walls of the town, until at last he arrived at the bridge of Chatelheraut, which his people had fortified: there he saved himself, and remained a considerable time. The Bretons and French, however, were masters of the whole town, and placed a strong garrison in it, of which Carnet was captain. This garrison advanced daily to engage with those who still kept possession of the bridge; and many a gallant skirmish and feat of arms were performed.

Duke Louis de Bourbon was much enraged that the English and free companies should keep possession of his country, the Bourbonnois, and that Ortigo, Bernard de Wist and Bernard de la Salle, should hold his castle of Belleperche, and detain his mother prisoner in it: he resolved, therefore, to set on foot an expedition of men at arms, and lay siege to the castle of Belleperche, which, he declared he would not quit until he had re-taken it. He spoke of it to the king of France, who instantly promised to assist him in the siege with men and money. He left Paris, having ordered his rendezvous at Moulins in the Bourbonnois, and at St. Poursaint *, whither there came a numerous body of men at arms and able combatants. The lord de Beaujeu came to serve him, with three hundred lances: the lords de Villars and de Roucillon, with one hundred; and numbers of barons and knights from Auvergne and Forêts, of which he was lord paramount, through the lady his wife, the daughter of that gallant lord Beroald count dauphin. The duke arrived and fixed his quarters before the castle of Belleperche, where he built a large and strong redoubt, in which his men might be sheltered every night, and skirmish with the garrison during the day. He had also brought and pointed against the castle four large machines, which kept continually throwing, night and day, stones and logs of wood, so that they broke through the roofs of all the houses, and beat down the greater part of the towers. The mother of the duke of Bourbon, who was a prisoner within the castle, was much alarmed, and sent frequently to entreat her son to abstain from this mode of attack, for these machines annoyed her exceedingly; but the duke, who knew for certain that these requests came from his enemies, replied that he would not desist happen what would.

When the garrison found themselves so much harassed, and that the French force was daily increasing; for sir Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, had just arrived with a large body of men at arms; they resolved to send and acquaint sir John Devereux, séneschal of Limousin, who resided at La Souteraine †, two short days' journey from them, of their distress, and who knew that, when these lords of Poitou and Gascony had made an excursion from Quercy, it was upon the faith, that if they should take any castles in France, and were besieged in them, they would be assisted. They wrote their letters, and sent them off in the night by one of their servants to the castle of sir John Devereux. Sir John recognized the messenger by the tokens he mentioned, and, having read the letters, said, "that he would most willingly acquit himself of his engagement, and that the more effectually to do so, he would immediately wait on the prince and the lords who were with him, at Angoulême, and exert himself so that the garrison of Belleperche should be reinforced."

Sir John Devereux set out, after having given proper directions respecting his castle and garrison to his officers, and, being arrived at Angoulême, found there the prince, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke, sir John Montague, sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Felton, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the captal de Buch, and many others. He explained to them, how these free companies in the castle of Belleperche were besieged and much straitened by the French under the duke de Bourbon and the count de St. Pol ‡. The lords, on hearing this statement, replied with great cheerfulness, that they must be relieved, according to the promises which had been made to them. This business was entrusted to the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke; and the prince issued a summons to all his vassals, who, in sight of it, were to assemble in the town of Limoges. Upon which, knights, squires, free companies, and men at arms, marched to that place, according to their

* St. Poursaint,—a town in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont.

† La Souteraine,—a town in Limousin, about two leagues from Limoges.

‡ Denys Sauvage thinks it ought to be the count de Sancerre, as the count de St. Pol's name has not been mentioned before. I should be of this opinion, if every copy I have, printed and MS., did not say St. Pol.

orders; and, when they were mustered, they amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred lances and about three thousand others. They marched to Belleperche, where they encamped themselves opposite to the French. The French kept themselves close in their redoubt, which was as strong and as well fortified as a good town might be. The English foragers were at a loss where to seek for provisions, so that, whenever it was possible, some were brought to them from Poitiers.

Sir Louis de Sancerre, marshal of France, gave exact information of the number and condition of the English to the king of France, and to those knights who had remained at Paris: he sent also a proclamation, which he had affixed to the gates of the palace. It ran in these words: "Ye knights and squires who are anxious of renown, and seek for deeds of arms, I inform you for a truth, that the earl of Cambridge and the earl of Pembroke are arrived with their troops at Belleperche, with the intention of raising the siege which we have so long made: we have so much straitened the garrison of the castle that it must immediately surrender, or our enemies beat us in a pitched battle. Come therefore hither, directly, for you will have opportunities of exhibiting your prowess in arms; and know that the English are encamped so much apart, and in such positions, that they may be wonderfully annoyed."

Upon this exhortation and request of the marshal, several good knights and squires of France advanced to those parts; and I know myself that the governor of Blois, named Alart de Toustanne, went thither with fifty lances; as did also the count de Porcien, and his brother sir Hugh de Porcien.

CHAPTER CCLXXXI.—THE EARLS OF CAMBRIDGE AND PEMBROKE CARRY OFF THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WITH THE GARRISON OF BELLEPERCHE.—THE DUKE OF BOURBON TAKES POSSESSION OF THAT CASTLE.

When the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke had remained before the French army at Belleperche fifteen days, and did not see any signs of the French quitting their redoubt to fight with them, they called a council, in which they resolved to send to them a herald, to know what they meant to do. Chandos the herald was ordered on this business, and it was repeated to him what he was to say: he therefore went to them, and said; "My masters and lords send me to you, and inform you by my mouth, that they are quite astonished you have allowed them to remain fifteen days here, and you have not sallied out of your fort to give them battle. They therefore tell you, that if you will come forth to meet them, they will permit you to choose any plot of ground for the field of battle; and let God give the event of it to whomsoever he pleases." The duke of Bourbon made to this the following reply: "Chandos, you will tell your masters, that I shall not combat as they may wish or desire. I know well enough where they are: but for all that, I will not quit my fort nor raise the siege, until I shall have re-conquered the castle of Belleperche." "My lord," answered the herald, "I will not fail to report what you have said."

The herald set out, and on his return gave the duke's answer, which was not very agreeable. They called another council, and when it was over, gave to Chandos a proposal, for him to carry to the French. He did so, and said: "Gentlemen, my lords and masters let you know, that since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve o'clock in the morning, you my lord duke of Bourbon, will see your lady-mother placed on horseback, and carried away. Consider this, and rescue her if you can." The duke answered: "Chandos, Chandos, tell your masters, they carry on a most disgraceful war, when they seize an ancient lady from among her domestics, and carry her away like a prisoner. It was never seen formerly, that in the warfare between gentlemen, ladies or damsels were treated as prisoners. It will certainly be very unpleasant to me to see my lady-mother thus carried off: we must recover her as soon as we can: but the castle they cannot take with them: that, therefore, we will have. Since you have twice come hither with propositions, you will bear this from me to your masters, that if they will draw out fifty men, we will draw out the same number, and let the victory fall where

it may." "My lord," replied the herald, "I will relate to them everything you have told me."

At these words, Chandos left them, and returned to the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke and the other lords, and told them the offer the duke of Bourbon had sent them. They were advised not to accept it. Preparations were therefore made for the departure of the army, and to carry off with them the lady and the garrison, which had been exceedingly harassed by the machines of the enemy. When the appointed day arrived, they ordered their trumpets to sound at early morning: upon which every one armed himself and drew up, both horse and foot, in order of battle, as if they expected a combat, with their banners and pennons flying before them. In this manner were they arrayed; and on this day sir John Montacute *, nephew to the earl of Salisbury, displayed his banner. They had ordered their trumpets and minstrels to sound very loud; and at nine o'clock the garrison and madame de Bourbon came out of the castle of Belleperche. They mounted her on a palfrey handsomely equipped for her. She was accompanied by her ladies and damsels. The English army marched away at mid-day. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt and sir John Devereux † attended upon madame de Bourbon; and in this manner they returned to the principality, where the lady remained a considerable time a prisoner to the free companions at La Roche Vaucloix in Limousin‡.

This capture never pleased the prince, who, whenever it was mentioned, said, that if any others than the free companies had taken the duchess, she should instantly have had her liberty: and when the captains of these free companies spoke to him on the subject, he told them to make some sort of an exchange, for him to get back his knight, sir Simon Burley §, whom the French had taken. You may suppose the duke of Bourbon was greatly incensed when he saw his lady mother carried away from the castle of Belleperche in the Bourbonnois. Soon after her departure, he marched from the redoubt, and sent his men to take possession of his own castle of Belleperche, which the English had left quite empty. Thus ended this grand expedition, and each withdrew to his usual place of residence. The French who were under the duke of Bourbon, retired to the garrisons from whence they had come. The duke returned with his knights and squires to the king of France, who received him with great joy, and entertained him handsomely. The earl of Cambridge went to his brother at Angoulême; and the earl of Pembroke and his troops to Mortagne in Poitou. Those free companies and men at arms who had been in Belleperche went into Poitou and Saintonge, seeking for provisions, and committing many disgraceful acts, from which they had not the inclination to refrain themselves, nor power to restrain others.

Sir Robert Knolles, shortly after this, left the prince, and returned to his castle of Derval in Brittany, where he had not been a month, before the king of England sent him positive orders to set out, without delay, and cross the sea to him in England, as he would find his profit in it. Sir Robert very willingly obeyed this summons: having made his preparations, he embarked and landed in Cornwall, at St. Michael's Mount, and thence continued his road until he arrived at Windsor, where he found the king, who was right glad to see him, as were all the English barons; for they thought they should have much need of him, as he was so great a captain and leader of men at arms.

* Son of sir John Montacute before-mentioned, and third earl of Salisbury.—Ed.

† Sir John Devereux—banneret—76th knight of the Garter, a baron from the 8th to the 16th Richard II. —See Dugdale.—Steward of the household to Richard II. constable and governor of the cinque ports. Died suddenly 16th Richard II. Buried Grayfriars, London.

"Sir Nicholas Louvaine held Penshurst 44th Edward III. and married Margaret, eldest daughter of John Vere, earl of Oxford,—re-married to Henry lord Beaumont, and after to sir John Devereux, knight of the Garter, lord warden of the cinque ports, steward of the household 11th Richard II.; in whose 16th year he had licence to embattle his mansion-house at Penshurst, and his daughter and heiress was married to William lord Fitzwalter, but he only enjoyed this manor in right of his wife."—*Anstis MSS. from Philpot's Kent*, p. 270.

‡ In the curious life of the duke de Bourbon, printed at Paris, 1612, from old MSS. the account of this siege is very differently related, and entirely to the honour of the French. The duchess is there said to be carried prisoner to the tower of Bron near to Brouage, on the sea-coast.

§ Sir Simon Burley—knight—was 75th knight of the Garter, warden of the cinque ports, governor of Windsor and Dover castles. Beheaded 1388.—See *Hollingshed.*

CHAPTER CCLXXXII.—THE FOUR BROTHERS OF FRANCE HAVE A MEETING.—THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR.—THE MOTHER OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON OBTAINS HER LIBERTY.—A TREATY ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

At this time the duke of Anjou set out from Toulouse, and marched in great array through the kingdom of France; he continued his route until he arrived in Paris, where he found the king and his other brothers the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who received him with infinite pleasure. The four brothers, during the time they were together at Paris, held many councils and consultations on the state of the kingdom, and in what manner they should best act during the ensuing summer. It was determined to raise two large armies, and make an incursion to Aquitaine. The duke of Anjou was to command one of these armies, which should enter Guienne by La Réole and Bergerac; the duke of Berry the other towards Limoges and Quercy, when these two armies were to unite and march to Angoulême, to besiege therein the prince of Wales. It was also proposed and determined in these consultations to recal that valiant knight sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who had so gallantly and loyally fought for the crown of France, and entreat him to accept the charge of constable of France.

When king Charles, his brothers, and his council, had completely arranged their future plans, and had enjoyed themselves together for some time, the duke of Anjou, early in May, took his leave of them, to return the first to his government, for he had the longest journey to make. He was escorted by the barons and knights of France, being much beloved by them, and pursued his journey until he came to Montpelier, where he tarried upwards of a month, and then returned to Toulouse. He directly collected as many men at arms as he was able, wherever he could hear of them, and soon had a large force from those who had kept the field guarding the frontiers of the English in Rouergue and Quercy: for le petit Mechin, Naudon de Pans, Perrot de Savoye, le bourg Camus, Antoine le Negre, Lanuit, Jacques de Bray, and numbers of their companions, had remained all the year at Cahors, where they had ravaged and ruined the country. On the other hand, the duke of Berry went to Bourges in Berry, where he had issued a grand summons to all knights and squires of France and Burgundy. The duke of Bourbon had gone into his own country, where he had given orders concerning this intended expedition, and had collected a large body of knights and squires from the country of Forêts and the Bourbonnois. His brother, count Peter d'Alençon, made preparations in another part, and with good effect.

Sir Guy de Blois, at this period, was returned from Prussia, where he had been made a knight, and displayed his banner in an enterprise against the enemies of God. As soon as this gallant knight arrived in Hainault, and was informed of the expedition which his cousins of France were about to undertake in Aquitaine, he made immediate preparations for joining it; and, setting out from Hainault with all his array, he arrived at Paris to present himself to the king. He was gladly received by him, and ordered to join the duke of Berry with a command of knights, squires, and men at arms in the expedition. Sir Guy de Blois, therefore, left the city of Paris, and rode to Orleans in his way to Berry.

In like manner as the king of France had arranged his armies, so did the king of England by two armies and two expeditions. It was ordered that the duke of Lancaster should march with four hundred men at arms and as many archers into Aquitaine, to reinforce his brothers; for it was thought that the greatest force of the enemy would be sent to that country. The king and his council determined that another army of men at arms and archers should enter Picardy under sir Robert Knolles, who was perfectly capable of such a command, having learnt it under the most able masters for a considerable time. Sir Robert, at the request of the king, willingly undertook this expedition: he promised to cross the sea to Calais, to pass through the whole kingdom of France, and to fight with the French, if they were bold enough to meet in the field. Of this he seemed quite certain, and made wonderful preparations for himself, as well as for all those who were to accompany him.

The mother of the duke of Bourbon about this time obtained her liberty, being exchanged for sir Simon Burley, the prince of Wales's knight. Sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt was very instrumental in bringing this business to an end, for which the duke of Bourbon and the queen

of France testified their obligations to him. There had been, for a considerable time, long negotiations carried on between the king of France and the king of Navarre, who resided at Cherbourg. The ministers of both kings managed the business in such a manner that they informed the king of France he had not any reason for waging war against his brother-in-law the king of Navarre. They added, that for the present he had enough on his hands with his war with England, and that he had better leave things as they then were, lest greater evils might arise; for, if the king of Navarre should consent to admit the English into his forts in Coutantin, they would harass the country of Normandy most grievously, which was a thing to be well considered and attended to. Upon receiving this information and advice, the king of France consented to a peace. He went to the town of Rouen, where all the treaties were drawn up and confirmed. The archbishop of Rouen, the count d'Alençon, the count de Sallebruche, sir William des Dormans* and sir Robert Lorris, waited on the king of Navarre, whom they found at Vernon. He made for them grand dinners and magnificent feasts; after which they conducted him to the king of France at Rouen, when these treaties and alliances were again read, sworn to, confirmed, and sealed. It seems that the king of Navarre, by the articles of this peace, was to renounce whatever engagements he might have entered into with the king of England; and that he himself, on his return to Navarre, was to declare war against him. For greater security of the affection between him and the king of France, he was to leave in his hands his two sons, Charles and Peter, as hostages. Upon this treaty being concluded, the two kings left Rouen, and came to Paris, where there were again great feasts. When they had sufficiently enjoyed and amused themselves, they took leave of each other. The king of Navarre quitted the king of France in the most amicable manner, leaving his two children with their uncle. He set out for Montpellier, and returned through that country to Foix, and from thence to his own kingdom of Navarre.

We will now return to what was passing in Aquitaine.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIII.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN LEAVES SPAIN AND ARRIVES AT TOULOUSE, WHERE THE DUKE OF ANJOU RECEIVES HIM WITH GREAT JOY.—THEY TAKE TOGETHER SEVERAL CASTLES FROM THE ENGLISH.

You know, as we have before mentioned it, that the duke of Anjou had been in France, and that, according to arrangements then made, upon his return to Languedoc, he was to invade, with his whole force, Guienne; for he never loved the prince of Wales nor the English, and indeed made no pretensions to that effect. Before he left Paris, the king of France, by his desire, had sent letters and ambassadors to the king of Castile, to request he would send back sir Bertrand du Guesclin, for by so doing he would very much oblige him. At the same time, the king and duke of Anjou wrote most friendly letters to sir Bertrand himself. The envoys made haste on their journey, and found king Henry with sir Bertrand in the city of Leon in Spain, to whom they delivered their letters and the message from the king of France. The king of Spain never wished to detain sir Bertrand, nor would have forgiven himself for so doing. Sir Bertrand therefore made his preparations in haste, and, taking leave of king Henry, set out with his attendants, and continued his road until he came to Toulouse, where the duke of Anjou was. He had already there assembled a very large force of men at arms, knights, and squires, and waited for nothing but the arrival of sir Bertrand du Guesclin: so that upon his coming the duke of Anjou and all the French were mightily rejoiced. Orders were given to march from Toulouse, and invade the territories of the prince.

The duke of Lancaster at this time was arrived at Southampton, with four hundred men at arms, and an equal number of archers. He embarked them and every necessary provision and stores on board ships, with the intent of sailing for Bordeaux, provided they might have a favourable wind. With the duke, and under his command, were the lord Roos (of Ham-

* Sir William des Dormans was chancellor of France.

lake), sir Michael de la Pole*, sir Robert le Roux†, sir John de St. Lo, and sir William Beauchamp‡.

The duke of Anjou left the city of Toulouse with a great and well ordered array. He was attended by the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the count de Perigord, the count de Comminges, the viscount de Carmaign, the count de Lisle, the viscount de Bruniguel, the viscount de Narbonne, the viscount de Talar, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Pincornet, sir Bertrand Tande, the séneschal of Toulouse, the séneschal of Carcassonne, the séneschal of Beaucaire and several others, amounting in the whole to upwards of two thousand lances, knights and squires, and six thousand footmen, armed with pikes, and shields. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was appointed to the command of all this force. They directed their march through the Agénois; and being joined by more than a thousand combatants from the free companies, who had waited for them all the winter in Quercy, they made for Agen.

The first fort they came to was that of Moissac§. The whole country was so frightened at the arrival of the duke of Anjou, and the large army he had brought, that they trembled before him, and neither towns nor castles had any inclination to hold out against him. When he arrived before Moissac, the inhabitants instantly surrendered and turned to the French. They then advanced to Agen, which followed this example. They afterwards marched towards Tonneins‖ on the Garonne; and the French went on unmolested, following the course of the river Garonne, in order to have plenty of forage: they came to Port St. Marie¶, which immediately surrendered. The French placed men at arms and garrisons in all these towns. The town and castle of Tonneins did the same, in which they placed a captain and twenty lances to guard it. They afterwards took the road to Montpezat** and Aiguillon††, burning and destroying all the country. When they came before Montpezat, which is a good town and has a strong castle, those within were so much frightened by the duke of Anjou that they directly opened their gates. The French then advanced to the strong castle of Aiguillon, where they only remained four days; for then the garrison surrendered to the duke, not being such men as sir Walter Manny commanded, when he defended it against John duke of Normandy, afterwards king of France. The inhabitants of Bergerac were very much astonished at their having so done: for the governors, at this time, of Bergerac, were the captal de Buch and sir Thomas Felton, who had with them one hundred lances, English and Gascons.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIV.—THE DUKE OF BERRY INVADES LIMOUSIN.

Just as the duke of Anjou and his army had invaded the territories of the prince by the way of Toulouse and Agen, so did the duke of Berry with his army enter the Limousin. He had full twelve hundred lances and three thousand footmen, who conquered towns and castles, and burnt and destroyed the country they marched through.

With the duke of Berry were, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, sir Guy de Blois, sir Robert d'Alençon, count du Perche, sir John d'Armagnac, sir Hugh Dauphin, sir John de Villemur, the lords de Beaujeu, de Villars, de Senac, sir Geoffry de Montagu, sir Louis de Maleval, sir Raymond de Marneil, sir John de Boulogne, his uncle sir Geoffry de Boulogne, the viscount d'Uzes, the lords de Sully, de Talenton, de Confant, Dappechere, Dacon, sir John Damenue, Ymbaut de Peschin, and many other good barons, knights and squires. This army entered Limousin, where they did infinite mischief, and advanced to besiege the city of Limoges. In this city were a body of English, whom sir Hugh Calverley the séneschal of Limousin had placed there; but he was not the master, for the bishop of the city governed it, in whom the prince of Wales put much confidence, looking upon him as his steady friend.

* Sir Michael de la Pole, afterwards earl of Suffolk, and favourite of Richard II.—See Dugdale.

† Barnes calls him sir Robert Roe.

‡ Sir William Beauchamp, —Lord Abergavenny.—*Dugdale.*

§ Moissac,—a town in Quercy, twelve leagues from Agen,

‖ Tonneins, a town of Agenois, on the Garonne forty-one leagues from Toulouse.

¶ Port St. Marie, on the Garonne, below Agen.

** Montpezat, a village in Guienne, near Tonneins.

†† Aiguillon, a town of Guienne, one league from Tonneins.

The prince of Wales, who kept his court at Angoulême, had received information of these two grand expeditions of the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, and how they had invaded his principality at two different places. It was also told the prince, that as far as could be imagined, they were marching to form a junction near Angoulême, to besiege him and the princess therein, and advised him to consider of it. The prince, who was valour itself, and full of resources, replied, that "his enemies should never find him shut up in town or castle, and that he would immediately march and take the field against them." Clerks and knights were instantly employed to write and send off letters to loyal friends and subjects in Poitou, Saintonge, La Rochelle, Rouergue, Quercy, Gorre, Bigorre and Agénois, commanding them, with as many men as they could bring, to meet him at the town of Cognac. His rendezvous was fixed there; and he soon left Angoulême, attended by the princess and his young son Richard.

But during the time this summons was sent, and every one making his preparations, the French kept advancing, burning and ravaging the country. They came before Linde, a good town situated upon the river Dordogne, one league from Bergerac: a valiant knight of Gascony, named sir Thonius de Batefol*, was the governor of it. The duke of Anjou, the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, the count de Perigord, the viscount de Carmaing, and all the other barons with their men, came thither and formed the siege in a regular manner, saying they would not depart without having taken it.

This town was large, strong and well provided with all sorts of provision and artillery: for the captal de Buch and sir Thomas Felton had been there a fortnight before, and had reinforced it. They thought that Linde was very capable of holding out, if those within were determined, considering the assistance they might draw from Bergerac, should there be occasion. But the inhabitants were so wonderfully inclined to the French, that they entered into a negotiation with the duke of Anjou, and listened to his promises, which made them press the governor, sir Thonius, that he also consented to be a true Frenchman, upon consideration of receiving a large sum of money, and having a good annuity from the duke for his life. Everything being thus settled, the town was to be delivered up to the French. This treaty was, however, known at Bergerac the evening preceding the day of surrender. The earl of Cambridge had just arrived there with two hundred lances, and was present when this information was given. The captal and sir Thomas Felton were thunderstruck at the intelligence, and said they would be present at this surrender. Having ordered their troops, they set out from Bergerac after midnight, and rode towards the town of Linde. They came there by day-break, and, ordering one of the gates to be opened, pushed forward without stopping until they arrived at the other gate, through which the French were to enter: indeed, they were already assembled there in crowds, for sir Thonius was about to allow them to enter the gate. On seeing which, the captal, grasping his sword, dismounted, as did all his troops, and, advancing to sir Thonius, said: "Sir Thonius, thou wicked traitor, thou shalt be the first dead man: and never more shalt thou commit another treason." Upon which he thrust his sword into him, and with so much force that it went through his body and came out upwards of a foot on the other side, and struck him down dead. The French, on seeing the banners of the captal de Buch and sir Thomas Felton, immediately retreated, having failed in their attempt.

Thus did the town continue English, but was in great danger of being burnt, and the inhabitants slain, because they had consented to this treaty. They excused themselves wisely and prudently, saying that what they had done and consented to was through fear, and principally through their governor, who had brought this business about. The lords appeared to believe all this, and the inhabitants remained in peace: but the captal and sir Thomas Felton continued in the town as long as the duke of Anjou lay before it, and until he had taken another road.

We will now speak a little of the state and condition of England, for that is now necessary; and of the invasion of France by sir Robert Knolles.

* Sir Thonius de Batefol. It is so in all my printed copies, but otherwise in the MSS. One has *Thomas*. Q. If it should not be so. [Or rather *Anthony*? though Lord Berners and Barnes both read Thomas.—Ed.]

CHAPTER CCLXXXV.—A TRUCE IS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES OVERRUNS, BURNS AND RAVAGES THE WHOLE COUNTRIES OF PICARDY AND THE VERMANDOIS.

When sir Robert Knolles was about to leave England, there were many councils held between the English and Scots. They were so well conducted by the able ministers of both kingdoms, that a truce was established between each king, kingdom, subjects and adherents, for nine years. The Scots, by this treaty, might arm and hire themselves out like to others for subsidies, taking which side they pleased, either English or French: by which means sir Robert increased his army with one hundred lances*. When sir Robert and all who were to accompany him were ready, and had arrived at Dover, they passed the sea, he himself crossing the last, and landed at Calais, where, on his disembarking, he was received with great joy by the governor, sir Nicholas Stambourn, and his brother soldiers. When they had refreshed themselves for seven days, and had formed their plans with respect to the parts of France into which they should carry their attack, they ordered their baggage and stores to advance, and took the field in a very handsome manner. They were about fifteen hundred lances and four thousand archers, including the Welshmen. Sir Robert was accompanied, according to the king's orders, by sir Thomas Grantson†, sir Aleyne Boxhull, sir Gilbert Gifford, the lord de Salvatier‡, sir John Bourchier§, sir William de Merville‖ sir Geoffry Urswell¶, and many other knights and squires, expert and able men at arms, who marched this first day pretty near to Fiennes**.

Sir Moreau de Fiennes, who at that time was constable of France, resided in his castle with a great number of men at arms, knights, and squires, all prepared and ready to receive the English. On the morrow, when they advanced towards the castle and drew up to the attack, they found they should not gain anything, so they marched off through the country of Guines, and entered that of Faukenbourg, burning everything on their road, and came before the city of Terouenne, but did not attack it: for it was so well garrisoned with men at arms that it would have been only lost trouble. They continued their march through the country of the Terouennois, to enter Artois; and, as they only advanced three or four leagues a-day on account of their baggage and infantry, they took up their quarters in the large villages at the early hour of mid-day or noon. Thus did they advance with their whole army until they came before the city of Arras. The lords and principal captains were lodged in the town of Mount St. Eloy, near Arras, and their army in the environs; whence they pillaged and ravaged all the country round, as far as they dared to extend themselves. The king of France had at this season ordered a number of men at arms to the different cities, fortresses, large towns, castles, bridges, and fords, to guard and defend those which should be attacked, and which they were not to quit on any account.

When sir Robert Knolles had refreshed himself and his army for two days, he quitted St. Eloy, and marched from before Arras in good array. Sir William de Merville and sir Geoffry Urswell, who were the marshals of the army, could not resist a wish to see those of Arras a little nearer. They quitted, therefore, the battalion, and advanced with about two hundred lances and four hundred archers, as far as the barriers of the suburbs of Arras, which they found well guarded by men at arms and cross-bows. The lord Charles de Poitiers was at that

* Mezeray says, this truce was for three years—Buchanan, fourteen,—Froissart, nine.—*Note in Barnes*, p. 800.

I cannot find this truce in the Fœdera. On the contrary, there is an offensive and defensive treaty with the king of France, dated at Edinburgh castle, 28th October, 1371, in which it expressly mentions that no truce is to be entered into, without including both France and Scotland, by either of the parties.—For more particulars, see Rymer.

† Sir Thomas Grantson,—82d knight of the Garter.—See Grandison in Dugdale.

‡ "Le sire de Salvatier." Q.

§ Sir John Bourchier,—86th knight of the Garter—a baron.—See Dugdale.

‖ "De Merville." Q. if not Neville. I believe it to be sir William Neville, one of the sons of Ralph lord Neville, of Raby.—See Dugdale.

Barnes names sir *Hugh* Meinel, sir Walter Fitzwalter, and sir John Mentareworth.

¶ I have called this person *Urswell*, after Barnes; but, as Froissart writes it *Ourcelay*, it is probably one of the Worsley family. It may also be sir Hugh Wrottesley, spelled *Worthesley* in Mills, who was 19th knight of the Garter, and perhaps with more probability.

** Fiennes,—a village in the Boulonnois, generality of Amiens.

time in the town with madame d'Artois, but he made not any attempt to sally out on the English or otherwise attack them. The English, having finished their course, had halted a short time at the barriers; and, seeing no appearance of any one coming to them, they set out on their return to the main army, who were waiting for them drawn up in a line of battle. However, before they departed, they wished to leave a remembrance behind, and set fire to the suburbs of Arras, in order to entice the inhabitants out of the town, who had not any good will to do so. This fire did much mischief, for it burnt a large monastery of preaching friars, cloisters, and all that was without the town. After this, the English continued their march, taking the road to Bapaume*, burning and ravaging the whole country. The army was constantly in motion, and having entered the Vermandois, arrived at Roye†; which town they burnt, and then marched towards Ham‡ in Vermandois. All the inhabitants of the flat country had retired into this town, and into St. Quentin and Peronne, carrying with them everything portable. The English found nothing but barns full of unthreshed corn, for it was now after August. They advanced by easy marches, without any labour or fatigue, until they came to a rich country, where they haltod for two or three days. During this time, sir Robert Knolles sent parties to a town or castle which commanded the surrounding country, and the marshals, having obtained a parley with the governors, asked, "How much will you give us in ready money for all this country, if we will not despoil it?" A treaty and composition was entered into with sir Robert, and a large sum of florins paid down. This country was respited from being burnt. Sir Robert gained by this treaty a sum amounting to one hundred thousand francs, for which he was afterwards ill at court, and accused to the king of English for not having done his duty faithfully, as I shall fully relate in the continuance of this history.

The lands of the lord de Coucy were unmolested; and never did the English hurt man or woman, nor take from them a farthing, who said, "I belong to the lord de Coucy." They marched unto the good town of Noyon§, which was well provided with men at arms, and halted in the neighbourhood: they made their approaches very near, to see if it were possible for them to carry it by assault, but found it well fortified, and able to defend itself should there be occasion. Sir Robert was lodged in the abbey of Orcamp‖, and his men in the neighbourhood. They advanced one day in order of battle to the walls of the city, to see if the garrison and inhabitants would issue forth, but in vain.

There was a Scots knight in the English army who performed a most gallant deed of arms. He quitted his troop, with his lance in its rest, and mounted on his courser, followed only by his page; when, sticking spurs into his horse, he was soon up the mountain and at the barriers. The name of this knight was sir John Assueton¶, a very valiant and able man, perfectly master of his profession. When he was arrived at the barriers of Noyon, he dismounted, and, giving his horse to his page, said, "Quit not this place:" then, grasping his spear, he advanced to the barriers, and leaped over them. There were on the inside some good knights of that country, such as sir John de Roye, sir Launcelot de Lorris, and ten or twelve others, who were astonished at this action, and wondered what he would do next: however they received him well. The Scots knight, addressing them, said; "Gentlemen, I am come to see you; for, as you do not vouchsafe to come out beyond your barriers, I condescend to visit you. I wish to try my knighthood against yours, and you will conquer me if you can." After this, he gave many grand strokes with his lance, which they returned him. He continued in this situation alone against them all, skirmishing and fighting most gallantly, upwards of an hour. He wounded one or two of their knights; and they had so much pleasure in this combat, they frequently forgot themselves. The inhabitants looked from above the gates and top of the walls with wonder. They might have done him much hurt with their arrows, if they had so willed: but no: the French knights had forbidden it. Whilst he was thus engaged, his page came close to the barriers, mounted on his courser, and

* Bapaume,—a strong town of Artois, six leagues from Arras.

† Roye,—a strong town in Picardy, eighteen leagues from Arras.

‡ Ham,—a town in Picardy, on the Somme, six leagues from Roye.

§ Noyon,—now a village in Picardy, diocese of Amiens.

‖ Orcamp, or St. Anne,—a village in Picardy, near Noyon.

¶ Sir John Assueton. Probably Seton.

said to him aloud, in his own language, "My lord, you had better come away: it is time, for our army is on its march." The knight, who had heard him, made ready to follow his advice; and, after he had given two or three thrusts to clear his way, he seized his spear, and leaped again over the barriers without any hurt, and, armed as he was, jumped up behind the page on his courser. When he was thus mounted, he said to the French, "Adieu, gentlemen: many thanks to you," and spurring his steed, soon rejoined his companions. This gallant feat of sir John Assueton was highly prized by all manner of persons.

CHAPTER CCLXXXVI.—THE GARRISON OF NOYON MAKE THE ENGLISH PRISONERS WHO HAD SET FIRE TO PONT-L'EVEQUE.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS FOR SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.

Sir Robert Knolles and his army, on their departure from the town of Noyon, set fire to Pont-l'Evêque on the river Oise, where there were several handsome hotels. Those knights and squires in the town of Noyon were exceedingly angry at this proceeding, and, understanding that sir Robert and his forces had proceeded, left the city of Noyon with about fifty lances, and came so well in time to the town of Pont-l'Evêque, that they found there those who had burnt it, and others occupied in the pillage. They were attacked most furiously, and the greater part of them slain or made prisoners. The French took more than sixty horses, and rescued many prisoners whom the enemy intended carrying off. Several good houses would have been burnt if they had not come there so opportunely. They returned to Noyon with upwards of fifteen English prisoners, whom they beheaded.

The English continued their march in battle array, intending to enter the Laonnois, and to cross the river Oise* and Aine†. They committed no devastation in the county of Soissons, because it belonged to the lord de Coucy. True it is, they were followed and watched by some lords of France, such as the viscount de Meaux, the lord de Chauny, lord Raoul de Coucy, lord William de Melun, son of the count de Tancarville, and their forces; so that the English, not daring to quit their line of march, kept in a compact body. The French did not attack them, but every night took up their quarters in castles or strong towns; whilst the English encamped in the open plains, where they found provision in plenty and new wine, with which they made very free. Thus did they advance, burning, ravaging, and oppressing all the country, when they crossed the river Marne‡, and entered Champagne, and then passed the Aube§, returning to the country about Provins||: when they several times passed the Seine, and made appearances of marching towards Paris; for they had heard that the king of France had collected a large force of men at arms under the command of the count de St. Pol and the lord de Clisson, with whom they were very eager to engage, and for that end made every preparation as if they only wished for the combat. Upon this, the king of France wrote to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was in Aquitaine with the duke of Anjou, to order him, as soon as he should have read the letters, to set out for France, as he intended to employ him in another part of his kingdom.

Pope Urban V. came back about this time to Avignon, after having resided nearly four years at Rome. He returned, in the hope of making peace between the two kings: for this renewal of war was very displeasing to him. All those of Avignon and the country around it were very happy at the return of the pope, as they thought it would be more advantageous for them.

We will now say how the prince of Wales carried on his affairs.

* "Oise,"—a river in Picardy,—rises in Hainault.

† "Aine,"—or Aisne, a river which rises in Champagne, and joins the Oise a little above Compiegne.

‡ "Marne,"—a large river which rises near Bassiny.

§ "Aube,"—a considerable river in Champagne. It rises at Auberive, near Langres.

|| "Provins,"—an ancient town of Brie, on the Morin, which runs into the Marne, 22 leagues from Paris.

CHAPTER CCLXXXVII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES ASSEMBLES HIS ARMY AT COGNAC, WHERE HE MEETS HIS BROTHER THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.—THE DUKES OF ANJOU AND BERRY BREAK UP THEIR EXPEDITION, LIMOGES HAVING TURNED TO THE FRENCH.

You have before heard of the prince of Wales fixing his rendezvous at Cognac, with the intent of advancing to combat the duke of Anjou, who was burning and despoiling his territories. The barons, knights, and squires of Poitou and Saintonge, and all who were vassals to the prince, hastened to obey his summons. The earl of Pembroke quitted his garrison, with a hundred lances, and came to meet him. The duke of Lancaster and his army arrived about this time at Bordeaux, at which the country rejoiced much. He made not any long stay there; for, hearing that the prince was about to march against his enemies, he departed, and met, one day's march from Cognac, the earl of Pembroke, who was likewise going thither. They were very happy to see each other, and rode together to Cognac, where they found the prince, princess, and earl of Cambridge, who were greatly pleased at their arrival. Men at arms daily came in from Poitou, Saintonge, La Rochelle, Bigorre, Gorre, Gascony, and the surrounding countries under the obedience of the prince.

The duke of Anjou, the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and the counts, viscounts, knights, and squires of that army, who, as before has been related, conquered cities, towns, and fortresses to the number of more than forty, by merely showing themselves before them, and who had advanced within fifteen leagues of Bordeaux, burning and ravaging the country round Bergerac and Linde, hearing that the prince had summoned his forces to meet him at Cognac, and that the duke of Lancaster was arrived with a strong body of men at arms and archers from England, called a council to consider what measures would be now most proper for them to pursue. It was at this time that the king of France had sent back sir Bertrand du Guesclin to the duke of Berry, who was besieging the city of Limoges, and had pressed it so hard that it was upon the point of surrendering, but upon good terms. Sir Bertrand was summoned to attend this council of the duke of Anjou, as was right, and many were the debates at it. At last, after well considering the business, the duke of Anjou was advised, for the present, to break up this expedition, to order his men to different garrisons, and to carry on the war from thence, as he had done sufficient in the open field. It was therefore highly behoving the lords of Gascony who were present, such as the count d'Armagnac, the count de Perigord, the lord d'Albret, and others, to retire to their own country to guard and defend it; for they knew not what the prince might be inclined to do with so large an army. They then separated, each going on his own business. The duke of Anjou returned to the city of Cahors: his men and the free companies spread themselves over the country which they had conquered, and quartered themselves in different garrisons. The count d'Armagnac and the other lords went to their homes, and amply stored their towns and castles with all sorts of provision and artillery, as if they expected a war: they ordered out their vassals, and trained them to defend their country should need be.

We will now speak of sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who, on his departure from the duke of Anjou, marched with his men to the siege of Limoges, where the duke of Berry, the duke of Bourbon, and the great knights of France were employed. The French were in high spirits on the arrival of sir Bertrand, and it was a grand piece of news both within as well as without the city. He immediately followed up some treaties which had been before opened between the bishop and citizens with the duke of Berry, and managed that they were concluded by the bishop and citizens turning to the French. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, sir Guy de Blois, and the lords of France, entered the town with great state, when they received from the inhabitants their homage and fealty. After they had rested themselves for three days, they followed the same resolutions as had been determined upon in the council held by the duke of Anjou, and each man retired to his own country to guard his towns and castles against Sir Robert Knolles, who still kept his ground in France, and also because they had done enough by taking such a city as Limoges. The lords then separated, but sir Bertrand remained in Limousin with two hundred lances, which he posted in the castles of the lord de Maleval, who had turned to the French.

When the duke of Berry left Limoges, he ordered into the city, at the request of the bishop, sir John de Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche, and Roger de Beaufort, with one hundred men at arms. He then retreated to Berry, and the duke of Bourbon to the Bourbonnois. The other lords who had come from distant parts went to their different countries.

We will now return to the prince.

CHAPTER CCLXXXVIII.—THE PRINCE OF WALES, ANXIOUS TO RECOVER LIMOGES, LAYS SIEGE TO IT, AND UNDERMINES IT.

When intelligence was brought to the prince that the city of Limoges had become French, that the bishop, who had been his companion, and one in whom he used to place great confidence, was a party to all the treaties, and had been much aiding and assisting in the surrender, he was in a violent passion, and held the bishop and all other churchmen in very low estimation, in whom formerly he had put great trust. He swore by the soul of his father, which he had never perjured, that he would have it back again, that he would not attend to anything before he had done this, and that he would make the inhabitants pay dearly for their treachery. When the greater part of his forces were arrived, he mustered them: they amounted to twelve hundred lances, knights and squires, a thousand archers, and a thousand footmen. They marched from the town of Cognac. Sir Thomas Felton and the captal de Buch remained at Bergerac, to guard that frontier against the French and the free companies who were dispersed over that part of the country.

With the prince were, his brothers of Lancaster and Cambridge, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, the lords de Pons, de Partenay, de Pinane, de Tannaybouton, sir Percival de Coulogne, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, Poitevins: of Gascons there were, the lords de Montferrant, de Chaumont, de Longueren, sir Aimery de Tharse, the lords de Pommiers, de Mucident, de l'Esparre, the souldich de la Trane *, the lord de Gironde and several more: of English there were, lord Thomas Percy, the lord Roos, sir William Beauchamp, sir Michael de la Pole, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Baldwin de Franville, sir Simon Burley, the earl of Angus, sir John Devereux, sir William Neville, and more whom I cannot name: of Hainaulters, were sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt: of the free companies, sir Perducas d'Albret, Naudon de Bagerant, Lanuit, the bourg de l'Esparre, the bourg de Breteuil, Espiote, Bernard de Wist, and others.

All these men at arms were drawn out in battle array, and took the field, when the whole country began to tremble for the consequences. At that time the prince of Wales was not able to mount his horse, but was, for his greater ease, carried in a litter. They followed the road to Limousin, in order to get to Limoges, where in due time they arrived and encamped all round it. The prince swore he would never leave the place until he had regained it. The bishop of the place and the inhabitants found they had acted too wickedly, and had greatly incensed the prince; for which they were very repentant, but that was now of no avail, as they were not the masters of the town. Sir John de Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche and Roger de Beaufort, who commanded in it, did all they could to comfort them by saying, "Gentlemen, do not be alarmed: we are sufficiently strong to hold out against the army of the prince: he cannot take us by assault, nor greatly hurt us, for we are well supplied with artillery."

When the prince and his marshals had well considered the strength and force of Limoges, and knew the number of gentlemen that were in it, they agreed they could never take it by assault, but said they would attempt it by another manner. The prince was always

* "The souldich de la Trane." See Anstis, vol. ii. where there is a long account of him, and mention also is made of the lords de Montferrant and de l'Esparre.—[A pedigree of the family is given, and it is clearly shown that the name Souldich de la Trane, or more properly *Tran*, was only a title, and that his family name was de Preissac.—Ed.]

accustomed to carry with him, in his expeditions, a large body of miners: these were immediately set to work, and made great progress. The knights who were in the town soon perceived they were undermining them, and on that account began to countermine, to prevent the effect. But we will now leave the prince a little, to return to sir Robert Knolles.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIX.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES, IN CONTINUING HIS INCURSIONS THROUGH DIFFERENT PROVINCES OF FRANCE, ADVANCES NEAR TO PARIS.—A KNIGHT OF HIS ARMY, IN RETURNING FROM A VAINGLORIOUS EXPEDITION, IS SLAIN BY A BUTCHER OF PARIS.

Sir Robert Knolles, as has been before related, had entered France with a large body of men, and was marching by short stages through that kingdom with a magnificence for which the people and the rich provinces paid dearly. The English, as they advanced and retreated, did infinite mischief, at the same time showing as if they only wished for a battle. Having passed through the countries of Artois, Vermandois, the bishopric of Laon, the archbishopric of Rheims in Champagne, they returned into Brie, and from thence came near to Paris, and quartered themselves for a day and two nights in the villages around it.

King Charles of France was at that time in the city, and he could see from his palace of St. Pol the fire and smoke which the enemy were making in the Gâtinois. There were also in the city the constable of France sir Moreau de Fiennes, the count de St. Pol, the count de Tancarville, the count de Saltzburg, the viscount Meaux, sir Raoul de Coucy, the séneschal of Hainault, sir Odoart de Renti, sir Enguerrand d'Audin, the lord de Château-julien, sir John de Vienne, the lord de la Riviere, and many more great knights and valorous men of France: but not one of them sallied forth, for the king had strictly forbidden them so to do. The lord de Clisson, who was of the king's cabinet council, and more listened to than the rest, said everything he could to prevent any knight from quitting the town, adding, among other things, "Sire, why should you employ your men against these madmen? Let them go about their business. They cannot take your inheritance from you, nor drive you out of it by smoke."

The count de St. Pol, the viscount de Rohan, sir Raoul de Coucy, the lords de Canin, de Cresquos, sir Odoart de Renti and sir Enguerrand d'Audin, were at the barriers of St. James's gate. Now it happened one Tuesday morning, when the English began to decamp, and had set fire to all the villages wherein they were lodged, so that the fires were distinctly seen from Paris, a knight of their army, who had made a vow the preceding day that he would advance as far as the barriers and strike them with his lance, did not break his oath, but set off with his lance in his hand, his target on his neck, and completely armed except his helmet, and spurring his steed, was followed by his squire on another courser carrying the helmet. When he approached Paris, he put on the helmet, which his squire laced behind. He then galloped away, sticking spurs into his horse, and advanced prancing to strike the barriers. They were then open; and the lords and barons within imagined he intended to enter the town, but he did not mean any such thing, for, having struck the gates according to his vow, he checked his horse and turned about. The French knights who saw him thus retreat cried out to him, "Get away! get away! thou hast well acquitted thyself." As for the name of this knight, I am ignorant of it, nor do I know from what country he came; but he bore for his arms gules à deux fousses noir, with une bordure noire non endentée. However, an adventure befel him, from which he had not so fortunate an escape. On his return, he met a butcher on the pavement in the suburbs, a very strong man, who had noticed him as he had passed him, and who had in his hand a very sharp and heavy hatchet with a long handle. As the knight was returning alone, and in a careless manner, the valiant butcher came on one side of him, and gave him such a blow between the shoulders that he fell on his horse's neck: he recovered himself, but the butcher repeated the blow on his head so that the axe entered it. The knight, through excess of pain, fell to the earth; and the horse galloped away to the squire, who was waiting for his master in the fields at the extremity of the suburbs. The squire caught the courser, but wondered what was become of his master; for he had seen him gallop to the barriers, strike them, and then

turn about to come back. He therefore set out to look for him; but he had not gone many paces before he saw him in the hands of four fellows, who were beating him as if they were hammering on an anvil: this so much frightened the squire that he dared not advance further, for he saw he could not give him any effectual assistance: he therefore returned as speedily as he could. Thus was this knight slain: and those lords who were posted at the barriers had him buried in holy ground. The squire returned to the army, and related the misfortune which had befallen his master. All his brother-warriors were greatly angered thereat; and they marched to take up their quarters for the night, between Montlehery * and Paris, upon a small river, where they encamped at an early hour in the day.

CHAPTER CCXC.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN TAKES THE FORTRESS OF ST. YRIER IN LIMOUSIN.—THE PRINCE OF WALES RE-CONQUERS LIMOGES.

During the time sir Robert Knolles was employed in his expedition, and the prince of Wales with his two brothers were at the siege of Limoges, sir Bertrand du Guesclin with his company, amounting to about two hundred lances, marched through a part of Limousin, but did not encamp in the open plain for fear of the English. He retreated every night into some of the strong places which had lately turned to the French: in that number were the castles of sir Louis de Maleval and sir Raymond de Marneil, and several others: from thence he made daily excursions to conquer other towns and castles. The prince knew well all this; for he received every day information of what was passing, as well as complaints on the subject; but he would not break up his siege, for he had too much at heart the loss of Limoges. Sir Bertrand entered the viscounty of Limoges, a territory which was dependent on lord John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, in the name of the widow of lord Charles de Blois, to whom it had formerly belonged. He made war upon it without any opposition; for the duke of Brittany did not imagine sir Bertrand would carry the war into any part of his property. He came before St. Yrier †, where there were not any gentlemen that knew how to defend it; and the inhabitants were so frightened, they surrendered themselves under the obedience of the duchess dowager of Brittany, in whose name the war was made. The Bretons formed St. Yrier into a considerable garrison; by which means they took many other towns in Limousin. But let us return to the prince.

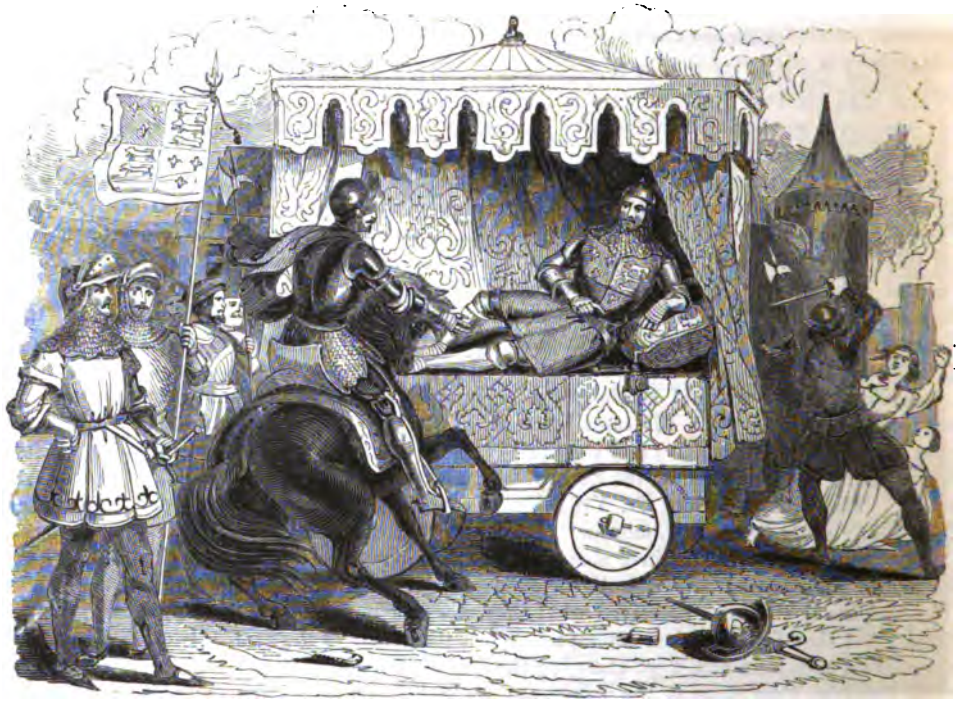
The prince of Wales remained about a month, and not more, before the city of Limoges: he would not allow of any assaults or skirmishing, but kept his miners steadily at work. The knights in the town perceived what they were about, and made countermines to destroy them; but they failed in their attempt. When the miners of the prince (who, as they found themselves countermined, kept changing the line of direction of their own mine) had finished their business, they came to the prince, and said: "My lord, we are ready, and will throw down, whenever you please, a very large part of the wall into the ditch, through the breach of which you may enter the town at your ease and without danger." This news was very agreeable to the prince, who replied, "I wish then that you would prove your words to-morrow morning at six o'clock." The miners set fire to the combustibles in the mine; and on the morrow morning, as they had foretold the prince, they flung down a great piece of wall, which filled the ditches. The English saw this with pleasure, for they were all armed and prepared to enter the town. Those on foot did so, and ran to the gate, which they destroyed as well as the barriers, for there were no other defences; and all this was done so suddenly that the inhabitants had not time to prevent it.

The prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge and of Pembroke, sir Guiscard d'Angle and the others, with their men, rushed into the town. You would then have seen pillagers, active to do mischief, running through the town, slaying men, women and children, according to their orders. It was a most melancholy business; for all ranks, ages and sexes cast themselves on their knees before the prince, begging for mercy; but he was so inflamed

* "Montlehery,"—a town in the Isle of France, seven leagues from Paris.
† "St. Yrier,"—a village in Limousin, election of Tulles.

with passion and revenge that he listened to none, but all were put to the sword, wherever they could be found, even those who were not guilty: for I know not why the poor were not spared, who could not have had any part in this treason; but they suffered for it, and indeed more than those who had been the leaders of the treachery. There was not that day in the city of Limoges any heart so hardened, or that had any sense of religion, who did not deeply bewail the unfortunate events passing before their eyes; for upwards of three thousand men, women and children were put to death that day. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs.

A company of English, in entering the town, hastened to the palace of the bishop, whom they there found and took prisoner, carrying him, without any regard to his dignity, to the prince of Wales, who, eyeing him indignantly, told him that his head should be cut off, and ordered him out of his presence.



Sack of Limoges.—From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

We will now speak of those knights who were in the town, sir John de Villemur, sir Hugh de la Roche, and Roger de Beaufort, son to the count de Beaufort, governors of the city. When they perceived the tribulation which was overpowering them, they said: "We shall all be slain for a certainty, if we do not gallantly defend ourselves: let us therefore sell our lives as dearly as good knights ought to do." Upon this, sir John de Villemur said to Roger de Beaufort, "You must be knighted." Roger replied, "Sir, I have not as yet signalised myself sufficiently for that honour, but I thank you much for your good opinion in suggesting it to me." No more was said, for they had not time to hold further conversation. They collected in a body, and, placing themselves before an old wall, sir John de Villemur and sir Hugh de la Roche displayed their banners, and drew up in good order. They might be, in the whole, about fourscore. The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, with their men, advanced upon them, and dismounted, to be on an equality with the enemy. They attacked them with hearty good will. You may easily imagine that this handful of men could not resist the English, but were all slain or made prisoners.

The duke of Lancaster was engaged for a long time with sir John de Villemur, who was a hardy knight, strong and well made. The earl of Cambridge singled out sir Hugh de la Roche, and the earl of Pembroke Roger de Beaufort, who was but a simple esquire. These three Frenchmen did many valorous deeds of arms, as all allowed, and ill did it betide those who approached too near. The prince, coming that way in his carriage, looked on the combat with great pleasure, and enjoyed it so much that his heart was softened and his anger appeased. After the combat had lasted a considerable time, the Frenchmen, with one accord, viewing their swords, said, "My lords, we are yours: you have vanquished us: therefore act according to the law of arms." "By God," replied the duke of Lancaster, "sir John, we do not intend otherwise, and we accept you for our prisoners." Thus, as I have been informed, were these three knights taken. But the business was not here ended, for the whole town was pillaged, burnt, and totally destroyed. The English then departed, carrying with them their booty and prisoners They marched to Cognac, where the princess had remained, and there the prince disbanded his forces, not intending to do anything more that season; for he did not feel himself at his ease, as every exertion aggravated his disorder, which was increasing, to the great dismay of his brothers and all those about him.

I must inform you how the bishop of Limoges escaped with imprisonment, who had been in imminent danger of his life. The duke of Lancaster asked him of the prince, who consented, and ordered him to be given up to the duke, for him to do with him according as he willed. The bishop having good friends, they sent information of his situation to the pope, who had lately arrived at Avignon; and fortunate was it for the bishop they did so, otherwise he would have been a dead man. The pope wrote such pressing and kind letters to the duke of Lancaster, to request he would give him the bishop, that he was unwilling to refuse, and sent him to the pope, who felt himself exceedingly obliged for it.

We will now say what was going forward in France.

CHAPTER CCXCI.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN IS MADE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

The king of France was informed of the conquest and destruction of Limoges, and how the prince and his army had left it empty and deserted, which vexed him much on account of the distress and loss of the late inhabitants. It was therefore thought advisable in a council of nobles and prelates, as well as by the common assent of the whole kingdom, to elect a chief or commander, called a constable (for sir Moreau de Fiennes wished to resign the office) who was a valiant and enterprising man, and one to whom all knights and squires would pay proper deference. After all things had been well considered, they unanimously elected sir Bertrand du Guesclin (provided he would undertake the office), as the most valiant, the best informed, the most virtuous and fortunate in conducting affairs for the crown of France of all those who were bearing arms in its defence. The king wrote to him by messengers, for him to come to Paris. Those sent found him in the viscounty of Limoges, taking castles and forts, which he put under the obedience of madame de Bretagne, widow of the late lord Charles de Blois. He had lately taken a town called Brantome*, whose inhabitants had surrendered themselves to him, and was then on an expedition against another.

When the king's messengers came to him, he received them handsomely, as he knew well how to do. They gave him their letter, and delivered their message word for word. When sir Bertrand thus saw himself specially ordered, he was unwilling to make any more excuses for not waiting on the king of France to know his will: he set out as soon as possible, having ordered all his men into the garrisons which he had conquered, and appointed his nephew, sir Oliver de Mauny, commander over them. He rode on to Paris, where he found the king surrounded by a number of the lords of his council. He was received by all with great pleasure; and the king told him of his being chosen constable of France. On hearing which, sir Bertrand modestly and sagely excused himself, saying, "he was not worthy of it: that he was but a poor knight and simple bachelor, in comparison with the great lords and

"* Brantome,"—a town in Perigord, diocese of Perigueux.

valorous men of France, however fortune might have been favourable to him." The king replied, "that his excuses would be of no avail; that he must consent to accept this dignity, for it had been so determined by the decision of the whole of the council of France, and that he would not break through such a resolution." Sir Bertrand used other arguments to excuse himself; adding "Dear lord and noble king, I cannot, I dare not, whatever I may wish, oppose what may be your good pleasure: but in truth I am too poor a man, and of low extraction, for the office of constable, which is so grand and noble that it is proper for those (who wish to exercise it justly and honourably) to command and keep a strict eye more upon the great than the poor. Now Sir, here are my lords your brothers, your nephews and your cousins, who will have different commands in your armies, and in various expeditions; and how shall I dare to order them? Certainly, my dear lord, envy and jealousy are so much abroad, I ought to be on my guard against them; I therefore entreat you will not insist on my taking this office, but give it to some other who will readily accept it, and, who knows better than I do how to execute it." The king made answer: "Sir Bertrand, that excuse will not serve you; for I have neither brother, nephew, cousin, count or baron in my realm but who will obey your orders; and should any one act otherwise, he would so anger me that he should soon feel the effects of it: I therefore beg of you to accept this office with a good will."

Sir Bertrand, finding that no excuse nor any thing he could say would be listened to, accepted the king's offer, but it was much against his inclination. He was invested with the office of constable; and the king, to show him greater affection, made him be seated at his table, and gave him, besides this office, many rich gifts and large domains in land, for him and his heirs. The duke of Anjou was very active in forwarding this promotion.

CHAPTER CCXCII.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN AND THE LORD DE CLISSON DEFEAT THE FORCES OF SIR ROBERT KNOLLES AT PONT-VALIN*.

Soon after sir Bertrand du Guesclin had been invested with the dignity of constable, he told the king he wished to form an expedition against sir Robert Knolles and his forces, who were at that time on the borders of Maine and Anjou. This was very agreeable to the king, who said to him, "Take any number of men at arms you please, and whatever else you may think right." The constable made every necessary preparation, and collected a large body of men at arms, Bretons and others, and marched towards Maine, taking with him the lord de Clisson. The constable came to the city of Mans, where he fixed his head-quarters, and the lord de Clisson in another town hard by: they might be about five hundred lances.

Sir Robert Knolles and his army were still in that part of the country, but they did not agree very well together; for there was an English knight among them, called sir John Menstreworth†, who always objected to what others proposed, and said they only wasted their time in these expeditions, and wore down and fatigued the men without doing anything essential, or making any conquest. This knight, who commanded a large force, and had some able men at arms with him, left the others. Sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull, however, kept together, and were quartered pretty near to Mans. Sir Thomas Grantson, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir Geoffry Worsley, and sir William Neville, were quartered a good day's march in the rear.

When sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull heard that the constable of France and the lord de Clisson were come into those parts, they were much rejoiced, and said, "It will be well for us to collect our forces more together, and post ourselves to our advantage in this country; for sir Bertrand, in the novelty of office, is certainly come to look at us; and he would not have been happy if he had not made this expedition. We have already rode

* Pont-Valin,—a town in Anjou, election of la Flèche.

† "Sir John Menstreworth." Froissart calls him *Maisturde*. I have followed Barnes, who adds that he was a traitor, sold to the French, and, having embezzled large sums destined for the pay of the army, was afraid to be called to an account for them.

through the realm of France without meeting with any hindrance. Let us inform sir Hugh Calverley (who is at Saumur on the Loire), and sir Robert Cheney, sir Robert Briquet, and the other captains of companies who are near us, of our situation and intentions, who will willingly hasten to join us. We may therefore fall upon this new constable, and the lord de Clisson, who is so much our enemy*; and we shall make a handsome finish to our campaign." Between sir Robert Knolles, sir Aleyne Boxhull, and sir John Seton, there was not any difference of opinion; and they acted always in unison. They immediately sent off messengers secretly to sir Hugh Calverley, sir Robert Briquet, and the others, with letters to inform them how they were situated, and to propose that they should join in an attack upon the French. They signified the same to sir Thomas Grantson, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir Geoffry Worsley and the others, desiring them to advance to a place which they pointed out to them, for they were in hopes to engage the French who had come on this expedition. Upon receiving this intelligence, they all made ready with great cheerfulness to join their companies, amounting to about two hundred spears. This matter, however, was not carried on so secretly but that sir Bertrand and the lord de Clisson got wind of it, and knew also what was intended on the junction of their forces: they therefore armed themselves during the night, and, marching with their men and garrisons, took the field. This same night, sir Thomas Grantson, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir William Neville, and the others, had left their quarters, and advanced towards sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull, to a spot where they expected to find them. But their march was shortened; for, directly at a place called Pont-valin, they were met by the French, who immediately charged them, and surrounded them, as they were full four hundred lances and the English about two hundred. The battle was sharp and long, and well fought on both sides. As soon as they met, they dismounted, and attacked each other most valiantly with spears and swords. The French gained the victory over the English, who were all slain or made prisoners; for not an Englishman fled, except some of the pages or servants, who, mounting their masters' coursers, made off as fast as possible when they saw they were defeated. Among the prisoners were, sir Thomas Grantson, sir Gilbert Gifford, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir William Neville, sir Philip Courtenay, sir Hugh Despencer, and many more knights and squires, who were all conducted to the city of Mans. Intelligence of this was speedily spread over the country, and soon known to sir Robert Knolles, sir Hugh Calverley and the others, who were much vexed thereat, and broke up their intended attack, through this unexpected event. Those at Saumur, as well as in the other quarters, remained quiet. Sir Robert Knolles and sir Aleyne Boxhull made a handsome retreat into Brittany, for they were not far distant. Sir Robert went to his castle of Derval, where he gave orders to all his men at arms and archers to go wherever they might find profit or honour, and several returned to England, whence they had come. Sir Aleyne Boxhull went to pass the winter in his town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, which the king of England had given to him.

After the defeat of Pont-valin, where a part of the English were slain and the remainder put to the rout, so that the expedition was ruined, sir Bertrand du Guesclin (whose entrance into the office of constable had been thus fortunately signalized, in a way to gain him great honour and reputation) came to Paris, accompanied by the lord de Clisson, and bringing with them the greater part of the prisoners, to whom they behaved very handsomely, allowing them to go at large on their parole for their ransom. They neither shut them up in prison, nor put on shackles and fetters, as the Germans do in order to obtain a heavier ransom. Curses on them for it. These people are without pity or honour, and they ought never to

* *The lord de Clisson, so much our enemy.* His quarrel with the duke of Brittany and the English, to whom he had always been attached, was caused by the duke's refusal of a request he made for the lordship of Gavre, which was very convenient to him, and near his castle of Blein.

When he asked for it, the duke said he had disposed of it in favour of sir John Chandos, to whom he had essential obligations. Clisson, enraged at this preference, swore he would never have an Englishman for his neighbour, set fire to the house, and had the stones caried to Blein, using them to fortify this castle. He conceived so mortal a hatred to the English that he embraced the party of the countess de Penthievre, on whom he had before made war, and accepted the lieutenancy of Brittany under her, and the guard of all the places she had there. This change of conduct introduced him to the service of Charles V. who admitted him to his councils, loaded him with gifts, and gave him the lieutenancy-general de Touraine.—*Mémoires de Bertrand du Guesclin, par Berville,* vol. ii. p. 210, note.

receive quarter. The French entertained their prisoners well, and ransomed them courteously without being too hard with them.

The prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster and all the English, who, after the conquest and vengeance taken on Limoges, had retired to Cognac, were much dismayed by the defeat at Pont-valin.

This year, about Christmas, Pope Urban V. died at Avignon. He was a learned and wise man, and a good Frenchman. The cardinals assembled in conclave to choose a successor, when they unanimously elected the cardinal de Beaufort, who took the name of pope Gregory XI. The king of France was well pleased with this creation and divine election, for he knew him to be a loyal Frenchman and a prudent man. The duke of Anjou was at Avignon during the conclave, and took much pains that he should be elected pope.

CHAPTER CCXCIII.—SIR EUSTACE D'AMBRETICOURT IS MADE PRISONER AND RANSOMED.—SIR RAYMOND DE MARNEIL, A PARTISAN OF FRANCE, IS TAKEN, AND IN IMMINENT DANGER, BUT SAVED BY HIS KEEPER.

A very unfortunate adventure befel sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt much about this time. As he was riding one day through Limousin, he came in the evening to the castle of the lord de Pierre Buffiere, which he entered, thinking him a friend, a brother soldier, and a good Englishman. But Pierre Buffiere had given up his castle to Thibaut du Pont, a man at arms from Brittany, and his company. Thibaut seized sir Eustace, who was not any way on his guard, made him his prisoner, and afterward ransomed him for twelve thousand francs, of which he paid down four thousand, and left his son, François d'Ambreticourt, his hostage for the remainder to the duke of Bourbon, who had gone security for him, and had taken great pains to obtain his liberty, because sir Eustace had been very active in obtaining the freedom of the lady his mother, when she had been made prisoner by the free companies at Belleperche. After he had obtained his liberty, sir Eustace went and resided in Carentan, beyond the fords of St. Clement in lower Normandy, a very handsome town which the king of Navarre had given him, and where he died. God have mercy on his soul! for whilst he lived and remained in the world he was a most valiant knight.

Nearly at this period, sir Raymond de Marneil, who had changed his party from the English to the French, was returning to his own country from Paris, when he met with a disagreeable accident. On his road, he encountered a body of English, belonging to the forces of sir Hugh Calverley, commanded by a knight of Poitou, and came so suddenly among them that he could not escape: he was thus taken, and carried prisoner to the castle of the knight in Poitou. The capture of sir Raymond was known in England, and came to the king's knowledge, who immediately wrote to the knight, ordering him to send that enemy and traitor sir Raymond de Marneil directly to England, on whom he would wreak such vengeance that it should serve as an example to all others; and that he would pay him six thousand francs for his ransom. Sir Geoffry d'Argenton, who had taken sir Raymond, was not willing to disobey the orders of his sovereign and lord, and replied he would punctually follow his commands. Sir Raymond de Marneil was informed that the king of England wished to have his person, and had sent orders to that effect; and also that sir Geoffry was determined to obey him. He was therefore more alarmed than ever, and not without reason. He began to utter in his prison the most piteous moans, insomuch that the person who guarded him, and was an Englishman, began to compassionate him, and gently to soothe him. Sir Raymond, who saw no rays of comfort in his distress, since he was to be sent to England, at last opened his mind to his keeper. "My friend," said he, "if you will engage to deliver me from the peril in which I am, I will promise and swear on my loyalty to divide half and half with you all my landed possessions, which you shall have for your inheritance; and never as long as I live will I be wanting to you in whatever manner you may please." The Englishman, who was poor, considered that sir Raymond was in danger of his life, and as he had promised him such a handsome recompense to save it, he took compassion on him, and said he would do all he could to serve him. Sir Raymond heard

this with great joy, and swore upon his honour to perform strictly what he had promised, and even more if he insisted upon it. Upon which they consulted how they could best bring this business to a happy end.

When night came, the Englishman, who kept the keys of the tower of the castle where sir Raymond lay, opened his prison and a postern-gate, from which they issued into the plain, and made for a wood, to prevent themselves being overtaken. They were in greater distress all the night than can be imagined; for they marched seven leagues on foot, and it had frozen so hard that their feet were all cut and torn. At last, however, at the dawn they came to a French fortress, where they were heartily received by the companions who guarded it. Sir Raymond related to them his adventures, and they all returned thanks to God for his fortunate escape. In truth, when the knight on the morrow found they had gone off, he sent horsemen everywhere round the country in search of them, but in vain. In this manner did sir Raymond de Marneil escape from such imminent danger. He returned to Limousin, and told all his friends his great obligations to the English squire. The Englishman was much honoured by them, and sir Raymond wanted to divide his estate with him; but he refused to accept so much, and would only take two hundred livres a-year, adding that was fully sufficient for the support of himself in his situation.

CHAPTER CCXCIV.—THE PRINCE OF WALES, HAVING LOST BY DEATH HIS ELDEST SON, GIVES UP THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE TO THE CARE OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.—FOUR KNIGHTS OF BRITTANY TAKE THE CASTLE OF MONT-PAON*.

At this time, the eldest son of the prince and princess of Wales died in the city of Bordeaux. They were exceedingly grieved at this event, and not without reason. The prince was advised to return to England, as perhaps he might there recover his health; and, as this advice was given him by his physicians and surgeons, he agreed to it. Preparations were made for his departure; and, I believe, the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke were ordered to return with him to bear him company.

When the prince was about to leave Aquitaine, and his vessel was in the harbour of Bordeaux, on the river Garonne, where he had arrived with the princess and the young Richard, his son, he issued from the city of Bordeaux a special summons to all the barons and knights of Gascony and Poitou, and to all others over whom he was lord or who depended on him. When they were arrived, and assembled before him in his hall of audience, he addressed them by saying, "that during the time he had been their prince, he had always maintained them in peace, prosperity, and power, as far as depended on him, against all their enemies; but that now, in the hope of recovering his health, of which he had great need, he intended to return to England: he therefore besought them earnestly to put their faith in, and to serve and obey his brother, the duke of Lancaster, as they had before served and obeyed him: that they would find him a good and courteous lord, and he begged of them to aid and assist him in all his affairs." The barons of Aquitaine, Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge assented to his request, and swore upon their faith and loyalty never to desert him. They performed fealty and homage to the duke, declaring themselves willing to pay him all affection, service, and obedience. This they swore in the prince's presence, and they all kissed him on the mouth†. After these affairs were settled, the prince did not tarry long in Bordeaux, but embarked on board his vessel with the princess and his son, accompanied by the earls of Cambridge and Pembroke. There were in this fleet five hundred combatants, besides archers. They had favourable weather, and, meeting with no accident, arrived safely at Southampton. They were disembarked; and, after having refreshed themselves for two days, all mounted their horses, and took the road for Windsor, except the prince, who was carried in his litter. On their arrival, they found the king, who was

* "Mont-paon,"—a village of Rouergue, election of Milhaud.

† "All kissed him on the mouth." Hommage de bouche et des mains is done by a vassal with head uncovered, hands joined, and a kiss received, which binds him to fight for his lord only in defence of the lands whereof he holds. —*Cotgrave.*

then there. He received his children very kindly, and made many enquiries into the state of Guienne. After the prince had made some stay with the king, he took his leave, and retired to his manor of Berkhamstead, twenty miles from the city of London. We will for the present leave the prince, and say what had passed in Aquitaine.

Soon after the departure of the prince from Bordeaux, the duke of Lancaster ordered preparations for the funeral of his nephew Edward. It was very grand and magnificent, and was attended by all the barons of Gascony and Poitou *. Whilst all these things were going forward, and the funeral occupied every one's attention, and detained the barons in Bordeaux, there issued forth from the garrison of Perigord upwards of two hundred lances of Bretons, whom the duke of Anjou had sent and posted there. They were commanded by four valiant and hardy knights, whose names were, sir William de Longueval, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir Louis de Mailly, and the lord d'Arcy. These knights marched with their men to a handsome and strong castle called Mont-paon, of which a knight was lord. When these Bretons arrived, and had advanced up to the barriers, they manœuvred as if they intended an immediate assault, and completely surrounded it. Upon which sir William de Mont-paon, proving he had more of French courage than English, turned to them, and in short surrendered. He gave admittance to these knights and their companions into his castle, of which they took possession, and said they would defend it against all the world. They repaired and added to it whatever might have been wanting.

Intelligence of this was soon carried to Bordeaux, when the duke of Lancaster told the barons they were inactive, for that the Bretons had made an incursion, and had taken Mont-paon, which was close to their borders. Indeed, when the duke and barons first heard of this, they were much ashamed and made immediate preparations for marching towards that part; they set out from the city of Bordeaux on a Wednesday after dinner. With the duke of Lancaster there were, the lords de Pons and de Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Percival de Coulogne, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir James de Surgeres, sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir William de Montendre, sir Hugh de Vinoye, the lord de Crupenac, and many more knights and barons of Poitou and Saintonge. From Gascony were, the captal de Buch, the lord de Pommiers, sir Helie de Pommiers, the lords de Chaumont, de Montferrant, de Langeron, the souldich de la Trane, sir Bernardet de l'Abret, the lord de Gironde, sir Aimery de Testu, and several others. Of the English were, sir Thomas Felton, lord Thomas Percy, the lord Roos, sir Michael de la Pole, the lord Willoughby, sir William Beauchamp, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir Baldwin de Franville, the earl of Angus, and many more. They were in all rather more than seven hundred spears and five hundred archers. They marched in good order to Mont-paon, where on their arrival sir William de Mont-paon, seeing the duke of Lancaster and his army come to besiege him, felt very uneasy; for he knew that, if he were taken, he should die a disgraceful death, without hopes of mercy, as he had done too much against him to expect any. He told his fears to the four knights, and said he should make his escape and go to Perigord: but that they were masters of his castle to do as they pleased with it. Upon this he directly departed, and went to the city of Perigord, which was very strong, and left his castle under the guard of these four knights.

CHAPTER CCXCV.—THE FOUR KNIGHTS DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.—THE DUKE, ON TAKING THE PLACE, ADMITS THEM TO RANSOM.

When the duke of Lancaster was arrived at Mont-paon, with all his barons, knights, and men at arms, he immediately laid siege to it. They built themselves substantial huts all round the castle, as if they were to remain there seven years. They were not, however, idle, but began the assault with great vigour, and had large quantities of wood and faggots

* He was buried in the Augustine Friars, London. "Here was interred the bodie of Edward, the eldest sonne of Edward the black prince, by Joan his wife, surnamed The Faire Maide of Kent, who was born at Angolesme anno 1375, and died at seven years of age."—*Weever's Funeral Monuments.*

cut down by the peasants, and carried to the ditches, which they threw in and covered with large beams and earth; by which means they were so filled up that they could advance to the walls to skirmish with the garrison, as was daily done, and there were many gallant conflicts. The four Breton knights in the castle were right good men at arms, and fought and defended themselves so valorously, that they were deserving of great praise. They were not dismayed, however near the English or Gascons might advance, and never suffered them to return conquerors.

Not far distant, in the garrison of St. Macaire *, which belonged to the Bretons, were John de Malestroit and Silvestre Budes, the governors of it, who, hearing every day of the great feats of arms which were doing before Mont-paon, were anxious to be partakers of them. They conversed frequently on this subject, saying, "Since we know that our companions are so near to us, and those valiant men," as such a one and such a one, naming them, "have daily five or six attacks on their hands, and are continually fighting, whilst we remain here doing of nothing, we certainly do not act well." They were very eager to go and assist them; but, when they and their companions had all spoken, they began to consider the danger there might be, if they should leave the garrison without one of the commanders, and this puzzled them how to act. Silvestre Budes said, "By God, I will go." "Silvestre," replied John, "you shall stay, and I will go." This dispute continued some time. At last they agreed on their oaths, before all their companions, to draw straws, and that he who had the longest straw should go, and the other remain. Upon which they drew straws, and Silvestre Budes had the longest, which created a great laugh among the company. Silvestre did not take it for a joke, but went and made himself ready; when, mounting his horse, he set off with eleven men at arms, and rode for the castle of Mont-paon, where he arrived and entered in the evening. The knights and garrison were much rejoiced at seeing him, for they had a high opinion of his courage.

As I have before said, there were continued attacks every day made on Mont-paon; and the knights within defended themselves so well that they acquired great honour, for until a large piece of the wall had been thrown down, they were not any way dismayed. The English had brought thither large machines and other engines of assault, which they could now place near to the walls where the ditches were filled up. There were also footmen covered with large shields, who worked with pick-axes, and laboured so earnestly that one afternoon they flung down upwards of forty feet of the wall. The lords of the army directly ordered out a body of archers, who kept up so well-directed and sharp an attack with their arrows, that none could stand against them, nor even show themselves. Upon this, sir William de Longueval, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir Louis de Mailly, and the lord d'Arcy, finding from this situation that they could not any longer hold out, sent one of their heralds mounted on horseback, through the breach, to speak with the duke of Lancaster; for they wished, if possible, to enter into a treaty. The herald advanced to the duke, way being made for him, and explained the business on which he was sent. The duke, by the advice of those about him, granted an armistice to the garrison during the time of a parley; and the herald returned with his answer to his masters. The four knights directly came forward upon the ditch, and the duke sent sir Guiscard d'Angle to hold a parley with them.

Upon the ditch, therefore, they entered on a treaty, by asking, "In what sort or manner does the duke intend to make us prisoners?" Sir Guiscard, who had received his instructions, replied: "Gentlemen, you have greatly displeased my lord; for you have detained him here several weeks †, which has fretted him very much, and caused the loss of several of his men: for which reasons, he will not receive you, nor grant you mercy, but will have you surrender yourselves simply to him. He also insists on sir William de Mont-paon being first given up, for him to be dealt with according to his deserts as a traitor." Sir Louis de Mailly replied: "Sir Guiscard, in regard to sir William de Mont-paon, whom you require from us, we swear truly and loyally that we are ignorant what is become of him, for he did not remain in this town a moment after you had begun to besiege it. But it will be very hard

* St. Macaire,—a city of Guienne, on the Garronne, nine leagues from Bordeaux.

† "*Several weeks.*" All my copies differ as to the number of weeks: some eleven, some six weeks: I have therefore said several weeks, as it appears very uncertain: but I should rather incline to the smaller number.

for us to surrender ourselves in the manner you insist on, who are soldiers sent here for pay, just as your commanders may send you, or you may be obliged to it by personal service; and, before we accept of such a bargain, we will sell our lives so dearly that report shall speak of it a hundred years hence. Return, therefore, to the duke of Lancaster, and tell him to accept of us in a courteous manner, upon certain terms of ransom, as he would wish should be done to any of his own party, should they happen to be so unfortunate."

Sir Guiscard answered, that he would very willingly do so to the utmost of his power. With these words, he returned to the duke, and took with him the captal de Buch, the lords de Rosen and de Mucident, the better to forward the business. When these lords were come into the duke's presence, they remonstrated with him so eloquently, and with such good success, that he granted their request, and received the four knights, with Silvestre Budes, and their men, in mercy as prisoners.

Thus had he once more possession of the castle of Mont-paon, and received the homage of the inhabitants of the town. He placed there two Gascon knights as governors, with forty men at arms and as many archers, and had all the walls completely repaired by masons in the neighbourhood: he victualled the place, and supplied it well with all sorts of artillery.

CHAPTER CCXCVI.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER DISBANDS HIS ARMY, AND RETURNS TO BORDEAUX.—THE LORD DE PONS TURNS TO THE FRENCH PARTY.

After the conquest of Mont-paon, when the duke of Lancaster had reinforced it with good men at arms and captains, he broke up his camp, and disbanded his army. Each therefore went to his own home, and the duke returned to Bordeaux. The Poitevins retreated to their country, and the Gascons to their towns and castles; but the free companies dispersed themselves over the whole principality, where they did as much mischief to friends as enemies. The duke winked at this, and suffered them to act as they pleased, because he thought he might soon have a fresh occasion for their services; more especially as the war at that moment was much more oppressive in Poitou, without comparison, than any where else.

The French kept a large garrison in the castle of Montcontour, four leagues distant from Thouars, and six from Poitiers, which was commanded by sir Peter de Guerfille and Jourdain de Coulogne. They daily harassed the country, either about Thouars or about Poitiers, and greatly damaged and pillaged the inhabitants. On the other side, Carnet le Breton held Chatelheraut, with seven hundred Bretons, who much ruined the country. The garrisons from la Roche-Posay and St. Salvin were out almost every day, so that the barons and knights of Poitou attached to the English dared not venture abroad but in large parties, for fear of the French who had thus forced themselves into their country.

Soon after the return from Mont-paon, and when the lords of Poitou had retired to their own country, which was one of the frontiers to France, many secret negotiations were set on foot by the lord Louis de St. Julien, the viscount de la Rochechouart, and several others in the French interest, who, with large sums received from the king of France, laboured day and night, to gain over the lords of Poitou to his party. These negotiations were so successful that the lord de Pons turned to the French, in spite of the entreaties of the lady his wife, and of all the inhabitants of the town of Pons in Poitou. Notwithstanding, however, the lord de Pons changed his side, the lady remained attached to the English. All the barons and knights in Poitou in the English interest were violently enraged, for the lord de Pons was a powerful baron. The duke of Lancaster was much grieved at this, and, wishing every curse to attend the lord, felt himself obliged to the lady and to those of the town who had not deserted him. Sir Aimemon de Bours, a good and valiant knight, was ordered to assist the lady with his advice and courage; for the lord de Pons advanced every day to the gates of the town, doing no damage to any one; but sometimes he was driven back, and retreated with loss.

CHAPTER CCXCVII.—THE ENGLISH TAKE THE CASTLE OF MONTCONTOUR.

Thus were the English affairs in Poitou entangled; the lords and knights opposed to each other; when the strong oppressed the weak, and none received either law, justice, or right. The castles and strong places were intermixed; some being French, others English, who each made excursions on the other, and pillaged on all sides without mercy. Some of the barons and knights of Poitou of the English party, having considered that the garrison of Montcontour was more active in harassing the country than the others, resolved to march thither and lay siege to it. They therefore issued a summons from the city of Poitiers in the name of lord Thomas Percy, seneschal of Poitou, which was obeyed by all knights and squires. They amounted to five hundred spears and full two thousand footmen, with large shields, among the archers who accompanied them. There were sir Guiscard d'Angle, sir Louis d'Harcourt, the lords de Partenay, de Pinane, de Tannaybouton, du Cupegnac, sir Percival de Coulogne*, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Hugh de Vinoye, the lord de Coyes, the lord de Puissances, sir James de Surgeres, sir Maubrun de Linieres, and several more. There were also some English, who at the time were resident in Poitou, either from the offices they held there, or to assist in guarding the country; such as sir Baldwin de Franville, the earl of Angus, sir Walter Hewett, sir Richard de Pontchardon and others. When they had been mustered at Poitiers, and had completed their preparations, they marched from thence, taking the road for Montcontour, in full array, with everything necessary for the siege of that place.

The castle of Montcontour is situated in the country of Anjou, is very strong and handsome, and four leagues distant from Thouars. The Poitevins, to the amount of three thousand combatants, continued their march until they arrived there, when they laid siege to it, and invested it on all sides. There had been brought from Thours and Poitiers large engines, which they pointed against the castle, and flung from them stones night and day. They made daily assaults, and the lords frequently had skirmishes with the garrison, in which several gallant actions were performed: there were with the Poitevins several of the free companies, who were unwilling to remain during the siege; such as John Creswell and David Hollegrave: these two, with sir Walter Hewett, were their leaders. Sir Peter de Guerfille†, and Jourdain de Coulogne, who were in the castle, defended it valiantly, and advanced every day to the combat with the English at their barriers. On the tenth day after their arrival, in the midst of these attacks, the English and Poitevins assaulted it so briskly, and in such good order and strength, that they broke down the walls of the castle, through which they passed, and conquered the French. All within were slain, except sir Peter and Jourdain, and five or six men at arms, to whom the companions granted quarter.

After the capture of Montcontour, lord Thomas Percy‡, sir Louis de Harcourt, and sir Guiscard d'Angle, by the advice and consent of the other barons and knights, gave the castle to sir Walter Hewett, John Creswell, and David Hollegrave and their companies, who were full five hundred combatants, for them to guard the frontiers against Anjou and Maine. The lords then marched away, and dismissed their army. Thus was this castle made a guard for the borders by those to whom it had been given, who collected a numerous garrison, and had it completely repaired. They maintained possession of it for a very long time, and much harassed all the country about it; for there was not a day but they made some excursions into Anjou or Maine.

* "Sir Percival de Coulogne." Barnes calls him sir Percival Collins.

† In the Hist. de Bretagne, he is called Pierre de la Greille.

‡ Lord Thomas Percy was knight of the Garter.—*Anstis MS. Collections.*

"He was brother to the first earl of Northumberland, and uncle to Hotspur, who was created earl of Worcester by Richard II. His barony was that of Haverfordwest, and he had a considerable estate in South Wales, now in the possession of the duke of Rutland."—Note in the above Collections, by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore.

This estate is, I believe, sold: at least a rent resolute was sold by the duke (lord lieutenant of Ireland) to Mr. John Manners.

CHAPTER CCXCVIII.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, BESIEGES THE TOWN OF UZES *, WHICH SURRENDERS TO HIM UPON CAPITULATION.

We will now return to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, who had remained at Paris, near the king, since the defeat of Pont-valin, where he and sir Oliver de Clisson had so dreadfully beaten the English, as has been before related. It was told him that the English still kept the field in Poitou and Guienne: upon which he declared his intentions, that soon after Candlemas, at the commencement of spring, he should collect a very large force of men at arms and noblemen, and would make an incursion to another part of the country, since the English were thus employed in Quercy, Poitou, and Rouergue. Some of the English had very honourably remained in these countries, and had maintained themselves there since the renewal of the war. Sir John Devereux and his men had again got possession of Limousin, and had taken in Auvergne a castle with its dependencies, called Uzes, which the constable said was not to be suffered, and that he was determined to march thither. With the king's permission, he assembled a large body of men at arms; and, quitting Paris, his army increased daily until he arrived in Auvergne.

There came with him, under his command, the duke of Berry, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the count du Perche his brother, the count de St. Pol, the dauphin of Auvergne, the counts de Vendôme and de Porcien, the lords de Sully and de Montagu, sir Hugh Dauphin, the lord de Beaujeu, the lords de Rochefort and de Talençon, and a great many more barons and knights of France. This army continued its march until it came before the city of Uzes, when they encamped; and, after remaining there fifteen days, during which time many fierce assaults were made, but without impression on the fortress, for it had an English garrison who very valiantly defended it, they broke up the siege and departed, the constable continuing his march into Rouergue. Some of the principal lords took this opportunity of going to Avignon to visit pope Gregory and the duke of Anjou, who at that time was with him. Soon after this visit, and having had a conference with the duke, they left the city of Avignon and followed the constable, who was advancing through Rouergue, taking towns and castles from the English. They came before the town of Milhaud †, which was held by sir Thomas Wake ‡, and had been so for some time: they laid siege to it, as well as to the rock of Vauclerc; but the English knight surrendered upon terms, to sir Bertrand, this as well as some other castles on the borders of Limousin.

When sir Bertrand had refreshed his army, he marched away, taking the road on his return to the city of Uzes, to which he again laid siege. The constable and the dukes of Berry and Bourbon had ordered large machines to be brought from Rioms and Clermont, which they had pointed, as well as other warlike engines, against the walls of the castle.

The English, who had before so gallantly defended the place, seeing the great preparations which were making against them, as well as the numerous army of the besiegers, and having heard the manner in which sir Thomas Wake had given up the strong places in Rouergue, at the same time not expecting any succours to come to their assistance, held a council, and resolved to surrender upon capitulation, but not upon any other terms. They entered into a treaty with the constable, which was so well conducted on all sides, that they were to march out without danger or blame, carrying off whatever they could take with them, and besides were to be escorted as far as St. Severe in Limousin. This treaty was strictly observed, and the English marched out, having surrendered whatever they had held in the town and castle of Uzes, and were conducted without peril to the garrison they had fixed upon. Sir Bertrand gained by this expedition a very large extent of country, of which the English had had possession, and then returned to France.

* "Uzes." I am inclined to believe it must be Usson, a town in Auvergne, instead of Uzes, which is in Lower Languedoc, eight leagues from Avignon. See *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 336.

† Milhaud,—a town in Rouergue, on the Tarne.

‡ "Sir Thomas Wake." In all the editions, printed and MSS. which I have seen, this name is strangely disfigured. I have followed Barnes, for I could not make anything of *Veulquefaire or Bueilcafare*.

CHAPTER CCXCIX.—THE KING OF ENGLAND'S ANGER AGAINST SIR ROBERT KNOLLES IS APPEASED.—PEACE IS MADE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FLEMINGS.

You have before heard of the expedition which sir Robert Knolles* commanded in France, and how afterwards he retired to his castle of Derval in Brittany. In truth, some of the English, on their return home, spoke much against him, so that the king and his council had information of it, and were highly displeased with him. When sir Robert heard of this, he sent over his two principal squires to explain everything, and to clear him of whatever might be said against him: insomuch that the king and his council were satisfied they had been wrongly informed, and thought as favourably of him as before. Sir Aleyne Boxhull, and other knights who were favourites with the king, assisted in his disculpation, and made sir John Menstreworth pay dearly for what he had done: he was taken, and publicly executed in the city of London †. By this act of justice sir Robert Knolles was cleared of all the charges which had been laid against him, and remained in the good graces of the king and prince.

The king of England, who found himself hard pressed by this war with France, gained as many friends as he could on the other side of the sea. He had for allies the duke of Guelders, his nephew, and the duke of Juliers, who had engaged to raise a large force, as they were well able to do, and to make an incursion into France. At this time, the king sent the earl of Hereford ‡ and some other knights of his household, handsomely equipped, to Brittany, to consult with the duke on the arrangements which it was necessary should be made between them.

The English and Flemings were not at this time on good terms, but attacked each other whenever they met on the seas; and so much had the Flemings lost, that they were exceedingly angry. By accident, a fleet of each nation met off the island of Bas in Brittany §. The commander of the Flemings was John Peterson, and of the English sir Guy Brian ‖. As soon as they saw each other, they prepared for action, which was immediately begun: and very sharp it was. The king's knights who accompanied the earl of

* "Sir Robert Knolles was but of mean parentage in the county of Chester, but by his valour advanced from a common soldier in the French wars under Edward III. to a great commander. Being sent general of an army into France, in despite of their power he drove the people before him like sheep, destroying towns, castles, and cities in such a manner and number that long after, in memory of this act, the sharp points and gable ends of overthrown houses and minsters were called Knolles' Mitres. After which, to make himself as well beloved of his country, he built a goodly fair bridge at Rochester over the Medway, with a chapel and chauntry at the east end thereof. He built much at the Grayfriars, London, and an hospital at Rome for English travellers, and pilgrims. He deceased at his manor of Scone Thorpe in Norfolk,—was buried by the lady Constance, his wife, in the church of Grayfriars, London, 15th August, 1407."—*Weever's Fun. Mon.* p. 436.

In 1365, John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, gave him, at the assembly of the states at Vannes, the lands, castle, &c. of Derval and Rougé, which had been excepted at the treaty of peace.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

He was created a knight of the Garter, Richard II. and is the 74th knight.

Knolles earl of Banbury, took his descent from sir Robert Knolles.—*Dugdale's Baronage.*

Lobineau says, Derval, &c. was given to him and his descendants. In 1373, the duke, going into England, left his government to sir Robert Knolles: but few lords obeyed him. The French besieged his castle of Derval, which he had left in the custody of Hugh Broc his kinsman, who capitulated to surrender if not relieved in two months, during which time no person was to be received there. But Knolles disavowed the act of his nephew, alleging he could not treat without his consent; so that the duke of Anjou sent his herald to say, that having done contrary to his capitulation in admitting Knolles, in case he did not surrender, he would put to death the two knights and a squire who were the hostages; which being done, Knolles immediately executed three French knights and a squire, and threw their bodies into the ditch; whereupon the siege was raised.—*Lobineau*, p. 409.

† His head was affixed to a pole on London Bridge, which, on the rebellion of Jack Straw, &c. was taken down to make room for the head of the bishop of London. —*Leland's Collectanea*, vol. iii.

‡ "Earl of Hereford,"—Humphry Bohun, constable of England, 32nd knight of the Garter.—See *Dugdale.*

It appears however, from Rymer, that sir Robert de Neville and Raulyn de Barey, ecuyer de sa chambre, were the ambassadors from Edward.

§ The island of Bas is on the coast of Brittany, near Morlaix. In the original, it is, the two fleets met in a harbour of Brittany, "qu'on dit à la Baye:" and Carte says in "the bay:" but I should rather suppose it was meant as I have translated it. This signal victory is very little noticed by our historians.

‖ "Sir Guy Brian"—was 57th knight of the Garter, in the stall of sir John Chandos. He was third husband to Elizabeth dowager of William earl of Salisbury—died 14th Richard II. He was brother to the bishop of Ely.

Pat. 35. Ed. III. p. 1. Guidoni de Bryan 200 marcos in provita quod prudenter deferebat vexillum regis, in quodam conflictu apud Cales.—*Anstis MS. Collect.*

He is buried at Tewksbury. In Gough's Sepulchral Monuments is a plate of his tomb.

Hereford, sir Richard Sturey *, sir Thomas Vuisque and the others were in this engagement. These knights and their men fought very valiantly against the Flemings, and exerted themselves the more, because the enemy were in greater numbers, and were better prepared for action, as, during the whole summer, they had been wishing to meet the English. However, this time they did not gain much by the meeting. This sea-fight lasted full three hours: many gallant acts were performed, and many were killed and wounded by the arrows. The ships were grappled together with chains and hooks, so that they could not escape. In the end, the victory remained with the English; for the Flemings were discomfited, and John Peterson, their captain, made prisoner: the rest were either taken or slain, for none escaped. The English made sail for England with their prizes and prisoners, which prevented them from continuing their voyage to Brittany. The king was much rejoiced at the success of this engagement, and defeat of the Flemings, especially when he learnt that they were the aggressors. John Peterson and his captains were put into close confinement, and the others dispersed in various parts of England.

After this defeat off the isle of Bas, the king of England ordered a large armament to be prepared against the Flemings, to engage the enemy wherever they should meet with them, and to blockade their ports, so that no vessel could sail from them without risk of being taken. When the citizens of Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent, heard of these orders, they summoned a council, and, after mature deliberation, resolved that it was not for their advantage to be at war or to have any ill-will with the English, who were their neighbours and connected with them by commerce, on account of any quarrel of their earl, nor would it be expedient for them to aid and support him. The principal towns, therefore, dissembled, but sent able and good men to negotiate with the king of England and his council, who managed the affair so well that on their return they brought peace to the country of Flanders and to the Flemings, conformably to certain articles in the treaty which was sealed by each party. Thus was this business settled on a good and solid foundation.

We will now say something of the king of Majorca.

CHAPTER CCC.—THE KING OF MAJORCA IS RANSOMED FROM KING HENRY OF SPAIN.—HE MAKES WAR ON THE KING OF ARRAGON.

You have before heard how James, king of Majorca, was taken at Valadolid, when king Henry re-conquered Spain, and that he continued prisoner to king Henry. When the queen of Naples, his wife, and the marchioness of Montferrat, his sister, heard this they were much distressed, and immediately began to think of remedying it in the manner I shall mention. They sent trusty men to king Henry to treat for his ransom, who brought the matter about on consideration of the sum of one hundred thousand francs, which those ladies so graciously paid that king Henry was obliged to them. The moment the king of Majorca gained his liberty he set out for Naples, but remained there only sufficient time to collect large sums of money and a body of troops, with which he again set off to make war on the king of Arragon his adversary, whom he could never love, as he had slain his father and detained his inheritance. The king continued his journey until he came to Avignon, to visit pope Gregory XI. where he staid upwards of a month. He made such able remonstrances with the holy father that he listened to his entreaties, and consented to the war which he was desirous of making on the king of Arragon, as the cause which urged him to it was the recovery of his heritage. The king of Majorca engaged men at arms at a very high price wherever he could meet with them; English, Gascons, Germans, Bretons, and some of the free companions, under the command of sir Gracien du Châtel, John de Malestroit, Sylvestre Budes, and James Bray. They might amount to about twelve hundred fighting men, who marched with him, and entered Navarre, and there remained with the consent of that king. From thence they advanced into Arragon, where the knights and men at arms made war on the king, over-ran his country, taking and destroying small forts

* Sir Richard Sturey. I cannot find anything of him but in the first volume of Leland's Collectanea, p. 183, date 1375:—Ricardus Sturey revocatus in familiaritatem et gratiam ab Edwardo rege.

and ransoming its inhabitants. The king of Arragon, expecting this war, sent some men at arms towards the frontiers of his kingdom, under the command of the count de Roquebertin and the count de Rodais.

Whilst this war was carried on, which was done with much inveteracy and cruelty, the king of Majorca fell sick again at Val di Soria, and the disorder increased so much that he there died. By this means, the Arragonians had peace for a long time from that quarter. The free companions who had been engaged in this war returned to France, to that party from whom they thought they should gain most.

We will now speak of the duke of Lancaster.

CHAPTER CCCI.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER ESPOUSES THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE LATE DON PEDRO, KING OF SPAIN.—TREATIES OF ALLIANCE ARE ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN

Duke John of Lancaster remained in the city of Bordeaux, and with him many knights, barons, and squires of Aquitaine; for, notwithstanding some barons of Poitou and Limousin had turned to the French party, that of the English was in a tolerably good state, and made frequent inroads upon the French, on which occasions they lost nothing, but well scoured the country of those who were defending the frontiers for the duke of Anjou. The duke of Lancaster was a widower since the death of the lady Blanche, duchess of Lancaster and Derby: upon which the barons of Gascony, in concert with sir Guiscard d'Angle, considered that don Pedro, king of Spain, had left two daughters by his marriage with the sister of the king of Portugal, who were then in the city of Bayonne, whither they had been conducted, under the safeguard of some knights, by sea, from the neighbourhood of Seville, for fear of king Henry. As soon as they were informed of the death of don Pedro, these ladies were almost distracted with grief. Every one compassionated them, for they were the true heiresses of Castille, which was their just right, by succession to their father. This matter was thus opened to the duke: "My lord, it is time you should think of re-marrying: we know of a very noble match for you, one from which you or your heirs will be kings of Castille. It will be a charitable deed to comfort and advise damsels who are daughters of a king, especially when in such a pitiable state as those ladies are. Take, therefore, the eldest for your bride. We advise you to do so; for at this moment we know not where you can more nobly ally yourself, nor from whence greater profit can accrue to you." These and such like words made an impression on the duke, and were so agreeable to him that he consented to what they had proposed with much good will. He immediately ordered four knights to seek these ladies without delay, whose names were Constance and Isabella. The duke himself set out from Bordeaux, when he knew they were coming, to meet them in grand array. He married the eldest, the lady Constance, at a village on the road called Rochefort, on the other side of the city of Bordeaux, and gave there, on the day of his marriage, a splendid feast, to which were invited a great number of lords and ladies to add to its magnificence. Soon after the wedding, the duke conducted his lady to Bordeaux, where there were again grand entertainments. The duchess and her sister were much feasted by the ladies and damsels of Bordeaux, who presented them with magnificent gifts and presents for the love they bore the duke.

News was brought to king Henry in Castille, and to all the barons of the realms, who were allied to him by fealty and homage, that his niece had married the duke of Lancaster, and that it was supposed the younger sister would espouse the earl of Cambridge upon the duke's return to England. The king was very melancholy on hearing this, and summoned his council. He was then advised to send able ambassadors to the king of France, to explain his situation. The king agreed to their opinions, and chose the wisest men in his kingdom to go to France. They set out with a grand retinue, and continued their road without interruption until they came to Paris, where they found the king, who received them with every politeness. The king of France had many interviews with these ambassadors, who had full powers, properly sealed and authenticated, to enter into any treaties, and to act in

everything for their lord, so that many secret councils were held. At last, every thing was concluded; and a treaty was entered into between the two kings, of perpetual amity, love and alliance, which was most solemnly sworn to be maintained, and that neither party would dissolve or weaken without the other's consent. The king of France swore, on the word of a king, that he would aid and assist the king of Castille in every matter which might concern him, and that he would never make peace with the king of England without his being a party.

Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who much loved the king of Spain, took great pains to bring this treaty about. After this business had been completely finished, the ambassadors took their leave and returned to Spain. They found their king at Leon, who was much pleased at hgavin so well concluded the matters they were sent on. King Henry, from this alliance, felt himself ever after much more assured and comforted.

CHAPTER CCCII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER APPOINTS GOVERNORS IN GUIENNE: HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND, AND CARRIES HIS LADY WITH HIM.—SIR WALTER MANNY DIES IN LONDON.

We now return to the duke of Lancaster, who still resided in the city of Bordeaux. He had determined that about Michaelmas he would embark for England, in order to make the king his father better acquainted with the affairs of Aquitaine. To this end he made every preparation; and, a little before his departure, he assembled in Bordeaux all those barons and knights of Gascony who were of the English party. When they were all collected, he addressed them by saying, he had a great desire to return to England on particular business, as well for the advantage of all present as for the principality of Aquitaine; but that he would come back in the ensuing summer, if the king his father would permit it. These words were very agreeable to all who heard them. He then appointed the captal de Buch, the lords de Mucident and de l'Esparre, governors of all those parts of Gascony which were attached to England. In Poitou, he nominated sir Louis de Harcourt and the lord de Partenay. In Saintonge, sir Louis d'Argenton and sir William de Montendre. He left all the seneschals and other officers as they were before. The council of the Gascons, Poitevins, and Saintongers ordered sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane and sir Aimery de Tarbe to accompany the duke to England, in order more fully to explain the affairs of Aquitaine; and the duke, by waiting for them, delayed some little his voyage. When all was ready, they embarked on board of vessels in the harbour of Bordeaux, which is large and spacious. The duke was attended by a large body of men at arms and archers, having sixty vessels in the fleet, including those with provisions: he carried with him his lady and her sister. They sailed with favourable winds, which brought them safe to Southampton, where they disembarked, and entered the town. They reposed themselves there for two days, when they set out, taking the road to Windsor, where the king resided. He received his son the duke, the ladies, damsels, and the foreign knights with great joy and feasts, but especially sir Guiscard d'Angle, whom he was delighted to see.

About this time that gallant knight sir Walter Manny departed this life in the city of London; for which all the barons and knights of England were much afflicted, on account of the loyalty and prudence they had always found in him. He was buried with great pomp in the monastery of the Carthusians*, which he had built, at his own expense, without the walls of London. His funeral was attended by the king, his children, and the barons and prelates of England. All his landed property on each side of the sea fell to John earl of Pembroke, who had married his daughter Anne. The earl sent two knights to take possession of the lands which had fallen to him in Hainault, and they performed their duty well towards duke Albert, who at that time governed the country in the name of his deranged brother William.

* Now the Charter House.

CHAPTER CCCIII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND APPOINTS THE EARL OF PEMBROKE GOVERNOR OF AQUITAINE.—THE SPANIARDS, BEING ALLIES OF FRANCE, ATTACK HIM AT SEA, OFF LA ROCHELLE.

DURING this winter (1372), many councils were held in England on the state of affairs, and upon the best methods of conducting them. The English had planned two expeditions; one to Guienne, another into France through Calais; and were gaining allies, as well in Germany as in other parts of the empire, where several knights and squires had joined them. They were busily employed in making great preparations for the largest army which had been seen for a long time. The king of France was regularly informed by some Englishmen of these transactions, the state of them, and what was the end proposed. Upon which, having duly considered his intelligence, he acted accordingly, and laid in a sufficiency of provision in all the cities, towns and castles of Picardy; having strongly reinforced the garrisons with men at arms, that the country might not be surprised.

When summer was arrived, king Edward kept the feast and solemnity of St. George in Windsor castle, as he was yearly accustomed to do, when sir Guiscard d'Angle was elected

ROUND TOWER OF WINDSOR CASTLE, as it appeared in the time of Edward III., under whose direction it was built. —From one of a series of prints engraved from original documents, by Battey Langley, to exhibit the erections of the successive sovereigns.

a brother-knight with the king, the princes and barons, who were called, in this fraternity, The Knights of the Blue Garter. The king, after this, went to London, to his palace of Westminster, where he held a grand council on public affairs. The duke of Lancaster was ordered to invade France by entering Picardy. He was to be accompanied by his brother the earl of Cambridge. The king, at the entreaty of sir Guiscard d'Angle and the Poitevins, appointed the earl of Pembroke governor of Aquitaine, in room of the duke of Lancaster, with orders to hasten to those countries, and to conduct the war against the French.

The Gascons and Poitevins had requested of the king by letters, as well as by sir Guiscard d'Angle, that if he should be advised not to send any of his own children, he would nominate the earl of Pembroke, whom as they loved much they desired to have, for they knew him

to be a good and hardy knight. The king, therefore spoke to the earl of Pembroke, who, with several other barons and knights, was present at this council, saying: "John, my fair son, I ordain and institute you governor and captain of all the men at arms in Poitou, who according to the accounts I have had, are very numerous; and also of those you will conduct from hence thither. You will, therefore, accompany sir Guiscard d'Angle into Poitou." The earl of Pembroke, falling on his knees, replied: "My lord, I return you my warmest thanks for the high honour you have conferred upon me. I will act for your majesty beyond seas as one of your smallest marshals." After this, the council broke up, when the king returned to Windsor, taking sir Guiscard d'Angle with him. They frequently conversed on the affairs of Poitou and Guienne. In one of these conversations, he said: "My lord, when our governor and captain shall arrive in that country, we shall carry on a good war; for we shall there find between four and five hundred lances, who will all cheerfully obey you, but they must be regularly paid." The king answered: "Sir Guiscard, sir Guiscard, do not be uneasy on account of wanting money to continue the war, for I have enough, and will eagerly employ it for such an occasion, as it very sensibly affects us and our kingdom." In these and such like discourses did the king of England amuse himself with sir Guiscard d'Angle, for he had great confidence in him, not indeed without reason.

The season was now arrived for the departure of the earl of Pembroke, who took his leave of the king, as did all those who accompanied him. It seems to me that sir Otho de Grantson *, *d'outre la Somme*, was appointed to go with him. The earl of Pembroke had not a very large force with him, but only the knights of his household, on account of the information which sir Guiscard d'Angle had given the king; but he carried a sufficient sum in nobles and florins to pay three thousand fighting men. After taking leave of the king, they set out for Southampton, where they remained fifteen days waiting for a wind. On the sixteenth, they had a wind to their wish; and, embarking, they sailed out of the harbour for the coasts of Poitou, recommending themselves to the care of God and St. George.

King Charles of France was perfectly well acquainted with the greater part of the king of England's councils, (I do not know by whom or how they were revealed to him) and that sir Guiscard d'Angle and his companions were gone to England to request from the king an able leader. He already knew that the earl of Pembroke had the appointment, and that he was on his way thither. Upon which the king of France had secretly raised a large naval armament; that is to say, it had been done at his request, for it belonged to king Henry of Castille, who had sent this armament in conformity to the treaty which had been lately concluded between them. This Spanish fleet consisted of forty large vessels and thirteen barks, well provided with towers and ramparts, as the Spanish ships usually are. Four valiant men were the commanders of this fleet: Ambrosio de Balequer, Cabesso de Vaccadent, Hernando de Leon, Rodrigo de Rosas †. These Spaniards had remained a considerable time at anchor, waiting for the return of the Poitevins, and the coming of the earl of Pembroke; for they were well informed that he was to land on the coast of Poitou, and had therefore placed themselves at anchor before the town of La Rochelle.

It happened, therefore, that on the day preceding the vigil of St. John the Baptist, in the year of grace 1372, when the earl of Pembroke and his fleet expected to enter the port of La Rochelle, they found that the Spaniards had blocked up the entrance by lying before its mouth, and were ready prepared to receive them. When the English and Poitevins saw the Spaniards thus posted, and that an engagement must happen, they encouraged each other, though they were not near an equal match, either in regard to the number of vessels or men, and made preparations for an immediate combat, posting their archers on the bows

* "Sir Otho de Grantson." Barnes calls him sir Thomas Grantson; but sir Thomas Grantson was made prisoner by Bertrand du Guesclin, and, I suppose, was then at Paris. Froissart, I should imagine, by mentioning *outre la Somme*, must mean a different person, one who had on estate beyond the Somme. In the MS. collections of Mr. Anstis, a Sir Otho Grantson is spoken of; but, by a reference to Dugdale, it appears he must have lived in a much earlier period.

† I have copied the names of these Spanish captains from Barnes, but am doubtful if they are right; for in Choisi's history of Charles V. *Roderique de Roux* is mentioned as admiral. In Villaret's history of France, *Boccanera* is called the admiral. Indeed, this is nearer to Froissart, who calls the first captain Ambrose de *Boucquenegre*. Barnes gives not any authority for his alterations.

of the ships. The Spaniards were well equipped with men at arms and foot soldiers, who had cross-bows and cannons: many had also large bars of iron, and staves loaded with lead, to make their attacks with. They advanced with shoutings and a great noise. These large ships of Spain made sail to gain the wind, so that they might bring their towers to bear on the English, who little suspected their intent, and less feared them. Thus did they bear down on them full sail. At this commencement, great were the shouts and cries on both sides. The English behaved gallantly, and the earl of Pembroke, his knights and squires, acted worthy of their honour.

The engagement was very severe, and the English had enough to do; for the Spaniards who were in large vessels had great bars of iron and huge stones, which they launched and flung from their ships in order to sink those of the English, by which they wounded desperately both sailors and men at arms. The knights of England and Poitou that day showed excellent proofs of chivalry and prowess. The earl fought gallantly, seeking his enemies everywhere, and did extraordinary feats of arms. Sir Otho de Grantson, sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane and all the other knights, behaved equally well.

CHAPTER CCCIV.—THE INHABITANTS OF LA ROCHELLE REFUSE TO ASSIST THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.—THE SENESCHAL AND THE LORD DE TANNAYBOUTON, WITH OTHERS, COME TO HIS AID.

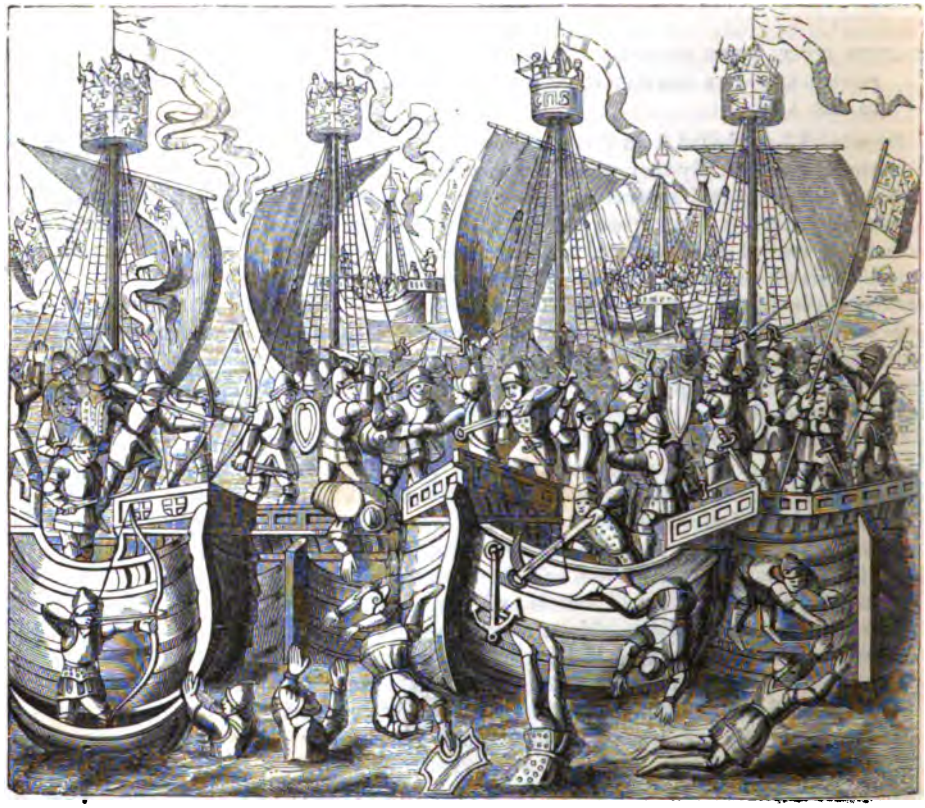
By what I have heard from those who were present at this engagement, the English and Poitevins showed plainly they wished for victory, and obtained great praise for their valour; for never people exerted more courage, nor fought more bravely, considering what a handful of men they were in comparison with the Spaniards, and in such small vessels that one cannot but marvel how it lasted so long: but their great prowess and chivalry raised a mutual spirit of emulation, and, had their vessels been of the same size with their enemy's, the Spaniards would not have had the advantage; for they handled their spears, which were well steeled, so briskly, and gave such terrible strokes, that none dared to come near unless he were well armed and shielded; but the showers of stones, lead, and iron bars annoyed them exceedingly, and in this first engagement several knights and squires were severely wounded.

The Rochellers saw plainly the whole of this engagement, but never offered to advance to the assistance of their countrymen, leaving them to shift for themselves. This battle lasted until night, when each party separated and cast their anchors: but the English lost two barges of provision, and all those in them were slain. Sir John Harpedon, who at that time was seneschal of La Rochelle, employed himself all the night in entreating the inhabitants, the mayor, John Chauderon, and the others to arm themselves, and to draw out the commonalty, and embark in the vessels and barges which were lying on the shore, in order to assist and aid their fellow-subjects whom they had seen so valorously defend themselves. The inhabitants, however, who had no inclination so to do, excused themselves by saying they had their town to guard; that they were not seamen, nor accustomed to fight at sea, nor with the Spaniards; but that, if the battle had been on shore, they would very willingly have complied with his request. The business remained in this state, and nothing could bring them to change their resolution.

At this moment there were in La Rochelle the lord de Tannaybouton, sir James de Surgeres, and sir Maubrun de Linieres, who handsomely acquitted themselves in joining their entreaties with those of the séneschal. When these four knights saw they could not gain any thing, they armed themselves, ordering their people, who were not in any great numbers, to do the same; and, on the return of the tide, they embarked in four boats which they took from the shore, at break of day, and made for the vessels of their friends, who were right glad to see them. They told the earl of Pembroke and sir Guiscard d'Angle, that they must not expect any assistance from La Rochelle, as the townsmen had positively refused it; to which, as they could not better themselves, they replied that they trusted in the mercy of God, and would wait the event; that a time might come when the Rochellers should repent of their refusal.

CHAPTER CCCV.—THE EARL OF PEMBROKE IS DEFEATED, AND MADE PRISONER BY THE SPANIARDS.—THEY SAIL FROM LA ROCHELLE WITH THEIR PRISONERS.—THE CAPTAL DE BUCH ARRIVES THERE, BUT TOO LATE.

When it was day, and the tide had flowed full, the Spaniards weighed their anchors, and, with a great noise of trumpets and drums, formed a line of battle, like to that of the preceding day, with their large vessels, which were well manned and armed, and having gained the wind in hopes of inclosing the English vessels, which were but few in comparison, the before mentioned four captains led the van in handsome order. The English and Poitevins, observing their line of battle, formed theirs accordingly, and, having collected themselves together, placed their archers in front. The Spaniards, under the command of these captains, bore down on them full sail, and began the engagement, which was dreadfully deadly. When they came to close quarters, the Spaniards flung out grappling-hooks with chains of iron, which lashed the English to their vessels, so that they could not separate, and thus, as it were, held them close*.



Sea Fight off La Rochelle. From MS. Froissart of the 15th Century.

With the earl of Pembroke there were twenty-two knights, who united good inclinations to tried valour, and who vigorously defended themselves with spears, swords, and other weapons. They remained there closely engaged, fighting desperately, for a considerable time; but the Spaniards had too much the advantage, as their vessels were larger and higher

* The Mémoires de Du Guesclin say, that fire-ships were first used in this engagement by the Spaniards, and that by their means thirteen of the largest English ships were destroyed.—*Coll. Mémoires Historiques*, vol. i. p. 432.

above the water than those of the English, from which they flung down stones, bars of iron, and lead, that much annoyed their adversaries. The engagement continued with great fury between them until near nine o'clock; and no people ever laboured harder than the English and Poitevins, but the greater part of their men were now wounded by the stones and other things which were thrown on them, and that gallant knight of Gascony sir Aimery de Tarbe was slain, as well as sir John Lauton, who was knight of the body to the earl of Pembroke. Four large Spanish ships had grappled with that in which was the earl: they were commanded by Cabesso de Vaccadent and Hernando de Leon, and full of men at arms for the combat and to work the vessels. After an obstinate resistance, they boarded the earl's ship, when he was made prisoner, and all on board slain or taken. Among the last were, sir Robert Beaufort, sir John Curzon, sir John Grimstone: sir Simon Whitaker, sir John Morton, and sir John Touchet shared the fate of the first.

At some distance, the Poitevins, under the command of sir Guiscard d'Angle, the lord de Pinane, the lord de Tannaybouton, and other knights, with their followers, continued the fight; and in another ship, sir Otho de Grantson was engaged against Ambroise de Boccanera and Roderigo de Rosas, who were too many for him; so that all these knights were taken by the Spaniards, not one escaped being killed or made prisoner. Their men were also in great danger, but their lords, when taken, desired they would cease the slaughter, as they would pay a proper ransom for them. Whoever may find himself in such a strait of arms as the earl of Pembroke or sir Guiscard d'Angle were in, before La Rochelle, must cheerfully submit to whatever God or fortune may please to order. But know, that in the loss of this day, of knights or squires, the king of England in comparison was by far the greatest sufferer; for, in consequence of this defeat, he lost afterwards all Guienne, as you will have related in this history.

I was informed that the English vessel which had on board the money for sir Guiscard d'Angle to pay the soldiers of Guienne was lost, and everything on board with it; so that it was not of profit to any one. All this day, which was the vigil of St. John the Baptist, the ensuing night, and the morrow until noon, did the Spaniards remain at anchor before La Rochelle, shouting and rioting with joy. It happened fortunately that a knight of Poitou, called sir James de Surgeres, addressed the person who had taken him with so much eloquence that he agreed to give him his liberty for three hundred francs, which he paid down. He dined in La Rochelle on St. John's day; and by him it was known how the affair had ended, who were slain or made prisoners. Many citizens of the town pretended to be much concerned at this event, though in their hearts they rejoiced, for they never were well inclined towards the English.

In the afternoon of St. John's day, at high flood, the Spaniards weighed anchor, set their sails, and departed with a great noise of drums and trumpets. They had on their mast-heads standards like to pennons, with the arms of Castille displayed on them, and of such a length that their ends frequently touched the sea. It was a fine sight to see them thus sail off, as they steered for the coast of Galicia. In this same day, towards the evening, there came into La Rochelle a large body of men at arms, Gascons and English, who had not heard what had passed, but they knew that the Spaniards were lying before the town, and had done so for some time: they came, therefore, to reinforce it. The leaders of the Gascons were, the captal de Buch, sir Beras de la Lande, sir Peter de Landura, the souldich, sir Bertrand du Trane: of the English, lord Thomas Percy, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir William Farrington, the earl of Angus, sir Baldwin Freville*, sir Walter Hewet, and sir John Devereux†.

When these lords and their troops, which were full six hundred men, were arrived in La Rochelle, the inhabitants made appearance of being very glad to see them, for they dared not do otherwise. They learnt from sir James de Surgeres the event of the battle with the Spaniards, and the names of those killed and taken. The barons and knights were sorely

* "Sir Baldwin Freville"—had summons to parliament the 1st Edward III. See Dugdale. He was competitor for the office of champion at the coronation of Richard II. but the earl-marshal decided on the superior claim of the Dymocks. See Dugdale's Warwickshire, where the pedigree is.

† "Sir John Devereux." See Dugdale. From him are descended the viscounts Hereford, &c.

afflicted at this news, and thought themselves more unfortunate than they had ever yet been for not arriving sooner. They regretted much the loss of the earl of Pembroke and sir Guiscard d'Angle. I know not how many days they remained in La Rochelle, to consider what would be the best manner for them to conduct themselves, and whither they should march. We will leave them for a while, and speak of Evan of Wales, and of his exploits this season.

CHAPTER CCCVI.—EVAN OF WALES* DEFEATS THE ENGLISH OFF THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS HIM TO SPAIN TO SEEK FOR MEN AT ARMS, TO LAY SIEGE TO LA ROCHELLE.

Evan of Wales was the son of a prince of Wales, whom king Edward, for some reason I am ignorant of, had put to death, and seized his territories and principality, which he had given to his son the prince of Wales. Evan went to France, to lay his complaints before king Charles of the injuries he had suffered from the king of England, by the death of his father and the seizure of his inheritance. The king of France had retained him in his service, and much advanced him, by giving him the command of a large body of men at arms. In this summer, he sent him to sea with four thousand fighting men, with whom he acquitted himself much to his honour, as you shall now hear.

When he took command of these men at arms, and vessels which the king of France had equipped and provided for him, he embarked in the port of Harfleur, and set full sail for England, making the island of Guernsey, which lies opposite to Normandy. Edmund Ross, squire of honour to the king of England, was then governor of that island. On hearing of the arrival of the French under the command of Evan, he was much angered, and advanced out to meet him. He issued his summons throughout the island, which is not large, and collected, as well of his own men as of the islanders, about eight hundred, with whom he gave battle. It was sharp and long; but the English, at last, were defeated, leaving upwards of four hundred dead on the field. Edmund was forced to fly, otherwise he must have been slain or taken. He escaped with great difficulty and saved himself in a handsome castle, called Cornet, situated at the distance of two leagues from the place where the battle had been fought, and which he had beforehand provided with every thing necessary for such a fortress. After this defeat, Evan, having collected his army, and hearing that Edmund had retreated into Cornet castle, advanced thither, and invested it closely, giving frequent assaults; but the castle was strong and well provided with artillery, so that the French could not gain it.

It was during the time of this siege the unfortunate defeat and capture of the earl of Pembroke and sir Guiscard d'Angle happened before La Rochelle, which has been just related. The king of France, when he heard of the success of the Spaniards, was exceedingly rejoiced, and paid more attention than ever to the affairs of Poitou; for he thought, perhaps lightly enough, that if the English should have a few more such defeats, the cities and principal towns would willingly surrender to him. He therefore determined, with the advice of his council, to send the constable and all his men at arms into Poitou, Saintonge and the Rochellois, in order to carry on the war more briskly by sea and land, whilst the English party should be without a leader, for the whole country was wavering in its allegiance. He therefore sent messengers to Evan of Wales, who was lying before Cornet castle, as he was perfectly acquainted with the state of it, and knew it to be impregnable, ordering him instantly to break up the siege, and put to sea in a vessel equipped for him, and to make sail for Spain to prevail on king Henry to grant him boats and galleys, with his admirals

* Among the members of the council of war whom Du Guesclin called, before he attacked St. Maure sur Loire, are Carenlouet capitaine de la Roche-Possay, Ivain de Galles, and another knight called the Poursuivant d'Amours. —Note 83d in the same vol. says, "This famous Poursuivant d'Amours was also called le chevalier Bauwen, most probably a Welshman of the name of Bowen." But how is this to be reconciled with the preceding quotations? —See Mémoires de Du Guesclin, vol. iv. of the Historical Collection of French Memoirs, p. 397.

and men at arms, to blockade La Rochelle. Evan, on receiving the messengers with the king's orders, promptly obeyed them, as was right; broke up the siege, and disbanded his men, lending them vessels to carry them to Harfleur. He himself immediately embarked on board a large ship, and made sail for Spain. Thus was the siege of Cornet castle raised.

CHAPTER CCCVII.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS MUCH CAST DOWN AT THE CAPTURE OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.—EVAN OF WALES MEETS THE EARL A PRISONER IN SPAIN.

You must know that when the king of England heard of the defeat of the armament he had sent to Poitou, and that it had been overcome by the Spaniards, he was greatly afflicted; so were all those who were attached to him; but for the moment he could not amend it. The wisest in the kingdom imagined that this unfortunate business would cause the loss of the countries of Poitou and Saintonge; and they stated this as their opinion to the king and duke of Lancaster. They held many councils upon it. The earl of Salisbury was ordered thither with five hundred men at arms. However, notwithstanding this order, he never went; for other affairs came into agitation respecting Brittany, which prevented it from taking place. The king repented of this afterwards, when it was too late.

The Spaniards who had taken the earl of Pembroke and his companions were detained some little time at sea by contrary winds. They arrived at the port of St. Andero in Biscay, and entered the town about mid-day, when they conducted their prisoners to a strong castle, and fastened them with iron chains according to their usual custom; for the Spaniards know not how to show courtesy to their prisoners, but act like the Germans. Evan* of Wales had the same day arrived with his ship at St. Andero, and had entered the hôtel where don Fernando de Rosas and Cabesso de Vaccadent had conducted the earl of Pembroke and his knights. This was told to Evan in his apartment, saying: "Sir, come and see the English knights whom our people have made prisoners, they will enter this hôtel, for it is not long since they arrived." Evan being very desirous of seeing them, to know who they were, went out. He met, on quitting his chamber, in the apartment of the landlord, the earl of Pembroke, whom he directly recognized, though he had scarcely ever seen him before. He addressed him in a reproachful manner: "Earl Pembroke, are you come into this country to do me homage for the lands you hold of me in the principality of Wales, of which I am the heir, and which your king has deprived me of, through the advice of evil counsellors?" The earl of Pembroke was much displeased and ashamed, feeling himself a prisoner in a strange country, to be thus apostrophised in his own language by one whom he did not know, and replied, "Who are you that you address me in such words?" Evan answered, "I am Evan, son and heir of prince Edmund of Wales, whom your king wickedly and wrongfully put to death, and disinherited me afterwards. But I may perhaps be able, through the assistance of my very dear lord the king of France, to apply a remedy to this, and I will certainly then do so. I wish you to know, that if I can meet you in a proper place and time to offer you combat, I will show you the wrongs you have done me, as well as the earl of Hereford and Edward Spencer; for by your father and other evil counsellors was my lord and father betrayed, which ought to anger me, and I will be revenged of it whenever I may have an opportunity."

Sir Thomas St. Aubin, who was one of the earl's knights, stepped forward and eagerly said: "Evan, if you mean to say and maintain, that my lord has now, or at any other time, committed a dishonourable act, or that my lord his father has done so, or that he owes you any homage or anything else, throw down your glove and you will find one ready enough to take it up." Evan replied: "You are a prisoner: I shall gain no honour in calling you out, for you are not your own master, but belong to those who have taken you: but when you have gained your liberty, I shall speak out more boldly, for things shall not remain as they

* By every thing I can find, this Evan was an impostor.—Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, was treacherously slain, near Builth, in Edward I.'s reign. Probably the king of France knew this, but employed him in hopes of his assistance against England.—See Barnes and others.

[Llewellyn left only one legitimate child, a daughter, afterwards married to Malcolm earl of Fife; he also, it is said, left an illegitimate son called Madoc, but nothing is known of his history or fate; it is not improbable that this Evan was the son of Madoc.—Ed.]

now are." As he finished these words, some knights and Spanish men of valour got between them, and separated them. The four admirals did not, after this, make any long stay, but led their prisoners to Burgos, to deliver them up to the king of Spain, who at that time resided there.

When the king heard of their coming, and that they were near to Burgos, he sent his eldest son, John, who was called the Infanta of Castille, attended by a large company of knights and squires, to meet and to do them honour; for king Henry knew well that it became him so to act; and he himself paid them much attention, as soon as they were come into his presence. Shortly after, the king issued out his orders, when they were sent to different places in the kingdom of Castille.

CHAPTER CCCVIII.—THE CONSTABLE DU GUESCLIN TAKES THE CASTLE OF MONMORILLON *, AND OTHER PLACES IN POITOU.

We will return to the affairs of Poitou, which at that time were not trifling matters, and say how those knights from England and Gascony acted who had come into La Rochelle at the feast of St. John the Baptist, as has been before related. They were exceedingly vexed they had not arrived there the preceding day, and been in time for the Spaniards. They held long councils how they should act, and which way they should advance, for they already had their suspicions of the loyalty of the Rochellers. They appointed sir John Devereux séneschal of La Rochelle, with three hundred men at arms for the defence of the castle, for as long they should be masters of that, the town dared not to rebel. This business done, the captal de Buch, who commanded the expedition, lord Thomas Percy, the earl of Angus, sir Richard de Pontchardon, the souldich †, sir Beras de la Lande, and the others, with their men, marched from La Rochelle. About four hundred lances took the road for Soubise ‡; for there were some Bretons near that place, who having taken possession of several churches and small forts, had fortified them: but as soon as these lords approached they fled, and the country was freed of such visitors.

At this time, the constable of France, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the lord Louis de Sancerre, the lords de Clisson and de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Beaumanoir, and numbers of the barons of France, had taken the field, and were with the army in the countries of Anjou, Auvergne and Berry: in all, upwards of three thousand spears. Those lords who were under the immediate command of the constable advanced into Poitou, where they kept in a body, and then proceeded to lay siege to a castle called Monmorillon. On their arrival, they assaulted it briskly and gained it, putting all within to the sword. They reinforced it with another garrison. They then marched to Chauvigny §, on the river Creuse, and besieged it. They remained there two days, but on the third it surrendered, and the garrison was spared. They continued their march towards Lussac, where there is a town and castle, which surrendered immediately without waiting the assault. They advanced towards the city of Poitiers, and lay one night in the vineyards, which very much alarmed the city, as they were fearful of being besieged; but for this time they were free, for they marched off the following day, advancing towards Moncontour. John Cresswell and David Hollegrave commanded in the place, and had under them about sixty good companions, bold and hardy, who had very much harassed the surrounding countries of Anjou and Touraine, as well as all the French garrisons, so that the constable declared he would not undertake anything before he had gained this town.

* Monmorillon,—a town in Poitou, eleven leagues from Poitiers.

† *Monseigneur* le Souldich.—*D. Sauvage.*

‡ Soubise,—a town in Saintonge, six leagues from La Rochelle.

§ Chauvigny,—six leagues from Poitiers.

CHAPTER CCCIX.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE TAKES MONCONTOUR BY A CAPITULATION.—HE MARCHES FROM THENCE TO FORM A JUNCTION WITH THE DUKE OF BERRY IN THE LIMOUSIN, WHEN THEY LAY SIEGE TO ST. SEVERE.

THE constable of France, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the lord de Clisson, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Laval, de Beaumanoir and de Sully, with the others, advanced until they came before Moncontour, a handsome castle, six leagues from Poitiers. On their arrival, they began the siege, and made different assaults in good order; but, as the ditches were very deep round the walls, they could not easily approach. They ordered the peasants to cut timber and faggots which they caused to be drawn and thrown into them, and afterwards covered with straw and earth. Four days were taken up in doing this. When they had completed it, they began their attacks in earnest, and in a regular way. Those within defended themselves well, for they were masters of their profession; and they sustained the assault one whole day, when they had hard fighting, and were in great danger of being taken. On the sixth, the constable advanced himself with his Bretons in regular order, to make a fiercer assault than any of the former ones. Being covered with large shields, and armed with pick-axes and mattocks, they came up close to the walls, which they immediately battered, pulling out stones in various places, insomuch that the garrison began to be alarmed: they, however, defended themselves as well as ever garrison did.

John Cresswell and David Hollegrave, the governors, saw the peril they were in, and guessed that sir Bertrand, from this manner of proceeding, would not quit the place before he had conquered it; so that, should they be taken by assault, they would certainly be put to death; and, not seeing nor hearing of any succour coming to them, they opened a treaty to surrender the place, on their lives being spared. The constable, who did not wish to harass his own people, nor to push too far the garrison, whom he knew to be resolute men at arms, accepted the terms, and agreed they should leave the castle, taking nothing with them but gold or silver, and that they should be escorted to Poitiers. In this manner did the constable get the castle of Moncontour, of which he took possession, and had it well repaired. He remained in it to refresh himself and men, for he was not determined whither he should march next, to Poitiers or elsewhere.

When the news was known in the city of Poitiers, that the constable and his Bretons had retaken the castle of Moncontour, they were more alarmed than before, and immediately sent off messengers to lord Thomas Percy, their séneschal, who was on the expedition with the captal de Buch. At the same time that lord Thomas Percy received this information, sir John Devereux, who resided in the castle of La Rochelle, was told that the constable of France, having encamped before Poitiers, had reconnoitred the place, and that the inhabitants were the more afraid he would besiege it because their séneschal was absent. Sir John did not hear this intelligence with indifference, but set about to aid and comfort the Poitevins: he marched from La Rochelle, with only fifty lances, having appointed, on his departure, one of his squires, named Philip Mansel, governor of the castle until his return. He took the road to Poitiers, which he entered; and the citizens testified their obligations to him for it. The principal citizens who brought the news from Poitiers to lord Thomas Percy, serving in the captal's army, begged of him to hasten thither: and as they expected an immediate siege, to bring with him as strong a force as he could, for the French army was very considerable. On hearing this, lord Thomas explained the business to the captal, to know what he would say to it. The captal, having considered it, was unwilling to break up his expedition, but gave lord Thomas Percy leave to go there: he set off, and on his arrival in Poitiers was received with great joy by the inhabitants, who were very desirous of having him among them. He found sir John Devereux there, and great feastings and rejoicings were made on the occasion.

All this was known to the constable, who had continued in Moncontour, and also that Poitiers had been reinforced with a body of men at arms. At the same time he heard from the duke of Berry, who commanded a large army in Auvergne, Berry, and Burgundy, upon

the borders of Limousin, that he was desirous of laying siege to St. Severe*; which town belonged to sir John Devereux, but was garrisoned, under his orders, by sir William Percy, Richard Gill, and Richard Orme, and a large body of men at arms, who had overrun the countries of Auvergne and Limousin, doing much mischief to both of them. The duke of Berry, on this account, wished to march thither, and therefore entreated the constable, if he had not any other views, that he would join him before St. Severe. The constable, who was very wise, prudent, and inventive in all his undertakings, considered that at that moment he could not expect success before Poitiers, even if he were to march his men thither; for the city had been greatly reinforced with men at arms: he therefore declared he would join the duke of Berry. He set out from Moncontour with his whole army after he had appointed a garrison to defend it, and joined the duke, who thanked him much for coming, as well as all his knights and squires. When this junction was formed, there was plenty of men at arms. The duke of Berry, in company with the constable, reconnoitred St. Severe: their force was about four thousand men at arms: they directly laid siege to the place, declaring they would not depart until they had possession of it. They began the siege with great vigour, and sir William Percy and his companions defended themselves equally well.

News was brought to sir John Devereux in the city of Poitiers, how the duke of Berry, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the constable of France, the lord de Cliseon, the viscount de Rohan, with four thousand men at arms, were besieging his castle of St. Severe. He was very pensive on hearing this, and spoke to lord Thomas Percy, who was present when the intelligence came: "Lord Thomas, you are séneschal of this country, and have sufficient influence and power to do what I am about to request of you; which is, that you would advise and assist me in succouring my people, for unless they are reinforced they must be taken by assault." "By my faith," replied lord Thomas, "I have every inclination and good wish to assist you: and through love to you, I will set out, and speak to my lord the captal de Buch, who is not far distant. I will do all in my power to induce him to accompany us, to raise the siege, and to offer battle to the French." They immediately set out from Poitiers, leaving the city under the guard of the mayor of the place, whose name was John Regnault, a good and loyal man. These knights rode until they met the captal de Buch, in the plain, advancing towards St. Jean d'Angely. They remonstrated with him in a courteous manner, how the French had taken Monmorillon, near Poitiers, as well as the strong castle of Moncontour; and that they were now employed at the siege of St. Severe, which belonged to sir John Devereux, to whom certainly some good services were due. Besides, there were shut up in the castle, sir William Percy, Richard Gill, and Richard Orme, who were too valiant men to be lost.

The captal de Buch, having considered a moment, replied, "Gentlemen, what is it you wish me to do?" Some knights who were near had been called to this council, and they replied: "It is now a long time since we have heard you express a strong desire for an opportunity of fighting with the French, you can never find a more favourable one than by hastening to St. Severe; and, if you will issue your summons to Anjou and Poitou, we shall have a sufficient number to combat the French with the good will we have to meet with them." "By my faith," answered the captal, "I wish nothing better; and we will soon measure our strength with theirs, if it please God and my lord St. George." The captal immediately issued his summons to all barons, knights, and squires of Poitou and Saintonge attached to the English, entreating and enjoining them strictly to meet him, at a certain fixed place, armed and prepared in the best manner they could. Every knight and squire who received these letters made all possible dispatch to make himself ready, and took the field to meet the captal as speedily as he could. Among the principal were, the lord de Partenay, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Hugh de Vinoue, sir Thomas his brother, sir Percival de Coulonge, sir Aimery de la Rochechouart, sir James de Surgeres, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, the lords de Puissances, de Roussillon, de Crupenac, sir John d'Angle, sir William de Montendre, and many other barons and knights: so that they mustered full nine hundred lances and five hundred archers.

* "St. Severe,"—a town in Saintonge, near Saintes.

CHAPTER CCCX.—THE GARRISON OF ST. SEVERE, AFTER A SHARP ASSAULT, SURRENDERS TO SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN.—THE CITY OF POITIERS TURNS TO THE FRENCH PARTY.

Intelligence was brought to sir Bertrand du Guesclin and the army before St. Severe, that the English, Poitevins, and their allies were fast approaching with a great force, in order to oblige them to raise the siege. When the constable heard of this, he was no way alarmed, but ordered every one to arm and to march directly to the assault. No one disobeyed this command, but French and Bretons advanced to the fort armed and well covered by their shields, when they began a vigorous attack, each lord under his own banner and surrounded by his people. It was a handsome sight to look at, for at this assault there were forty-nine banners, and numbers of pennons. The constable and the marshal lord Louis de Sancerre were there at their proper posts, labouring hard to encourage the men to conduct their attack with greater valour. Knights and squires of all nations were eager to gain honour and advancement, and performed many gallant exploits. Several crossed the ditches, which were full of water, with their shields on their heads, and marched up to the walls. In doing this, they never retreated, notwithstanding the things which were thrown down on them, but advanced the nearer to the fort. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, and the dauphin d'Auvergne, with several other great lords, were on the ditch encouraging their men, who, on account of such spectators, advanced boldly, fearless of death and danger.

Sir William Percy and the two squires of honour, who were governors of the castle, perceiving how briskly the attacks were made, and that they never cooled nor ceased, were sensible, that, if it thus continued, they could not long resist, and, according to their imagination, no aid was coming to them from any part; for, if they had suspected that a reinforcement was within ten leagues, they would have taken courage, and have held out until they should have been relieved: but, being ignorant of this, they opened a treaty with the constable, to avoid further loss. Sir Bertrand, who had had certain intelligence that before evening he should see or hear of the English, eagerly concluded the negociation, granting them their lives: on which he made great rejoicings. He then ordered the army to march into the plain, and draw up in order of battle, saying to the chief commanders: "Gentlemen, look to yourselves, for the enemy is advancing, and I hope that we may have a battle before night." Each made ready, upon hearing this, as well for the attack as to defend himself. The English, however, were in no hurry to march further, when they learnt for certain that St. Severe was taken. We will, therefore, speak of what was passing in Poitiers.

At this time there were great dissentions in Poitiers, for three parts of the town wished to turn to the French; but John Regnault, the mayor, and a part of the commonalty, wanted to remain with the English. Notwithstanding this, the richest citizens and the churchmen, of whom there were there plenty, would, whatever might be the consequences, have the constable sent for: indeed they secretly advised him to make haste and take possession of the city, for on his approach they would open to him the gates. The constable was much rejoiced, and told it to the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, who determined that he should leave the army with three hundred men at arms, mounted on the fleetest coursers they had. They rode that day and the following night, with scarcely any repose, upwards of thirty leagues by another road than that the English had taken, and by day-break arrived at Poitiers. They found the gates ready opened, and their party prepared to receive them. Had they but delayed one half hour, they would have lost the opportunity; for John Regnault and his friends, having learnt the intention of the others, had sent off in great haste to sir John Devereux and lord Thomas Percy, who, with a hundred spears and as many archers, were within one short league of the city.

The barons and knights of Poitou were thunderstruck at the capture of Poitiers, as well as those from Gascony and England, who were collected in Poitou, to the amount of eight hundred lances and four hundred archers. They called a council to consider in what manner they should act, for they saw themselves in great difficulties, and were doubtful in whom

they could put confidence. The barons and knights of Poitou therefore, the better to re-assure the English, thus addressed them: "Certainly, gentlemen, it is exceedingly disagreeable for us to see the affairs of this country in such a state that we cannot bring any remedy to them; but depend upon it, that as long as we exist, and there shall remain any house or fort in Poitou to receive us, we will always remain steadily and loyally attached to our natural lord the king of England and to you." The English knights replied, "We place our entire confidence in you, and you will find in us companions and friends to death." There were very long debates, when it was at last resolved, that the Poitevins should march off one way, and the English to a different quarter. They parted from each other in the most amicable manner; that is to say, the lord de Partenay, the lords de Thouars and de Roussillon, sir Aimery de la Rochechouart, sir John d'Angle, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Percival de Coulonge governor of Thouars, Hugh de Brionne, Reginald de Thouars, William de Crupenac, James de Surgeres, and other knights and squires of Poitou, who took the road to Thouars. The English, such as sir John Devereux, lord Thomas Percy, sir Richard de Pontchardon, the earl of Angus, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir Matthew Foulkes, sir Thomas Gournay, sir Walter Hewett, sir John Creswell, and others, took the road to Niort *, which they intended to enter without halting; but, when they arrived there, they found the gates shut and the draw-bridge raised, and were told by the inhabitants they should not have admittance. The English lords immediately called a council, and declared such an insult was not to be suffered: they drew up in good array, and attacked the town with great courage, which was defended by the inhabitants: but there was not any gentleman or knight within it to order or lead them, only mechanics, who knew not what it was to make war: so they were conquered by the English. Could they have held out until vespers, they would have been assisted, for the constable had ordered Thibaut du Pons, with two hundred combatants, to reinforce the garrison. They did not, however, arrive in time, for the town was taken by assault, and pillaged, while men and women were promiscuously put to the sword. The English took up their quarters in Niort, waiting for intelligence.

CHAPTER CCCXI.—THE FRENCH MAKE THE CAPTAL DE BUCH PRISONER.—LA ROCHELLE TURNS TO THE FRENCH.

During the time the English were in Niort, from whence, in truth, they were afraid of departing, Evan of Wales, in company with the Spanish Admiral don Roderigo di Roas, arrived at La Rochelle with fourteen large ships and eight galleys, laden with men at arms and provision. They anchored before the town, so that nothing could enter or come out without danger of being taken. Upon which the Rochellers, who were wavering, had a secret interview with Evan and the Spanish admiral; and it was agreed mutually not to hurt each other. The Spaniards and French remained at anchor before La Rochelle; but they had spies in the countries of Poitou and Saintonge, to inform them what was going forwards. The governor of La Rochelle was at that time Philip Mansel.

The constable of France still continued in Poitiers, but he sent the lord du Pons, and Thibaut du Pons, with three hundred spears, including every one, to Soubise, a very strong castle situated on the sea-shore, directly to the mouth of the river Charente, where it disembogues itself into the sea. The lady of Soubise was in the castle, but had not many men at arms to garrison it: she therefore directly sent off a squire to John de Grailly, captal de Buch, constable of Aquitaine, to ask for succour, who was at the time in St. Jean d'Angely. He sent orders for sir Henry Haye, séneschal of Angoulême, sir William de Marneil, nephew to the lord Raymond de Marneil, lord Thomas Percy, and sir John Creswell, to come immediately to St. Jean d'Angely.

Evan of Wales was informed of all the particulars of this siege, as well as the assembly of St. Jean d'Angely. He therefore picked out four hundred lances of those most to be depended upon from his whole army, and embarking them on board thirteen barges, set sail with sir

* "Niort,"—a city in Poitou, fifteen leagues from Poitiers.

James de Montmoy and Morellet his brother. He left the Spanish admiral, with the remainder of the armament before La Rochelle, and arrived undiscovered on the opposite shore to the castle of Soubise, where the lord de Pons was, who knew nothing of this embarkation.

The captal was also ignorant of it, as he was collecting his forces in St. Jean d'Angely; for, had he suspected anything of the sort, he would have had a larger body of men: but he sent back a considerable number, having also left many in St. Jean d'Angely. He marched with only two hundred lances at the utmost, and about night arrived near to the French army and to the castle of Soubise. They dismounted on the outside of a small coppice, to tighten their gloves of mail and regirth their horses. Having remounted, they displayed their banners, dashing among the French with their shouts of war. Many were slain and wounded at this onset, for the French were not on their guard. The lord du Pons and Thibaut du Pons, with sixty of their principal men, were made prisoners, and the rest put to flight.

At this moment, Evan of Wales with his forces advanced, having hastily crossed the Charente, with torches and other lights, for it was exceedingly dark. These four hundred lances, who were determined men and quite fresh, fell upon the English and Gascons, who thought they had accomplished their business. Many were scattered about pillaging, and the knights were attending to their prisoners. They were treated by these new-comers very roughly, and in a short time completely defeated. An able squire of Vermandois, called Peter Danvilliers *, advanced and came so near the captal de Buch that he made him his prisoner by a gallant deed of arms. The captal was, at this period, the knight of Gascony attached to England whom the king of France and the Frenchmen wished most to gain, for he was a hardy and enterprising captain. Lord Thomas Percy was also that day made prisoner by a Welsh priest, called David Howel †. Sir Maubrun de Linieres, sir Henry Haye, and several other knights and squires were taken likewise. Sir Walter Hewett, sir Petiton de Courton, sir William Farrington and Carmille ‡ escaped with great difficulty: they made for the town of Soubise, but would have failed of help if the lady had not been on the walls, who had the gate instantly opened. They entered the place with several others.

On the next morning, Evan of Wales ordered all his barges and boats to be drawn up before Soubise, on which he made a brisk attack. The lord du Pons and sir Thibaut du Pons, who had been rescued, assaulted it on the opposite side. The garrison and town defended themselves valiantly: but the lady called a council of the knights and barons, as the place was not strong, and could not hold for any time; for she did not, in the present state of affairs, expect any succour; and sent them to negotiate with the French. A treaty was made on such terms that the knights who were in the town might retire in safety to Niort, Saintes, Lusignan, or whithersoever they pleased; but the lady of Soubise was to place herself under the obedience of the king of France.

The English departed from Soubise, and were safely escorted wherever they chose to go. The French took possession of the town and received the fealty of the lady, who swore allegiance to the king of France for herself and for her dependencies. Evan of Wales, sir James de Montmoy, and their men, returned to their boats, carrying with them the captal de Buch, and their other prisoners, to the large fleet, which was lying before La Rochelle.

The lord du Pons and the Bretons hastened their march toward St. Jean d'Angely, to join the other men at arms whom the constable had sent thither. There were the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Clisson, de Tournemine, de Beaumanoir, and de Rochefort, sir William des Bourdes, sir Oliver de Mauny, sir Reginald de Limousin, sir Geoffry Ricon, Yvon de Laconnet, Alain de St. Pol, Carsuelle, and several more, who came before the town of St. Jean d'Angely, and made a great show as if they meant to assault it. The inhabitants, seeing the country was lost, and their captain taken, at the same time not expecting succour from any part, surrendered themselves to the French. The Bretons then marched towards Angoulême, which turned to the French, as did Taillebourg. They next advanced to Saintes, where they

* "Danvilliers." Froissart calls him Pierre Danielles; but I copy from Villaret's Hist. de France, tom. v. who says that Charles V. gave the squire twelve hundred livres for the ransom of the captal, and cites le Tresor de Chartres for the receipt.

† "David Howel." Villaret calls him David Hennel. I suppose it should be David Howel. In those days, it was common for priests to engage in war, notwithstanding their priesthood.

‡ "Carmille." Q.

remained two days and two nights; for the governor, sir William Farrington said he would not surrender so easily, and made preparations for its defence; but the bishop of the town, who was a Frenchman, worked upon the citizens so far as to induce them to seize the governor, and declare they would put him to death if he would not permit them to surrender. Sir William consented, provided when they treated for themselves they did so for him, and that he should be permitted to march out free. This treaty was accepted, and the French took possession of Saintes and its castle. Sir William Farrington marched out, and was escorted to Bordeaux.

Evan of Wales still lay before La Rochelle in company with the Spanish admiral, don Roderigo de Rosas, with forty large ships, thirteen barges, and eight galleys. There were many negotiations between them and the citizens; but these last could not do anything so long as the castle was in the hands of the English. They waited, therefore, dissembling their intentions, until the English should have drawn off the greater part of the garrison, as they were doing by little and little, and until sir John Devereux had left it under the command of Philip Mansel, who had but a hundred companions one with the other. At this time, a citizen called John Candorier *, mayor of the town, assembled a meeting of those that were more inclined to the French than to the English, and addressed them: "Gentle sirs, we see our neighbours taking part with the French on all sides of us, and we shall soon be so inclosed that we shall not know which way to turn ourselves, nor even to go out of our town. It would therefore be expedient, as the moment seems favourable, to consider in what manner we may be able to gain possession of the castle, which has so much annoyed and vexed us, for the garrison is now much weakened. Philip Mansel is not very crafty. I will therefore tell him I have received orders from the king of England, which command me to arm and muster all the inhabitants of the town in a place which I will name, but that I must know the number of the garrison as well as the townsmen, so that I may be enabled to send him an exact account. I will desire him to march out of the castle and make his muster before me, which I am persuaded he will do. We will then have provided an ambuscade among the old ruins, on the outside of the castle, of two hundred companions, who, when the garrison have marched out, shall post themselves between them and the draw-bridge, which will have been let down. We will also have a sufficient force elsewhere, who must advance in their front and make them prisoners; by which we shall take both castle and garrison, if you, gentlemen, approve of my plan." They all replied in the affirmative, and adopted it, appointing the mayor captain of the enterprise.

The mayor, shortly afterward, sent to invite the governor to a grand entertainment, where he met most of the principal inhabitants that were in the plot. The conversation ran chiefly on the king of England and his affairs: during which a large packet was brought to the mayor, sealed with the great seal of England, the better to impose on Philip Mansel, who could not read, but knew well the seal. The mayor read aloud this letter, putting such words in it as suited his purpose, but which were not written. He then addressed his guest: "Governor, you see and hear what the king our lord's commands are to you and me. You must make your muster to-morrow, as we will do ours." The governor, who but too well believed all he had heard, said he would willingly obey, and with this he took his leave. During the course of the night, the mayor chose two hundred men, whom he well armed, and before day placed them in ambush among the old walls on the outside of the castle. After nine o'clock, the mayor ordered the bells to ring and the townsmen to arm themselves. Soon after, Philip Mansel armed his garrison, of sixty able men, and fit to defend the place. They marched out of the castle; but when they had passed the draw-bridge, the men who formed the ambuscade sallied forth, and posted themselves between the English and the gate.

The garrison now saw they were betrayed, and marched towards the ambuscade in hopes of regaining the entrance of the castle; but at this moment the mayor advanced, with upwards of two thousand of the inhabitants, so that the English, being attacked in front and rear, were all made prisoners: they surrendered, on having their lives saved. The castle was not yet taken; for the English had left twelve of their men within, who had

* "Candorier." He was called Chaudron before.

strongly closed the gate. The mayor then came up to the governor and his men, and said "Gentlemen, attend to what I say: if you do not immediately give orders for the castle to surrender, you may be assured we will have you all beheaded at the foot of this bridge." The English replied, they would willingly do all in their power, and held several parleys with those of the castle. It was agreed on all sides, that those who had been made prisoners and the remainder in the castle should be embarked on board a ship, and conducted by the mayor and burgesses to Bordeaux. Thus did the Rochellers win their castle.

When the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, the marshal de Sancerre, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Sully, du Pons, de Clisson, de Beaumanoir, and the other barons and knights of France were informed of it, they quitted Berry, Anjou and Limousin, where they had made their quarters, and took the direct road for Poitiers, where the constable resided. In their march, these lords took a town in Poitou called St. Maixant *, which surrendered as soon as they came before it. The castle was taken by assault, and all in it put to the sword. They afterward took the castle of Merle, the castle of Aunay, and several other forts in their road. When they were arrived at Poitiers, they sent messengers to treat with the Rochellers, but they would not open their gates to them. They told the messengers, that the inhabitants would not surrender themselves in so easy a manner; but that if the duke of Berry and the before-mentioned lords were willing to agree, within six days, to send them passports to come to Poitiers, they would then declare to them their intentions, and fully explain what they meant to do. The messengers returned, and told what the inhabitants had said. Passports were granted, and some of the burgesses came to Poitiers, when they declared to the lords that it was their intention to place themselves under the obedience of the king of France; but that they would not allow of any castle, and the present one must be razed to the ground: that it should be declared, under the king's seal, that no other should be erected: that the town of La Rochelle, and country dependent on it, should remain for ever as the particular domain, and under the jurisdiction, of the kings of France, and that it should never be severed from it by marriage, peace, or by any other means, whatever fortune may befal the kingdom of France; that the town should be allowed a mint, with liberty to coin florins, and black and white money, with the same alloy and form as those of Paris. The French lords would not agree to these terms until the king had considered them; and they gave the Rochellers passports to wait on him at Paris.

Twelve burgesses went to the king, who granted them every thing they had asked. He entertained them handsomely, and gave them several rich jewels. When they returned to La Rochelle, they displayed their charters, which were sealed with the king's seal, and had been confirmed in the parliament of the king and his peers. They immediately began to demolish and raze to the ground the large and strong castle of La Rochelle. They then sent to inform the lords who were at Poitiers, that if they would come thither the gates would be open to them. The constable of France went with only two hundred men at arms. They received him with great joy, and did to him their homage and fealty as to the king of France; for he showed them a lawful commission from the king, which constituted him his representative in all those parts of the realm.

CHAPTER CCCXII.—SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN TAKES SEVERAL CASTLES IN THE ROCHELLOIS.—THE KING OF ENGLAND EMBARKS TO COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THOUARS, BUT IS PREVENTED BY CONTRARY WINDS: UPON WHICH THOSE OF THOUARS, AND MANY OTHERS IN POITOU, SURRENDER TO THE FRENCH.

When sir Bertrand du Guesclin had resided four days in La Rochelle, and had pointed out to the inhabitants in what manner they should support and demean themselves henceforward, he set out on his return to the lords he had left at Poitiers, whom he instantly marched off to conquer other strong places in Poitou. They were full three thousand

* "St. Maixant,"—in the road between Saintes and Poitiers, fifteen leagues from the latter.

lances. On their departure from Poitiers, they laid siege to the castle of Benon *, and declared they would not leave it until it had changed masters. A squire from the county of Foix, named William de Pau, was governor of the place, under the captal de Buch: he had with him a Neapolitan knight, called sir James, but without any surname. Many violent assaults were made, which were well repulsed by the garrison.

Not far distant was the town of Surgeres †, which was garrisoned with English, by orders of the captal, then a prisoner, who said one evening they would beat up the French quarters. They therefore marched out, according to an agreement with those of Marans ‡, and mustered in the whole about forty lances: they fell upon the quarters of the constable of France, wounded many, and particularly slew one of his own squires. The army were roused, and the French collected together as fast as they could; but the English, who had performed all they intended, re-entered their fortresses unhurt. The constable was so enraged at this, that he swore he would never quit the spot where he was without conquering the castle of Benon, and putting to death all within it. He gave orders that very morning for every one to be ready for the assault, and had large machines brought, so that for a long time such an attack had not been seen. The men at arms and the Bretons did not spare themselves: they entered the ditches with shields on their heads, and advanced to the foot of the walls with pick-axes and iron crows, with which they worked so effectually that a large breach was made, through which they might easily enter. The castle was taken, and all within put to the sword. The constable had it repaired and new garrisoned. He then advanced towards Marans, the garrison of which surrendered on having their lives and properties saved. He next came to Surgeres, which also put itself under the obedience of the king of France; for the English garrison had gone away, being afraid to wait the arrival of the constable. He marched after this to the castle of Fontenay le Comte §, where the lady of sir John Harpedon resided. He assaulted both town and castle frequently: at last, the garrison left it on capitulation, and retreated to Thouars with the lady, under passports from the constable. The French therefore took possession of the castle and town, and halted there to rest themselves.

Sir Bertrand and the lords of France marched to besiege Thouars, whither the greater part of the knights of Poitou had retired, namely, the viscount de Thouars, the lords de Partenay, de Pousanges, de Cors, de Crupignac, sir Louis de Harcourt, sir Geoffry d'Argenton, sir James de Surgeres, sir Percival de Coulogne. They had caused to be made at Poitiers and at la Rochelle large machines and cannons, with which they much harassed these lords of Poitou in Thouars; who, having mutually considered their situation, proposed a treaty, the terms of which were, that there should be a truce for them and all that belonged to them until Michaelmas ensuing 1372: during which time, they should let the king of England, their lord, know the state of the town and country: and if, within that period, they were not succoured by the king of England or some of his children, they were, for themselves and their territories, to swear obedience to the king of France. When the treaty was agreed to, some of the knights returned to Paris. The captal de Buch was conducted thither, and imprisoned, under a good guard, in one of the towers of the Temple. The king was so much pleased with this prize, that he gave to the squire that had taken him twelve hundred francs.

The messengers from the lords of Poitou arrived in England, to acquaint the king, the prince of Wales (who at that time had pretty well recovered his health) and the council with the situation of Poitou and Saintonge. The king, learning that he was thus losing all the territories which had cost him so much to conquer, remained pensive and silent: at last he said, that in a very short time he would go to that country with such a powerful force as would enable him to wait for the army of the king of France, and never return to England before he had regained all that had been conquered from him, or lose what remained.

At this period, the army under the command of the duke of Lancaster was completed.

* "Benon,"—a small town in Aunis, diocese of La Rochelle.

† "Surgeres,"—a town in Aunis, six leagues from La Rochelle.

‡ "Marans,"—a town in Aunis, six leagues from La Rochelle.

§ "Fontenay le Comte,"—a city in La Vendée, bishopric of La Rochelle.

It was very numerous, and had been ordered to Calais; but the king and council changed its destination, having determined it should go to Poitou, Saintonge and La Rochelle, as being the places where the business was the most pressing. The king of England issued a special summons throughout the realm, ordering all persons capable of bearing arms to come properly equipped to Southampton and its neighbourhood by a certain day, when they were to embark. None either wished or dared to disobey the command, so that numbers of men at arms and archers of all sorts marched towards the sea-coast, where there were about four hundred vessels of different sizes ready to receive them. The principal nobility waited on the king and his family, who resided at Westminster. It had been settled between the king and prince, that if either of them should die in this expedition, the son of the prince, named Richard, born at Bordeaux, should succeed to the crown. When therefore all the nobles were assembled about the king before his departure, the prince caused them to acknowledge, that in case he should die before his father, his son should succeed as king of England after the decease of his grandfather. The earls, barons, knights and commonalty of the country were so much attached to the prince for his gallantry at home and abroad, that they cheerfully assented to his request; the king first, then his children, and afterward the lords of England. The prince put them upon their oath, and made them sign and seal to observe this arrangement before they separated.

Matters being thus settled, the king, the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge, Salisbury, Warwick, Arundel, Suffolk and Stafford, the lord Despencer (who was but lately returned from Lombardy), the lords Percy, Neville, Roos, de la Warre, and all the principal barons of England, with about three thousand lances and ten thousand archers *, arrived at Southampton, when they embarked on board the fleet, which was the largest that ever a king of England sailed with on any expedition whatever. They steered for La Rochelle, coasting Normandy and Brittany, and had various winds. The king of France, in the meantime, was collecting a great army in Poitou, to maintain his pretensions to Thouars: so that the whole country was full of soldiers. The Gascons, on the other hand, were as actively employed in raising men under the command of the lord Archibald de Grailly, uncle to the captal de Buch, who had come forward at the entreaties of sir Thomas Felton, séneschal of Bordeaux: they amounted to full three hundred spears. In this number were the lords de Duras, de Courton, de Mucident, de Rosen, de Langoren, and de Landuras, sir Peter de Landuras, sir Peter de Courton, and sir William Farrington, an Englishman.

This body of men left Bordeaux, and advanced to Niort, where they found sir Walter Hewett, sir John Devereux, sir Thomas Gournay, sir John Cresswell, and several others. When they were all assembled, they amounted to about twelve hundred combatants. Sir Richard de Pontchardon arrived there also, and brought with him twelve hundred more. The king of England and his children, with his large army, were beaten about on the sea, and could not land at La Rochelle, nor any where near it, for wind and weather were against them. They remained in this situation for nine weeks; and Michaelmas was so near at hand that he found it was not possible for him to keep his engagement with the Poitevin lords in Thouars. He was severely disappointed at this, and disbanded his troops to go whither they wished. The king, on his return, said of the king of France, "that there never was a king who had armed himself so little, nor one who had given him so much embarrassment." Thus did this large fleet steer to England, when it had as favourable a gale as could be wished. After they were disbanded, there arrived at Bordeaux upwards of two hundred merchant ships for wines.

When Michaelmas was nearly arrived, the barons of England and Gascony, who had advanced to Niort in order to attend the king of England at Thouars, were very much surprised that they heard not any tidings of him. In order, therefore, to acquit themselves, they sent messengers to the Poitevin lords in Thouars, who said to them: "Very dear lords, we are sent hither by the lords of Gascony in the dependence of the king of England, and by those English lords now in company with them, who have desired us to inform you, that they have collected all their forces, which may amount to about twelve hundred fighting men †, ready and willing to serve you. They entreat you to inform them, if, in the absence

* My MS. says, "four thousand men at arms and twenty thousand archers."

† All the printed copies and MSS. except the one I have lately quoted, have 1200. In the preceding page,

of the king of England and his children, they can assist you, and if the relief may now be accepted; for they are eager to adventure their lives and fortunes in your company." The barons of Poitou replied: "We will call a council on what you have said; and we return our kind thanks to the barons of Gascony and England for sending to us, and for being so well prepared and willing to assist us."

The knights of Poitou assembled; but at the first meeting they could not agree on any determination, for the lord de Partenay, who was one of the principal barons, was desirous they should defend themselves, as if the king of England had been present: but others maintained, that they had given under their seals a declaration, that if neither the king of England nor any of his children were present, they would surrender themselves to the obedience of the king of France. The lord de Partenay returned to his hôtel in a very ill humour; but he was afterwards so much talked to that he consented to agree with the others. They therefore sent word, that according to their treaty, it was absolutely necessary for the king of England or one of his sons to be present. The English and Gascons at Niort were much vexed on hearing this, but they could not prevent it.

The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, the constable of France, the lord de Clisson, the viscount de Rohan, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lord Louis de Sancerre, the lord de Sully, and the barons of France: in all, about ten thousand lances, without reckoning the others, advanced from Poitiers, and drew up in battle-array before Thouars the eve of Michaelmas-day, and also on the feast-day until evening, when they retired to their quarters. On the morrow, the two brothers of the king of France and the constable sent to the knights of Poitou in Thouars, to remind them of what they had sworn and sealed. They returned for answer, that they should very soon retire to Poitiers, when they would put themselves and their dependencies under the obedience of the king of France. The lords of France, satisfied with this answer, departed from before Thouars; and the dukes disbanded the greater part of their men.

On this separation, the lord de Clisson, with a large body of men at arms, of whom the constable had given him the command, came before Mortaigne-sur-mer, which at that time was attached to the English. An English squire, called James Clerk, was governor of the place, and might have had with him about sixty companions. When the lord de Clisson came before Mortaigne, he assaulted it very vigorously: but, though he did not spare himself on the occasion, he gained nothing; upon which he retreated to his quarters. The governor, who found he should be hard pushed, sent off secretly to those knights of Gascony and England who were at Niort, to desire they would come that night to Mortaigne; that he would lodge them in his hôtel; and that they might easily pass through the quarters of the French forces, who were but two hundred fighting men. These lords set out from Niort, with five hundred lances, and rode all night to arrive at Mortaigne, for they had a great desire to catch the lord de Clisson. But a spy, who had left Niort with them, having overheard some part of their intentions, made as much haste as possible to the lord de Clisson, whom he found sitting at his supper. He informed him that the enemy had marched from Niort with five hundred combatants, and were advancing fast towards him. Upon hearing this, the lord de Clisson pushed the table from before him, and hastily armed himself. He mounted his steed, and set off suddenly, with all his men, leaving the greater part of what belonged to them on the field. He never stopped until he arrived at Poitiers. The English were much vexed at their disappointment. They returned to Niort, where they left in garrison sir John Devereux, the earl of Angus and Cresswell. Sir Walter Hewett went to England. All the others went back to Bordeaux, burning in their way the whole of the territories of the lord de Partenay.

Thus was all Poitou conquered, except the fortresses of Niort, Eliseth, Mortemer, Mortaigne, Lusignan, Chastel-Accart *, La Roche-sur-Yon, Gauzar, La Tour de l'Arbre, Merxis and others. These castles however, held out, and made frequent inroads and attacks on their neighbours; sometimes invading, at other times chased back again.

Froissart says 1200 men came to Niort with sir John Devereux, &c. and that sir Richard de Pontchardon brought 1200 *more*. They ought, therefore, to have been 2400. My MS. nearly reconciles this by saying, that, "the herald Chandos, who carried the message to the knights in Thouars, informed them his lords were assembled in Niort with 1200 lances, English and Gascons, and about 2000 archers and lusty varlets."

* Châtel l'Archer,—a village in Poitou.

CHAPTER CCCXIII.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DARES NOT OPENLY DECLARE FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND.—SIR BETRAND DU GUESCLIN LAYS SIEGE TO CIVRAY *.—THE ENGLISH ARE DEFEATED, AND THE WHOLE OF THE COUNTRIES OF POITOU, SAINTONGE, AND LA ROCHELLE, ARE GIVEN UP TO THE FRENCH.

THE duke of Brittany, who remained peaceably in his duchy, was much hurt at the losses of the English; for he said, such as he was the king of England and his power had made him, as he never should have been anything of himself: that he owed all to the English king, who had made war in his behalf, had lent him large sums of money, and had given to him his daughter in marriage, he would therefore have been happy to have added Brittany as an ally of England: but all the barons, knights, and squires of that country were too much attached to the French, particularly the lords de Clisson, de Laval, and the viscount de Rohan, who at that time were the greatest lords in Brittany. They addressed the duke in these words: "Dear lord, as soon as we shall clearly perceive that you take any part with the king of England against the king of France, our sovereign lord, we will all quit you and the country of Brittany." The duke could but ill disguise his anger: however, he only said, "they did great wrong to the king of England." He now began to open himself more, and to discover his sentiments to others of the lords of Brittany.

The king of France, who had gained over to him all the principal persons in that country except sir Robert Knolles, had besought them to inform him whenever they found the duke acting contrary to their wishes, assuring them he would provide a remedy. The duke saw that he was not only suspected, but narrowly watched; which alarmed him lest they should seize his person, and send him to Paris. He therefore signified to the king of England his situation, and entreated him to send men at arms to assist him if there should be any occasion. The king ordered thither four hundred men at arms and as many archers, under the command of lord Neville, who arrived at St. Mathieu Fin de Terre †, where they remained all the winter, without doing any damage to the country, paying for everything they had; for the duke, on account of the suspicions of his nobles, did not choose to put them into any of his castles. When the knights of Brittany saw the English thus come to the assistance of the duke, they were very indignant, and shut up their own castles, showing much ill will against the duke. Things remained in this doubtful manner all the winter.

As soon as the season permitted, sir Bertrand du Guesclin marched from Poitiers with full fourteen hundred combatants, and laid siege to the town and castle of Civray. There were with him, of Breton knights, sir Alain de Beaumanoir, John de Beaumanoir, Arnoul Limousin, Geoffry Ricon, Yvon de Laconet, Geoffry de Kerimel, with many other knights and squires. They fixed their quarters before Civray, and surrounded them with palisadoes to prevent being surprised in the night. Frequently the most expert of them advanced to make trials of skill with those of the castle, who defended themselves valiantly. During the siege, sir Robert Micon, and Nicotin l'Escot ‡, the governors of Civray, sent intelligence of their situation to sir John Devereux and the earl of Angus, who were in garrison at Niort. They instantly ordered the garrisons from Lusignan and Gouzar to march to Niort, when they amounted all together to six or seven hundred good men at arms, well equipped, without counting the pillagers. They advanced until they came near to Civray, which is but four leagues from Niort; when they halted some time to arrange themselves, but it had been better for them had they proceeded to the quarters of the constable §.

News was brought to him of the arrival of the English, whilst they were forming themselves in the plain. He was not any way alarmed at it, but ordered his men to arm without making any delay, and to march out in a body. When he saw them all assembled, he said

* "Civray,"—a town in Poitou, on the Charente, ten leagues from Poitiers.

† St. Mathieu Fin de Terre, or St. Mahé, is a village in Brittany, diocese of St. Pol de Leon. Froissart calls it St. Mathieu de Fine Pôterne.

‡ "Sir Robert Micon and Nicotin l'Escot." My MSS. have sir Robert Miton and sir Martin Scott.

§ The historian of Brittany says, they there intoxicated themselves.

to them; "My good gentlemen, what hearts have you for a battle? I fancy we must engage our enemies." They replied: "My lord, we are very willing to do so, thanks to God." The constable then ordered an ambuscade to be formed, of two hundred combatants, near to the castle; for he judged the garrison would of course make a sally. He then commanded the greater part of the palisadoes to be levelled to the ground, that there might not be any hindrance when he should march out, and drew up his forces in two battalions. Sir Alain de Beaumont commanded one, and sir Geoffry de Marneil * the other. It was strictly forbidden for any one to advance before his banner until ordered, and he was to remain till then quietly in his rank.

We will now return to sir Robert Miton and sir Martin Scott, who, from the heights of the castle, saw the English in the plain drawn up in battle-array. They said, "Let us make ready to quit the castle, for we can easily pass through these Bretons; and when our friends shall see we are engaged, they will come to our help, and we may do much mischief before they will be prepared to defend themselves or suspect our intent." About sixty combatants that were to make this sally armed themselves, who, when ready, sallied forth on horseback to skirmish with the enemy; but they were attacked by the ambuscade which had been laid for them. Hard indeed was the fight, but the English were so surrounded that they could neither advance nor retreat: they were all slain or made prisoners, not one escaping: the two governors were also taken.

The English remained in battle-array in the plain, and the constable of France in his quarters; for he imagined the English had placed a large ambuscade in a coppice on his rear. The English had brought with them a rout of pillaging Poitevins and Bretons, amounting to about two hundred, whom they sent forward to skirmish with the French. As soon as these pillagers came opposite to the battalion of the lord constable, they declared themselves loyal Frenchmen, and, if he pleased, would serve under him. The constable immediately assented, commanding them to wheel on one side, when he learnt from them the arrangement of the English force, and that there was not any ambuscade. On hearing this, the constable was more easy than before; and having ordered his men to form, he advanced with his banner, marching on the wing of the two battalions. They had dismounted, and pushed towards the palisadoes, which they had allowed to remain standing, every one shouting, "Notre Dame Guesclin!"

The English on seeing them issue out of their fort, drew up also on foot, and advanced with great alacrity. Their first onset was against the battalion of the constable, which was fierce and desperate. The English drove quite through this battalion, and overthrew many. But the Bretons had wisely drawn up their army: there were two battalions on the wing, who, being quite fresh, followed the constable, and, falling upon the English who were tired, beat them most dreadfully. They, however, like men of courage, turned about, without shrinking from their ill fortune, and combated most valiantly with the arms they had, such as battle-axes and swords of Bordeaux, with which they dealt many hard blows. Several excellent knights of each side adventured boldly, to exalt their renown. This battle was as well fought, as many gallant deeds performed, and as many captures and rescues took place as had been seen for a long time in all that country; for both armies were on foot, on a plain, without advantage to either. Each laboured to perform his duty well, and many were slain outright or desperately wounded. In short, all the English who had marched thither were so completely discomfited that not one escaped death or captivity. Two good squires were there slain, Richard Neville and William Worsley; James Willoughby was very badly wounded. Sir John Devereux, sir Aimery de Rochechouart, David Holgrave, Richard Oliver, John Cresswell, and many others from England and Poitou, were made prisoners. This battle of Civray happened on the 20th day of March, 1373.

The constable and his army returned to their quarters, where they cleaned and refreshed themselves, and attended to the wounded and prisoners, of whom they had great numbers.

* "Marneil." The different editions have a variety of names for this person. I have followed the oldest MS. I have, which, from its writing, seems to be of the same age with Froissart: but I should rather suppose it ought to be sir Geoffry de Kerimel, as he is particularly mentioned before.

The constable then sent sir Alain de Beaumont to hold a parley with the garrison, who told them, that if they suffered themselves to be taken by assault, they would all be put to the sword without mercy. Upon this, the garrison surrendered to the constable, who allowed them to leave the place and march to Bordeaux, with a passport from him. The French gained this castle and territory, which submitted to the obedience of the king of France. The Bretons advanced eagerly towards Niort, which is a handsome town in Poitou, and had always supported the interest of the English, who had kept there a very large garrison. As soon as the inhabitants of Niort heard the constable was marching thither, they went out to meet him, and, presenting him the keys of the town, conducted him and all his men into it with great rejoicings *. The Bretons remained there four days to recover themselves, when they departed in great array, with about fourteen hundred lances, for Lusignan †, which surrendered upon condition the garrison should march out unhurt, carrying away all they were able, and with a passport for the constable to conduct them to Bordeaux. The French gained this castle, which was very grand and handsome, and all the lordship dependent on it, whose vassals became liege men to the king of France.

After this, the Bretons marched to Châtel l'Archer, when the constable sent immediately to the lady de Plainmartin, who was the wife of sir Guiscard d'Angle, and resided in it. She entreated he would grant her an escort, that she might speak with the duke of Berry at Poitiers. The constable complied with her request, and ordered one of his knights to conduct her. When she came before the duke, she prostrated herself to the ground. The duke caused her to rise, and demanded what she wished to say: "My lord," replied she, "I am summoned by the constable to put myself and my lands under the obedience of the king of France. You know well, my lord, that my husband is now lying a prisoner in Spain: his lands, therefore, are under my direction. I am but a weak woman, and cannot dispose of my husband's property as I please; for, if by accident I should do any thing contrary to what he would have wished, he will be angered and blame me for it. However, to satisfy you, and to keep my lands in peace, I offer you a composition for me and mine, on these terms: that no war shall be made on us, nor will we engage in any offensive or defensive war. When my lord shall have gained his liberty and be returned to England, whither I suppose he will retire, I will inform him of the terms of this composition, and whatever answer he shall send to me, the same I will forward to you." "Lady," answered the duke, "I grant it on condition that neither for yourself, nor castles, nor fortresses, you lay in a greater store of provision, artillery, or men at arms than are now within them." The lady returned to Châtel l'Archer, when the siege was raised; for she showed the agreement made with the duke of Berry.

This army of Bretons, of which the constable was the leader, departed, and came before Mortemer. The lady de Mortemer surrendered herself and lands to the obedience of the king of France. She gave up also the castle of Didonne ‡, which belonged to her. Thus was all Poitou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle freed and delivered from the English. When the constable had placed sufficient garrisons everywhere, and found nothing rebellious, as far as the river Gironde, he returned to Paris. The dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, with the greater part of the barons of France who had been concerned in these conquests, had already arrived there. The king had entertained them most handsomely on their return; but this was nothing to the honours that were shown sir Bertrand du Guesclin when he came to Paris: the king did not think he could sufficiently testify his regard and esteem for him, and detained him constantly about his person at Paris and elsewhere.

* Niort is said to have been gained by a stratagem. After the defeat at Civray, the constable ordered his knights to dress themselves in the emblazoned surcoats of his prisoners, which caused the garrison at Niort to open their gates, believing them the English knights returning victorious from Civray.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

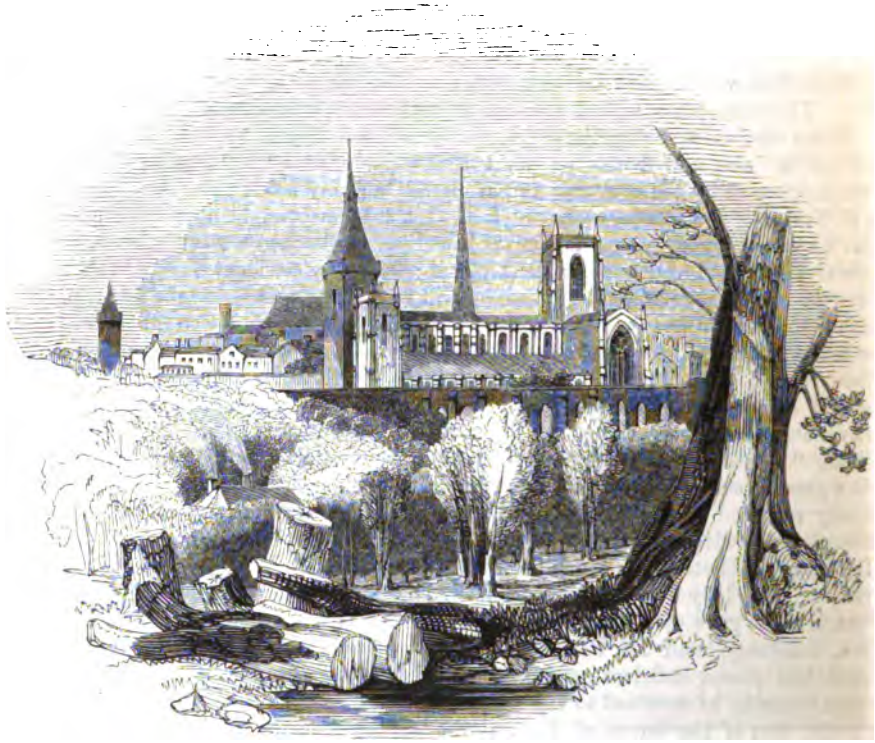
† "Lusignan,"—a town in Poitou, twelve leagues from Niort.

‡ "Didonne,"—or St. Georges de Diodonne,—a small town in Saintonge.

I believe it was a dependency of the sandich de Tranc.—See Ashmole.

CHAPTER CCCXIV.—THE SIEGE OF BECHEREL *.—PEACE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.—THE DEATH OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND.

About this time, the lords de Clisson, de Laval, d'Avaugour, de Tournemine, de Rieux, de Rochefort, the viscount de Rohan, sir Charles de Dinan, banneret of Brittany, the marshal de Blainville, the lords de Bambie, de Ruille, de Fonteville, de Granville, de Farmille, de Denneval, and de Cleres, bannerets of Normandy, with many others from Normandy and Brittany, laid siege to the strong castle of Becherel, and pressed it hard by their assaults. There were in this castle two able captains from England, sir John Appleyard and sir John Cornewall, who, with their companions, bravely defended themselves: and at this time there were various gallant deeds, sallies, skirmishes, and rescues, performed before Becherel. Not far distant was the town of St. Sauveur le Vicomte; in which were, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Aleyne Boxhull, sir Philip Pechard, and the three brothers Maulevrier; so that, before the



Dunfermline Abbey, the Burial Place of Robert Bruce and the early Kings of Scotland. From an Original Drawing.

siege of Becherel, these two garrisons over-ran all Lower Normandy, and nothing could escape, but what was inclosed in forts, from being taken and carried to one or other of these towns. They ransomed the bishoprics of Bayeux and Evreux, in which the king of Navarre had connived, and reinforced them with men and provisions from the garrisons he held in the county of Evreux.

He was not in good humour with the king of France; inasmuch as the garrisons of Cherbourg, Cocherel, Conches, Breteuil, Evreux, and several others dependent on the king of Navarre, had much impoverished and ruined the country of Normandy. However, about this period, the differences were accommodated between the two kings, and treaties entered

* Becherel,—a town in Brittany, two leagues from St. Malo.

into, through the mediations of the count de Saltzbourg, who had made many visits to each party, and the bishop of Evreux. The two kings met in an amicable manner in the castle of Vernon, when they swore, in the presence of several of the great lords of France, peace, love, amity, and alliance henceforward for ever. The king of Navarre accompanied the king of France to Paris, who showed him and his companions all manner of respect. The king of Navarre put his territories in Normandy under the government of his brother-in-law the king of France, and left his two sons, Charles and Peter, with the king their uncle. He then affectionately took his leave, and returned to Navarre.

This peace continued for four years; but then great dissensions arose between them, as you will hear in the course of this history, if I should live to finish it: I do not think, however, that it will be concluded in this book.

The 7th of May, 1373, king David of Scotland departed this life in the city of Edinburgh, and was buried in the abbey of Dunfermline, beside Robert the Bruce his father. He left behind him neither male nor female offspring, and was succeeded by his own nephew, Robert the Stewart of Scotland, who was a fine knight, and had eleven sons *.

CHAPTER CCCXV.—THE EARL OF SALISBURY, SIR WILLIAM NEVILLE, SIR PHILIP COURTENAY, WITH MANY OTHER MEN AT ARMS, LAND IN BRITTANY.—THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE MARCHES THITHER; ON WHICH THE DUKE OF BRITTANY GOES TO ENGLAND.

Orders were given in England for the earl of Salisbury, sir William Neville, and sir Philip Courtenay, to put to sea with a large body of men at arms, to guard the coasts; for it was reported that the Spaniards and Evan of Wales were on the seas, with six thousand men, to invade and burn the country. These lords had under their command forty large ships, without counting sloops, and two thousand men at arms, not including archers. They set sail from Cornwall, where they had embarked for the coasts of Brittany, and, arriving at St. Malo, burnt in the harbour seven large Spanish ships that were lying there. The country was much surprised at this, and said the duke had sent them orders to come thither: they began to suspect his intentions more than ever, and strengthened all their towns, castles, and cities.

The duke had placed his confidence in some of the knights of Brittany, who had betrayed his secret, so that the king of France ordered his constable to invade Brittany with a large body of men at arms, and to take possession for him of all cities, towns, castles, and fortresses, as well as such persons whom he should find in rebellion, and confiscate their property. The constable marched from Paris to Angers, and from thence issued his summons. He was there joined by the duke de Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the count du Perche, the count de Porcien, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the viscounts de Meaux and d'Ausnay, sir Raoul de Coucy, Robert de St. Pol, Raoual de Raineval, Louis de Sancerre marshal of France, with numbers of barons and knights from the countries of Vermandois, Artois, and Picardy, without counting those from Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine.

The earl of Salisbury, who was at St. Malo with his army, was informed of this assembly of men at arms, and also that the whole of Brittany was in opposition to the duke. He set sail with his fleet, and bore away until he came to Brest, which has one of the strongest castles in the world. When the duke of Brittany heard of the march of the constable, he was afraid of trusting himself to the inhabitants of Vannes or Dinan, or indeed to any of his principal towns: he thought if he should shut himself up in any one of them, he would run great risks. He went, therefore, to the castle of Auray, which is situated between Vannes and Rennes, and was attached to him; for he had given the command of it to an English knight, called sir John Austin. The duke left his lady under the care of this knight, entreating him to guard her well, which he promised to do. After this, he rode to St. Mahé; but they shut

* Lord Hailes, in his Annals, says: "David II. died 22nd February, 1370-1, in the castle of Edinburgh, in the 47th year of his age and the 42nd of his reign. He was buried in the church of the abbey of Holyrood, before the great altar."

the gates against him. from thence he went to Concarneau*, where he embarked for England.

The constable of France entered Brittany, attended by those barons and knights of the country who had been at the siege of Becherel, they having left the continuance of it to the knights and lords of Normandy. On the arrival of the constable before Rennes, the inhabitants knew that his visit was to take possession of the whole country; for the king and his council had published a declaration that the duke had forfeited it, because he had surrendered to the English different towns, castles, and forts, and had even wished to take part with the king of England against the crown of France, from which he held his duchy by faith and homage. They were unwilling to incur the horrors of war, and received the constable in a peaceful manner, acknowledging the king of France for their lord. After the constable had gained possession of Rennes, he hastened to Dinan, which surrendered to the obedience of the king of France. He next advanced to Vannes, which did the same. Luzumont†, however, held out for the duke; it was roughly assaulted and taken by storm, so that all within were put to death. The constable marched to Jugon, which accepted the terms of the king of France; as did the castle of Guy la Forêt; la Roche-derrien, the towns of Guingamp, St. Mahé, and St. Malo. In like manner, did Quimpercorentin, Quimperlé, Credo, Galande, as well as several other fortresses in the neighbourhood, turn to the French. The constable marched first through lower Brittany, because it was more attached to duke John de Montfort than the upper parts.

When the duke of Brittany embarked for England, he nominated sir Robert Knolles governor of the duchy, but very few lords obeyed him. He, however, sufficiently reinforced his castle of Derval with men, and, having provided it with every necessary, gave the command of it to his cousin Hugh Brock. Sir Robert shut himself up in Brest.

The constable came before Hennebon: the governor was an English squire, called Thomelin Ubich‡, nominated by the duke. There was also with him in the castle a knight named sir Thomas Prior, who had been sent thither by sir Robert Knolles; and their garrison might consist of about fourscore men, without counting the inhabitants of the town. The French, on their arrival, began to make a violent attack on the castle: they always carried with them many large engines and cannons, by means of which they had taken several towns, castles, and forts in Brittany: in particular, they had stormed the town of Quimperlé, of which James Ross, a valiant squire of England, was governor. He could obtain no quarter, for he fell into the hands of sir Oliver de Clisson, who slew him and several others with his own hand: he had no mercy nor pity on any Englishman.

Let us return to the siege of Hennebon. The constable of France, after he had pointed his engines and cannon against the walls of the town and castle, which the lord Charles de Blois could never conquer, ordered all the men at arms to make a brisk assault, for he had resolved to sup in the place that evening. They made a most fierce attack, without sparing themselves; and the inhabitants, assisted by the English, made as gallant a defence. Upon this, the constable called out to them, saying: "Attend to me, you men of Hennebon: it is quite certain we must conquer you, and that we will sup in your town this evening: if, therefore, any of you be bold enough to throw a stone, arrow, or by any means hurt the smallest of our boys so that he be wounded, I vow to God I will have you all put to death." These words so much frightened the inhabitants that they retired to their houses, leaving the English to defend the place as well as they could: but the town was too large for them to guard every part of it, so that the army of the constable entered, and put all the English to death except the two captains, whom they made prisoners. Because the townsmen had obeyed the orders of the constable, he commanded that no one, when they stormed the place, should dare any way to injure them. When sir Bertrand du Guesclin had thus won the town and strong castle of Hennebon in Brittany, he remained there for fifteen days, and then marched towards Concarneau.

* "Concarneau,"—a sea-port in Brittany, about four leagues from Quimper.

† Probably Sucinio,—a castle near Vannes, which was taken by assault, and the garrison slain.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

‡ "Thomelin Ubich." Q. Wich, or Holbeck. Barnes calls him Thomas Wich.

In the mean while, the earl of Salisbury, sir William Neville, sir Brian Stapleton, and sir William Lucy, having reinforced and re-victualled the fort of Brest with men at arms, archers, and provisions, had embarked on board their ships in order the better to defend it against the French, whom the English knew to be in Brittany, but were uncertain to what quarter the constable would lead them. The constable on coming before Concarneau, which is a sea-port, took it by storm, and slew all the English, except their captain, sir John Langley, who received quarter. The French repaired the town, and strengthened it with men at arms and all sorts of provision. They then advanced to Brest, in which were sir William Neville and sir Robert Knolles, with two hundred men at arms and as many archers.

The lords of France and of Brittany laid siege to Brest: they had with them about six thousand combatants. Shortly after they had commenced this siege, the duke of Anjou sent for sir Oliver de Clisson, who had under his command some of his men, to come and lay siege to la Roche-sur-Yon, which the English still held. Sir Oliver surrounded the place, and pointed against it large engines, which he had brought from Angers and Poitiers. In company with these Bretons came several nobles and gentlemen of Poitou and Anjou: they kept up a sharp attack, and pressed hard the garrison of la Roche-sur-Yon, saying they would never leave the place before they had conquered it. The duke of Anjou returned to his own country, but frequently sent provision and other articles to those who were carrying on the siege. The constable, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and de Perigord, the dauphin d'Auvergne, and the great barons of France still maintained the siege of Brest; but too little did they gain, for it is one of the strongest castles in the world. As sir Robert Knolles was the governor, the lords of France resolved to send a body of men to invest his castle of Derval. Many noblemen of Brittany and of Touraine went on this expedition: they were, in the whole, about four hundred fighting men.

CHAPTER CCCXVI.—THE FRENCH BESIEGE FOUR DIFFERENT PLACES.—LA ROCHE-SUR-YON SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.—THE SIEGE OF BREST IS RAISED BY A CAPITULATION, WHICH IS NOT KEPT.

The lords of France were at this time besieging four towns at once; namely, Becherel, Brest, la Roche-sur-Yon, and the one just formed before Derval. The besiegers had many an assault to make, and many gallant feats of arms to perform, in order to obtain success.

The inhabitants of la Roche-sur-Yon, being the farthest off from any assistance, and surrounded on all sides, entered into a capitulation, that if they were not succoured within one month, the garrison would march out, and deliver up the castle to the king of France. The lord de Clisson and the other lords returned at the appointed day; and, when no reinforcements appeared to raise the siege, the castle surrendered, and the English, under the passports of the lord de Pons, marched away for Bordeaux*.

After this, sir Oliver de Clisson and the others who had been at this conquest, marched to Derval, whither they had caused large machines and engines to be brought. To this siege of Derval came the constable of France, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and du Perche, with numbers of the knights and barons of France, for they found they were only losing their time before Brest. Two thousand, however, remained behind, who built a block-house in such a situation that no one could enter Brest to reinforce or re-victual it. Sir Hugh Brock and the garrison in Derval, seeing themselves attacked by such a force, were alarmed lest they should be taken by storm, and proposed a treaty for a truce of two months; and if within that time they were not relieved by the duke of Brittany, or others in sufficient force to keep the field, to raise the siege, and to combat the French, they would surrender themselves and the castle to the duke of Anjou or to the constable: but if a body of men at arms should arrive, and offer battle to the French, the garrison should remain in peace. This treaty was concluded, and information sent to the duke of Anjou, who was on

* My MS. mentions sir Robert Grenacres as governor of La Roche-sur-Yon.

the borders: he approved of it, on condition that the garrison of Derval should not during the truce receive any one into the castle. Sir Hugh Brock sent several knights and squires as his hostages for the due execution of the treaty.

After this capitulation, the constable of France made an excursion to the city of Nantes. The citizens shut their gates, because he had with him a large army, and went forth to know his intentions. The constable told them he had been nominated and sent by the king of France, their lord, to take seisin and possession of the duchy of Brittany, which sir John de Montfort, who called himself duke, had forfeited. The citizens requested time to hold a council, to deliberate on what he had said before they gave an answer. After a long time debating the business, they returned and said to the constable: "Dear lord, it seems quite marvellous to us how the king of France can thus seize the inheritance of our lord the duke; for the king, not long since, commanded us to receive him as our duke. We have therefore sworn fealty and homage to him; and he has in return promised and sworn to govern us as subjects, which he has hitherto punctually done. We have never had any grounds for suspecting him of fraud or guile. If you enter this town by virtue of the procuration you say you have, we will allow you so to do; but on condition, that if it should happen that the duke of Brittany return to this country, and be desirous of becoming a good Frenchman, so that all prelates, barons, gentlemen, and good towns in Brittany, shall acknowledge him for their lord, we shall be acquitted without loss for what we now do, or may have before done; and that you will not consent to any violence being offered to us, nor will you receive the rents or revenues of Brittany, but they shall remain as a deposit with us until we have other information, or hear news more agreeable to us than what you have brought." The constable swore to keep everything as procurator for the king of France in this case. He and all those who were with him then entered the city of Nantes, which is the principal town in Brittany.

When sir Robert Knolles heard that his cousin, sir Hugh Brock, had concluded a capitulation for the castle of Derval with the French, and found that unless he also entered into a negotiation he could not by any means leave his post to succour it, sir Robert made offers of treating with the French and Bretons, who had remained before Brest: they replied, that they could do nothing without the constable. An English knight and two squires, having had passports, came to a mansion near Nantes, where the constable resided, on the banks of the Loire, with other knights from France and Brittany. A treaty was entered into, on these terms; that the garrison of Brest should have a truce for forty days, during which time, unless there should arrive a sufficient force to fight with the constable, the fort was to be surrendered. The garrison was to remain on the same footing it then was, without receiving any reinforcements of men or provision. The negotiators returned to sir Robert Knolles, who sent, as pledges to the constable, able and sufficient knights and squires. These hostages, on their arrival, were ordered to the prison of the constable; and all those who had been at the siege of Brest departed. The constable gave also leave for several others to go away, whom the king of France sent to garrison his cities, castles, towns, and forts in Picardy, for the duke of Lancaster had landed at Calais with a large army.

When the earl of Salisbury (who had all that season cruised on the coasts of Brittany and Normandy, having for that purpose been reinforced by the king of England, so that he might have on board with him a thousand men at arms and two thousand archers,) heard of the capitulation of Brest, he said, that if it pleased God, he would offer combat to the French. He made sail, and arrived at Brest, which is situated on the sea-shore, when he disembarked, and drew up his men in order of battle before Brest: at night, they all retreated to their vessels. This he daily performed, in order to be ready to fight the enemy should they advance to that quarter.

The constable had dismissed the greater part of his men: he had also on his hands, the sieges of Becherel and of Derval, and did not imagine the earl of Salisbury would have arrived on the coast so soon. He set out from near Nantes when the day approached for the surrender of Brest, but did not march quite so far; for he had had intelligence that the English were in sufficient force to fight with him. On hearing this, he halted where he was, and remained there quiet for about seven days, being desirous of having the advice of a full

council of war which he had summoned. The earl of Salisbury had posted himself very advantageously before Brest; and, finding that the constable and Bretons did not advance, he sent a herald to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who, on his arrival, respectfully saluted him, and said: "My lord, the earl of Salisbury and the lords of England signify by me, who am a herald at arms and their servant, that as you had for a long time besieged the town and castle of Brest, and certain treaties and capitulations had been entered into for its surrender unless it should be succoured before a certain day, which is not far distant, they wish to inform you that they have encamped themselves before Brest to fulfil this engagement and to defend the castle: they beg and entreat of you, therefore, to advance, when you shall be fought with without fail; and supposing you refuse your consent to this, that you will send back the hostages." The constable replied: "Herald, you bring us agreeable news, and you are welcome. You will tell your masters, that we are more desirous to combat them than they are to meet us; but that they must march to the place where the treaty was first entered into and agreed upon. You will inform them, that if they will advance to that place, they shall infallibly have a battle."

The herald returned to his masters before Brest, and delivered his message: they sent him back to the constable, to whom he said: "My lord, I come again from my lords and masters, to whom I repeated the words you charged me with: they say, that as they are only attached to the sea-service they have not brought any horses with them, and are not accustomed to march on foot; for which reason they inform you, that if you will send them your horses, they will come without delay to any place you shall please to appoint, and fight with you." "My good friend," answered the constable, "we will not, please God, give such advantage to our enemies as we should do were we to send them our horses. It would also be considered as an insult; and, should we think of such a thing, it would be right we should have good and sufficient security to answer for our horses." "In truth," replied the herald, "they have not charged me to add anything on this head; only, that if you do not accept their proposition, they say you have not any cause to detain their hostages, and that in returning them you will act but justly." The constable said, he was not of that opinion.

Thus did the business remain; and the herald returned to the earl of Salisbury and the knights before Brest, who, when they found they could not gain anything, and that the hostages were not sent back, were exceedingly vexed; they, however, remained steadily before the place, without moving, until the appointed day was passed, and then perceiving the constable would not advance to fight with them, they entered Brest, which they greatly reinforced and re-victualled. The constable, finding the English were not likely to come to offer him battle, marched off, carrying with him the English hostages as prisoners, and said, the English had not kept what they had bound themselves to perform*. After the relief of Brest, the earl of Salisbury put to sea to guard the coasts, according to the orders he had received. Sir Robert Knolles set out also from Brest, and arrived at his castle of Derval. As soon as this was known, information of it was sent to the duke of Anjou, who was with the constable near Nantes. They guessed what would be the consequence of this; for sir Robert broke all the treaties which his cousin had entered into, and sent to tell the duke of Anjou and the constable, that he should not keep one article of them, as his people had not the power to enter into any treaty without his knowledge and consent. The duke, on hearing this, came in person to the siege of Derval.

* My MS. has the following additions:

"The herald, on receiving his last message, returned to his lords before Brest, who held a council on it.

"Shortly after this, the constable, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the lords de Clisson and de Laval, with the other barons and knights, amounting to four thousand lances and twenty thousand other men, marched to within one day's journey of Brest, where, having strongly encamped themselves, they sent to let the English know they were now on the spot where the treaty had been concluded, and if they would march thither they would be combated; otherwise they would lose their hostages. The earl of Salisbury, on learning this, found the French were trickish and had not any real intention of fighting, so that he returned for answer by his own herald, who accompanied the French herald, that if the constable would advance two thirds of the way, they would on foot perform the other third; or, if the French would not do this, the English would advance half of the way on foot, if the French would there meet them on foot: or, if the French would not accept either of these propositions, they were bound in justice to return the hostages, for the English had cheerfully and honourably performed their engagement."

CHAPTER CCCXVII.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER LANDS AT CALAIS, AND INVADES PICARDY.—A PART OF HIS ARMY DEFEATED BY THE LORD DE BOURSIERS * BEFORE RIBEMONT †.—ANOTHER PART OF HIS ARMY IS DEFEATED NEAR SOISSONS BY AN AMBUSCADE OF BURGUNDIANS AND FRENCH.

Upwards of three thousand men at arms and ten thousand English archers had landed at Calais. Three years before, this expedition had been planned and provided for: of course, it was well furnished with all things. The following knights passed over with the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany: the earls of Warwick, Stafford, and Suffolk, Edward lord Despencer, first baron of the realm, and at that time constable of the army, the lords Willoughby, de la Pole, Basset, Roos, Latimer, lord Henry Percy, lord Lewis Clifford, lord William Beauchamp, the canon de Robesart, sir Walter Hewett, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Stephen Cossington, sir Richard de Pontchardon, and many other knights and squires from England; but I cannot name them all.

The king of France, who knew well that the English would cross the sea, had reinforced his cities, towns, castles, and forts in Picardy, Artois, and also in Vermandois, and had everywhere posted men at arms in sufficient numbers; such as Bretons, Burgundians, Picards, Normans, and many whom he had subsidized from the Empire. The English left Calais as soon as they had mounted and arranged their carriages, of which they had great numbers. They marched in three battalions, and in such good order as it was not easy to improve: that of the marshals marched first, of which the earls of Warwick and Suffolk were the leaders; then the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, who had many gallant knights to accompany them: the constable, the lord Despencer, brought up the rear. They marched in close order, without any one being suffered to quit his rank; and the van was always armed ready for combat. They were quartered together at night, keeping a strong and strict guard to prevent a surprise. They advanced three leagues a-day, and no one dared to march before the banners of the marshals, unless he had been ordered forward as a scout.

They passed by Montreiul, of which the lord Handebourg ‡ was governor, St. Omer, and afterwards Terouenne, but without attacking them. The light troops burnt all the lands of the count de St. Pol, and the army advanced very near to Arras, when the two dukes took up their quarters in the monastery of St. Eloy, and remained there two days. They then marched off by the walls of Arras, but made no assault, for they knew it would be lost time. They came to Bray-sur-Somme §, where the two marshals had a sharp engagement before the gates; for there was a good garrison within of able knights and squires of Picardy, under the command of the viscount de Meaux and sir Raoul de Rayneval. The canon de Robesart struck down three with his spear before the gate, and the skirmish was severe; but the French so well defended the gates, that they lost nothing. The English continued their march, following the course of the river Somme, which they thought to cross between Ham, in Vermandois, and St. Quentin. Thus did this army advance under the command of the duke of Lancaster, according to orders from the king his father.

The lord de Boursiers was at this time returning from Hainault into France, and arrived so opportunely at Ham that the inhabitants most earnestly entreated of him to remain there to assist them in defending their town against the English. He complied with their request, staying with them two days, during the time the English passed by, following the course of the river Somme, to enter the Vermandois and to cross the river at the narrowest part. When the lord de Boursiers heard that the English had almost all passed, and that they were advancing towards St. Quentin and Ribemont, where the lord du Chin, whose daughter he had married, possessed a large estate, and where he also had lands in right of his wife, he took leave of the citizens of Ham, who thanked him much for his services, as he knew the castle of Ribemont was quite unprovided with men at arms. He was attended by as many

* Denys Sauvage calls him the lord de Soubise, but gives no reason for it. My MSS. have Boursiers.

† Ribemont is a town in Picardy, four leagues from St. Quentin.

‡ "Handebourg." Q.

§ "Bray-sur-Somme,"—a village of Picardy, election of Peronne.

companions as he could muster, but they were few in number, and rode on until he came to St. Quentin, where he did not arrive without great danger, for the whole country was overspread with English. He got into the town just in time, for the English light troops came to the gates as he entered them. The lord de Boursiers found there sir William des Bourdes, who was governor of it for the king: he was received by him joyfully, and much pressed to stay there, to help him in the defence of the town.

The lord de Boursiers excused himself by saying, that he had undertaken to go to Ribemont, to defend that town and castle, which was without any garrison; and he entreated sir William so much for assistance that he gave him twelve cross-bows. He had not advanced far before he saw a company of English; but, as he knew the country well, he took a more circuitous road to avoid them: the English never quitted their line of march. He was this whole day in much peril on his road towards Ribemont. He met a knight from Burgundy, called sir John de Bueil, who was going to St. Quentin; but, after some conversation with the lord de Boursiers, he returned with him towards Ribemont. His force might now consist of about forty spears and thirty cross-bows. As they were approaching Ribemont, having sent forward one of their scouts to inform the inhabitants that they were coming to their aid, they perceived a body of English advancing, who appeared to consist of at least fourscore men on horseback. The French said, "Here are our enemies returning from pillage: let us meet them." Upon which they stuck spurs into their horses, and galloped off as fast as they could, crying out, "Notre Dame Ribemont:" they fell upon the English, whom they defeated and slew. Happy were they who could escape.

When the French had thus conquered these English, they came to Ribemont, where they found the lord du Chin, who a little before had entered the town with forty spears and twenty cross-bows. Whilst these three noble knights were on the square of the town before the castle, and many of their men had gone to their quarters to disarm themselves, they heard the sentinel on the castle wall cry out, "Here are men at arms advancing to the town." On which they went nearer the castle, and asked how many he thought there might be: he answered "About fourscore." Upon which, the lord de Boursiers said, "It behoves us to go and fight with them, for otherwise we shall have much blame in having suffered them thus to come up to our very walls unnoticed." The lord du Chin replied, "Fair son, you say well: order out our horses, and display my banner." Sir John de Bueil rejoined, "Gentlemen, you shall not go without my company: but I would advise you to act more deliberately in this business; for peradventure they may be men at arms lightly mounted, whom the marshals or constable may have sent hither to draw us out of our fortress, and our sally may turn out to our loss."

The lord de Boursiers said: "If you will adopt my plan, we will go and fight them, and that as speedily as may be; for whatever may happen, I am determined to do so." On saying this, he fixed on his helmet and tightened his armour, and then sallied forth with about one hundred and twenty combatants. The English were about fourscore, part of the troop of sir Hugh Calverley, though sir Hugh himself had remained with the duke of Lancaster: there were as many as six knights and other squires, who had advanced to revenge the deaths of their companions. On the French coming out at the gate, they met the English, who, lowering their spears, vigorously attacked them: they opened their ranks, when the English galloped quite through: this caused so great a dust that they could scarcely distinguish each other. The French soon formed again, and shouted their cry of "Notre Dame Ribemont!" Many a man was unhorsed on both sides. The lord du Chin fought with a leaden mace, with which he smashed every helmet that came within reach of it; for he was a strong and lusty knight, well made in all his limbs: but he himself received such a blow on his casque that he reeled, and would have fallen to the ground had he not been supported by his squire. He suffered from this blow as long as he lived.

Several knights and squires of the English were greatly surprised that the arms on the lord du Chin's banners were perfectly the same as those of the lord de Coucy, and said, "How is this? has the lord de Coucy sent any of his men hither? he ought to be one of our friends." The battle was very mortal; for in the end almost all the English were killed or made prisoners, few escaping. The lord de Boursiers took two brothers of the name of Pembroke;

one a knight, the other a squire. Sir John de Bueil took two others, with whom they retreated into Ribemont. The English army marched by, but made no assault; for they thought it would be losing time. Orders were given to do no damage, by burning or otherwise, to the lands of the lord de Coucy, who was at the time in Lombardy, and interfered not with the wars in France.

The English fixed their quarters in the valleys below Laon and lower down than Bruyeres * and Crecy †, whence they did much mischief to the Laonnois. But before this, the king of France had ordered everything valuable to be carried into the towns and strong places, which were so well garrisoned that the English could not gain anything by attacking them, nor indeed had they any thoughts of so doing, but were only anxious that the French would meet them in battle in the plain. The king, however, had forbidden this very strictly in his daily orders. He had them followed by the rest of his cavalry so close on their rear, as to intimidate them from quitting the main army. The French took up their quarters every evening in fortified towns, and in the day-time pursued the English, who kept themselves in a compact body.

It happened that one morning a party of English, to the number of six score lances, who were over-running the country beyond Soissons, fell into an ambuscade of Burgundians and French. It was commanded by sir John de Vienne, sir John de Bueil, sir William des Bourdes, sir Hugh de Porcien, sir John de Coucy, the viscount de Meaux, the lords de Rayneval and de la Boue, with several more knights and squires, amounting in the whole to full three hundred lances. They had followed the English, and this night they had encamped in the fields of the Soissonnois, where they had placed an ambuscade in a small coppice. The English came in the morning to plunder a village behind which their army was quartered. When they had passed the ambush, the French sallied forth with banners and pennons displayed. The English, seeing such a large body so near them, halted, and would have sent to their army, which was a good league off; but sir Walter Huet, a great English captain, and near the spot where this surprise happened, mounting his horse in great haste, his lance in its rest, but without helmet or vizor, and only his coat of mail on, galloped forward without further thought or consideration: his men followed him as well as they could. In the confusion, he had his neck quite pierced through with a spear, and fell dead on the field.

The English fought very valiantly, but at last were almost all taken or slain. The French made prisoners of the following knights: sir Matthew Redmayne, sir Thomas Fowkes, sir Hugh Brudenel, sir Thomas Spencer, sir Thomas Emerton, sir Nicholas Gascoign, sir John Chandler, sir Philip Cambray, sir John Harpedon, sir Matthew Gournay, sir Robert Twyford, sir Geoffry Say, sir John Bourchier, sir Geoffry Worsley, sir Lionel Daultry; and, of esquires, William Daultry, John Gaillard, Thomas Bradley, Henry Montford, Guy Hewett, John Meynil, William Gostwick, John Flamstead, Thomas Sollerant, William Quentin, Robert Boteler, Robert Audley, Ralph Stanley, and Thomas Archer ‡.

News was carried to the main body that their men were engaged: upon which, the marshals, with the whole army, hastened thither: though they could not make such speed, but that the business was finished, and the Burgundians and French had left the field. The English knew not where to seek the French. Thus passed this action, according to the information I have received, near to Soucy in the Soissonnois, the 20th September, 1363.

After these two encounters at Ribemont and Soucy, nothing further befel the duke of Lancaster and his army that is worth mentioning. They marched through various narrow passes and defiles, but kept in close and good order. The council of the king of France therefore said to him: "Let them go; by their smoke alone they cannot deprive you of your kingdom: they will be tired soon, and their force will dissolve away, for as storms and tempests appear sometimes in tremendous forms over a whole country, yet they dissipate of themselves, and no essential harm happens, thus it will befal these English."

* "Bruyeres,"—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon.

† "Crecy-sur-Serre,"—a town in Picardy, three leagues from Laon.

‡ I have copied these names from Barnes.

CHAPTER CCCXVIII.—THE HOSTAGES SENT FROM DERVAL ARE BEHEADED.—SIR ROBERT KNOLLES RETALIATES ON THOSE PRISONERS WHOM HE HAD TAKEN.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER FINISHES HIS EXPEDITION.

Sir Robert Knolles, as I have before related, was returned to his castle of Derval, which he considered as his own inheritance, and had determined to break the treaty which had been entered into by his cousin and the duke of Anjou; on which account, the duke himself was come to the siege of Derval, attended by numbers from Brittany, Poitou, and the lower countries. The king of France was desirous that his constable, who was there, and the lord de Clisson, with several more, should return to France, to assist his brother the duke of Burgundy in the pursuit of the English. He frequently renewed these orders to the different lords, who were anxious to obey them, and also to gain possession of this castle of Derval.

When the day was passed on which the castle was to have been surrendered, the besiegers wondered what the garrison were thinking on: they imagined that sir Robert Knolles had thrown himself into it with reinforcements. The duke and constable sent to sir Robert, and to sir Hugh Broc who had made the treaty. The herald, on arriving in the square of the castle, said to the gentlemen present: "My lords send me here to enquire from you the reasons, which they would willingly learn, why you do not ransom your hostages by surrendering the castle according to the terms of the treaty to which you, sir Hugh, have sworn." Sir Robert Knolles then addressed the herald, saying, "Herald, you will tell your masters, that my cousin had no authority to enter into any capitulation or treaty without my consent first had; and you will now return with this answer from me."

The herald went back to his lords, and related to them the message sir Robert Knolles had charged him with: they sent him again to tell the garrison, that from the tenor of the treaty, they ought not to have received any one into the fort, and that they had received sir Robert Knolles, which they should not have done; and likewise to inform them for a truth, that if the castle was not surrendered, the hostages would be beheaded. Sir Robert replied, "By God, herald, I will not lose my castle for fear of the menaces of your lords; and if it should happen that the duke of Anjou, through arrogance, puts my friends to death, I will retaliate; for I have here in prison several knights and squires of France, and if I were offered one hundred thousand francs I would not show mercy to any one of them." When the herald had delivered this answer, the duke of Anjou sent for the headsman, and ordered the hostages, who were two knights and a squire, to be brought forth, and had them beheaded before the castle, so that those within might see and know them.

Sir Robert Knolles instantly ordered a table to be fixed withoutside of the windows of the castle, and had led there four of his prisoners, three knights and a squire, for whom he might have had a great ransom, but he had them beheaded and flung down into the ditch, the heads on one side and the bodies on the other. The siege was raised after this, and all the men at arms returned to France; even the duke of Anjou went to Paris to visit the king his brother: the constable, with the lord de Clisson and others, marched to the city of Troyes, for the English were already in that part of the country: they had crossed the river Marne, and were taking the road towards Auxerre.

At this time, pope Gregory XI. had sent the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras in legation to France, to endeavour, if possible, to make peace between the kings of France and England: these two prelates had many difficulties in travelling towards the king of France and his brothers, and afterwards to the duke of Lancaster: the English, however, kept advancing through the country of Fôrets, having passed Auvergne, Limousin, and the rivers Loire, Allier, Dordonne, and Lot. Neither the English nor French were much at their ease in this expedition: three knights of Hainault, sir Fateres de Berlammont, sir Bridol de Montagin, and le bègue de Warlan, as well as some on the side of the English, died on their march. The dukes of Lancaster and Brittany continued their route with the army until they were arrived at Bergerac, four leagues from Bordeaux, continually pursued by the French. The duke of Anjou and the constable of France were in the upper countries near Rouergue,

Rodais, and Toulouse, and had advanced as far as Perigueux, where they had fixed their quarters.

The two before-mentioned prelates journeyed from each party, preaching to them several reasons why they should come to an agreement. But each held so obstinately to his own opinion that they would not make any concessions, without having considerable advantages given them. The duke of Lancaster came to Bordeaux about Christmas; and the two dukes remained there the whole winter and the following Lent. Several knights went away, on the expedition being finished: the lord Basset and his company returned to England, for which king Edward reprimanded him.

CHAPTER CCCXIX.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU'S CAMPAIGN INTO UPPER GASCONY *.

Soon after Easter, in the year 1374, the duke of Anjou, who resided at Perigord, made a great muster of his forces; at which the constable of France and the greater part of the barons and knights of Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, Touraine, were present. There were also, from Gascony, sir John d'Armagnac, the lords d'Albret and de Perigord, the counts de Comminges and de Narbonne, the viscounts de Caraman, de Villemure, and de Thalar, the count dauphin d'Auvergne: most of the lords of Auvergne and of Limousin: the viscount de Minedon, the lords de la Barde and de Pincornet, and sir Bertrand de Charde. They amounted to fifteen thousand men on foot, and a large body of Genoese and cross-bows. They began their march towards upper Gascony, and came before St. Silvier †, of which an abbot was lord. Notwithstanding it was talked of as a strong town, the abbot was afraid of losing it by force; so that he began to treat with the duke of Anjou, telling him that neither himself nor his territories wished to wage war against him, or in any way incur his indignation, and that the strength of his town and all he could bring to defend it were as nothing in comparison with the towns and castles of upper Gascony, whither, it was supposed, he intended to march. He therefore entreated that he might remain in peace, upon the terms that he should observe an exact neutrality; and that, whatever those lords of Gascony who possessed mense fiefs should do, he would do the same. His request was granted, on his giving hostages, who were sent to prison in Perigueux.

The whole army, of which the duke of Anjou was commander, marched away towards Montmarsen ‡, and the town of Lourde § in Upper Gascony, of which sir Arnold de Vire was governor. The French besieged and surrounded it on all sides, having first demanded if they were willing to surrender themselves to the duke of Anjou. The inhabitants of Lourde soon agreed to it; but the knight said, that the count de Foix had appointed him to that post, and he would not surrender it to any man except to him.

When the constable of France heard this, he ordered the army to advance and briskly assault it, which they did with so much vigour that the town was taken and the governor slain, as well as several men and women: the town was pillaged and ruined, and left in that state; however, on their departure they placed therein some of their men. The French entered the lands || of Châtel-bon, which they despoiled; they then passed through the territories of Châtel-neuf, which they attacked, and continued their march upwards towards Bierne, and came to the entrance of the lands of the lord de l'Escut: they advanced until they came to a good town and strong castle, called Sault ¶, which was dependent on the county of Foix.

The prince of Wales had frequently intended, before his expedition to Spain, to make war on the count de Foix for all these mesne fiefs, which he had in Gascony, because the count would not acknowledge that he held them from him: the affair had remained in this situation in consequence of the Spanish expedition. Now, however, the duke of Anjou, who was

* For a more chronological account of this campaign, see the hist. de Languedoc, vol. iv. p. 580.

† "St. Silvier." Probably St. Sever de Rustan, in Bigorre.

‡ "Montmarsen,"—a town in Gascony.

§ "Lourde,"—a town in Gascony,—the capital of the valley of Lavedan, diocese of Tarbes.

|| These lands are beyond the Pyrenees: therefore, it more probably alludes to the town of Mauvoisin and the other lands the viscount held under the king of England. —See *Hist. de Languedoc*, vol. iv. p. 583.

¶ "Sault de Navaille,"—a small town in Gascony, near Orthez.

conquering all Aquitaine, seemed willing to take possession of it, and had thus besieged Sault in Gascony, which was not a trifle nor easy to gain: the governor of it was sir William de Pau. When the count heard they were conquering his lands and the mesne fiefs, for which it was but just he should pay homage either to the kings of France or England, he sent for the viscount de Châtel-bon, the lords de Marsen and de l'Escut, and the abbot de St. Silvier. He then demanded a passport from the duke of Anjou, who was occupied with the siege of Sault, that they might wait upon him in safety: the duke granted it. They therefore went and held a conference with him and his council, when it was agreed that the aforesaid lords and their territories should remain in peace until the middle of August, on condition that those who should then be the strongest before the town of Monsac * on the part of the kings of France or of England, and there keep the field, should have the enjoyment of these rights, and to that party these lords of mesne fiefs should ever after belong. The count de Foix and the other lords gave hostages for their due performance of this agreement. The duke of Anjou returned to Perigueux with his army, but did not dismiss any one.

CHAPTER CCCXX.—THE EARL OF PEMBROKE AND HIS COMPANIONS ARE RANSOMED.—A SHORT TRUCE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.—BECHEREL SURRENDERS ON TERMS.—THE DEATH OF THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

About this time there was an exchange made of the lands of the constable of France and sir Oliver de Mauny, which the king of Spain had given to them for their gallant services. The constable exchanged his estate of Soria in Castille for the earl of Pembroke, who had been made prisoner off La Rochelle. Sir Oliver de Mauny gave up his estate of Grette for sir Guiscard d'Angle and his nephew William, Otho de Grantson, John de Grinieres, and the lord de Tannaybouton.

Whilst this treaty was going forward, another was opened between the dukes of Anjou and of Lancaster, through the means of the two before-mentioned prelates. The duke of Lancaster sent, under passports, to the duke of Anjou at Perigord, (where he resided and governed as king or regent the lordships of England and France,) the canon de Robesart, and the lords William Hellunay and Thomas Douville. A truce was agreed on, between these dukes and their allies, until the last day of August: and they engaged themselves to be, in the month of September, in the country of Picardy,—the duke of Anjou at St. Omer, and the duke of Lancaster at Calais. After this truce, the dukes of Lancaster and of Brittany, the earls of Warwick, Suffolk, and Stafford, the lords de Spencer and Willoughby, the canon de Robesart, lord Henry Percy, the lord Manne†, with the other lords and knights, set out from Bordeaux the 8th day of July, and returned to England.

Sir John Appleyard and sir John Cornwall held their castle of Becherel for nearly a year against the French, who were closely besieging it, and had much constrained them; but not receiving any intelligence of succours coming to their assistance, and their provisions beginning to fail, they held a council whether it would not be advisable to offer terms for its surrender. They entered, therefore, into a treaty with the lords d'Hambuye, d'Estonville, de Blainville, de Frainville, and the barons of Normandy, who were quite tired with the siege having continued so long. But they would not conclude anything without the knowledge of the king of France. He consented, that if the duke of Brittany in person did not come in sufficient force before Becherel, by All-Saints-day next approaching, to raise the siege, the garrison should surrender on capitulation. Hostages were given to observe these terms.

The earl of Pembroke was ransomed for 120,000 francs, which the Lombards of Bruges agreed to pay when he should be arrived in good health at Bruges. The earl journeyed, under the passport of the constable, through the kingdom of France: but a fever, or some other sickness, overtook him on the road, so that he was obliged to travel in a litter unto the city of Arras, where his disorder increased so much as to occasion his death. The constable,

* A town in Perigord, near Bergerac. † Q. Maine.

by this event, lost his ransom*. The earl of Pembroke left by his second wife, the lady Anne, daughter of sir Walter Manny, a fair son who at that time was two years old.

Sir Guiscard d'Angle obtained his ransom, as you shall hear. You remember that the lord de Roye remained prisoner in England: he had an only daughter, a great heiress. The friends of the lord de Roye entered into an agreement with sir Oliver de Mauny, a Breton knight, and nephew to sir Bertrand du Guesclin, that if he could deliver the lord de Roye from his prison by means of an exchange, he should have the daughter of the baron de Roye for his wife, who was of very high birth. Upon this, sir Oliver de Mauny sent to the king of England, to know which of the knights he would wish to have set at liberty for the lord de Roye. The king was most inclined for sir Guiscard d'Angle. The lord de Roye was therefore sent home free, and the lord de Mauny espoused his daughter. Shortly afterwards, the lord de Roye himself married the daughter of the lord de Ville and de Floron in Hainault. The other knights, that is to say, the lord de Tannaybouton, sir Otho de Grantson, and sir John de Grinieres, obtained their liberties, and compounded in a handsome manner for their ransom with sir Oliver de Mauny.

CHAPTER CCCXXI.—SEVERAL TOWNS IN GASCONY SURRENDER TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—SIR HUGH DE CHASTILLON RETURNS FROM PRISON.—THE CASTLE OF BECHEREL SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

When the middle of August approached, which was the appointed time for the meeting before Monsac, the duke of Anjou arrived with a grand array of men at arms. He fixed his quarters in the plain before Monsac, where he was lodged for six days without any one coming to meet him. The English thought that the truce which had been entered into would have annulled this agreement. But the duke of Anjou and his council did not consider it in this light. Sir Thomas Felton, séneschal of Bordeaux, argued the matter for a long time; but he could not gain anything. The duke, therefore, sent to the count de Foix, the viscount de Châtel-Bon, to the lords de Marsen, de Chateauneuf, de l'Escut, and to the abbot de St. Silvier, to summon them to keep their agreements, or he would put to death their hostages, and enter their lands in such a manner as would oblige them to throw themselves on his mercy. These lords, therefore, placed themselves and their lands under the obedience of the king of France. The inhabitants of Monsac opened their gates, and presented the keys to the duke of Anjou, doing to him fealty and homage. The lords who attended the duke entered the town with him, where they remained for eighteen days; during which time they held councils as to what part they should next march.

Shortly after the middle of August, when the truces which had been entered into between the English and French in Gascony were expired, these lords recommenced the war. The duke of Anjou came before la Réole†; and, after three days' siege, the inhabitants submitted to the king of France. From thence he marched to Langon‡, which also surrendered; as did St. Macaire§, Condom||, Basille¶, la Tour de Prudence, Mauleon**, and la Tour de Drou. Full forty towns and castles turned to the French in this expedition: the last was Auberoche††. The duke of Anjou placed in all of them men at arms and garrisons: and, when he had arranged everything according to his pleasure, he and the constable returned to Paris, for the king had sent for them. He dismissed, therefore, the greater part of his army: and the lords de Clisson, de Beaumanoir, d'Avaugour, de Ray, de Riom, the viscounts de la Val, de Rohan, and the other barons, returned to the siege of Becherel, to be ready at

* The constable carried on, for three years, a fruitless lawsuit with the Flemish merchants for this ransom, which they refused to pay. He at length gave up his claim to the king of France for 50,000 francs.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

† "La Réole,"—a town in Bazadois, eighteen leagues and a half from Bordeaux.

‡ "Langon,"—a town in Bazadois, six leagues from Bordeaux.

§ "St. Macaire,"—nine leagues from Bordeaux.

|| "Condom," a city of Gascony, four leagues from the Garonne.

¶ "Basille." Not in Gazetteer.

** "Mauléon," a town in Armagnac, diocese of Aire.

†† "Auberoche,"—a town in Perigord, near Perigueux.

the time appointed; for it was reported that the duke of Brittany, sir Robert Knolles, and the lord de Spencer would attempt to raise the siege.

You have before heard how sir Hugh de Châtillon, master of the cross-bows, had been made prisoner near Abbeville, by sir Nicholas Louvain, and carried into England: he was unable to obtain his liberty on account of the large sum asked for his ransom: however, a Flemish merchant stepped forward, and exerted himself so effectually that he cunningly got him out of England. It would take too much time to enter into the whole detail of this business; therefore, I shall pass it over. When he was returned to France, the king gave him back his office of master of the cross-bows, and sent him to Abbeville, as he had before done, to guard that frontier, with two hundred lances under his command. All the captains of castles and towns were ordered to obey him; such as sir John de Berthouilliers governor of Boulogne, sir Henry des Isles governor of Dieppe, and those who commanded in the frontier towns of Terouenne, St. Omer, Liques, Fiennes, and Montroye.

It happened that the lord de Gommegines, governor of Ardres, and sir John d'Ubrues, collected their forces in Ardres, to the amount of about eight hundred lances. They marched, one morning early, well mounted, towards Boulogne, to see if they should meet with any adventures. That same morning, sir John de Berthouilliers, governor of Boulogne, had also made an excursion, with about sixty lances, towards Calais, and with the same intent. On his return, he was met by the lord de Gommegines and his party, who immediately charged the French, and overthrew them, so that their captain saved himself with great difficulty, but lost fourteen of his lancemen. The lord de Gommegines, after the pursuit, returned to Ardres.

The master of the cross-bows this day made a muster of his forces: he had with him a great number of men at arms from Artois, Vermandois, and from that neighbourhood: in all, upwards of three hundred lances. The count de St. Pol, who had lately come to Picardy from his estates in Lorraine, was on his road to fulfil a pilgrimage to our Lady of Boulogne: he was informed on his way, that the master of the cross-bows was about to undertake an excursion, which made him wish to be of the party: they therefore rode together and advanced before Ardres, where they remained drawn up for some time; but they knew nothing of the English being abroad, nor the English of them.

After the French had continued some time before Ardres, and saw that none attempted to sally from the town, they began their retreat towards the abbey of Liques. No sooner had they marched away than an Englishman privately left the place, and rode through lanes and cross-roads (for he knew the country well) until he met the lord de Gommegines and his party returning to Ardres, who, when he learnt the expedition of the French, slowly advanced with his men in a compact body. When the French had passed Tournehem, having also had intelligence of the English being abroad under the command of the governor of Ardres, they immediately marched towards them, and placed an ambuscade in a coppice, above Liques, of three hundred lances, of which sir Hugh de Châtillon was the captain. The young count de St. Pol was ordered forward on the look-out, and with him went many knights and squires. Not far distant, by the side of a large hedge, the lord de Gommegines and sir Walter Ukeues* had halted, and drawn up their force on foot in a very handsome manner. Sir John Harlestone set off on a gallop, with twenty lances, to entice the French into this ambuscade, saying he would allow himself to be pursued to the place where they were: he therefore entered the plain. The young count de St. Pol, who was arrived thither with a hundred lances, spying sir John Harlestone's troop, called out to his companions, "Forward, forward! here are our enemies." Upon which they stuck spurs into their horses, and hastened as fast as they could to come up with the English. But sir John Harlestone began his retreat, allowing them to pursue him until he came to the hedge where the English were drawn up, with their archers in front. On the arrival of the French, the English received them with battle-axes, swords, and spears: the archers began so brisk an attack that men and horses were overthrown. Many gallant deeds were done; but in the end the French were surrounded, and the greater part slain. The young count de St. Pol was made prisoner by a squire of Gueldres: the lords de Pous and de Clary, sir William

* He is before called sir John d'Ubrues.

de Nielle, sir Charles de Châtillon, Leonnet d'Araines, Guy de Vaisnel, Henry des Isles and John his brother, the chatelain de Beauvais, and several other knights and squires, were also captured.

Shortly after this defeat, the lord de Châtillon came, with his banner and three hundred lances, to the path of the hedge; but, when he saw that his men were defeated, he wheeled about with his troops, and returned without striking a blow: upon this, the English and Hainaulters led their prisoners to the town of Ardres. The lord de Gommegines, that evening, bought the count de St. Pol from the squire who had taken him: he soon after carried him to England, and presented him to the king, who thanked him kindly for so doing, and made him great presents.

When the duke of Anjou and the constable were returned to Paris from Gascony, they found the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras had been some time with the king. These prelates continued their journey, and arrived at St. Omer. The duke of Lancaster and the lord Bacinier had crossed the sea to Calais, and from thence went to Bruges. The duke of Anjou soon after came to St. Omer in grand array, and sent for his cousin sir Guy de Blois to meet him, who left Hainault handsomely equipped to wait on the duke. The constable of France, the lords de Clisson, de la Val, and sir Oliver de Mauny, with upwards of six hundred lances, had posted themselves on the frontiers between France and Flanders, near to Aire, La Croix, Bailleul, Cassel, and in that neighbourhood, to guard the country, and to prevent any injury being offered to the count of Flanders; for he had not any great confidence in the negotiators, nor would he go to Bruges notwithstanding their earnest solicitations.

You have before heard how the garrison of Becherel had held out for upwards of a year, and had entered into a capitulation to surrender, if they were not relieved before All-saints-day. When the day was near approaching, the king of France ordered thither many men at arms: and all the knights of Brittany and Normandy were entreated to be there, except such as were with the constable. The two marshals of France, the lord Louis de Sancerre and lord Mouton de Blainville, the earl of Harcourt, sir James de Vienne admiral of France, the dauphin of Auvergne, sir John de Bueil and several more, arrived before Becherel. These lords kept the day with great solemnity; but as none appeared to relieve the castle, it was surrendered, and those who were so inclined left it. Sir John Appleyard and sir John Cornwall marched out with their men, embarked and crossed over to England. The barons of France took possession of the place, which they repaired, re-victualled and reinforced with men, provision and artillery.

By orders from the king of France, those men at arms shortly after laid siege to St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Coutantin, which had belonged to sir John Chandos; and after his death the king of England had given it to sir Aleyne Boxhull, who at that time was in England: he had left there as governor a squire called Carenton *, with sir Thomas Cornet, John de Burgh, and the three brothers Maulevriers: there might be with them about six score companions, all armed and ready for defence. St. Sauveur was first besieged on the side next the sea by sir John de Vienne admiral of France, with all the barons and knights of Brittany and Normandy. There was also a large army before it, with plenty of everything. These lords of France had pointed large engines against it, which much harassed the garrison.

CHAPTER CCCXXII.—A TRUCE AGREED ON AT BRUGES BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETIRES TO HIS OWN COUNTRY, AND REGAINS SOME OF HIS TOWNS AND CASTLES.

We will now return to the noble negotiators at Bruges, that is to say, the dukes of Anjou † and Burgundy, the count de Saltzbourg, the bishop of Amiens, the elected bishop of Bayeux;

* Probably Carrington.

† The historian of Languedoc says, the duke of Anjou was not present at this meeting, but in Avignon; and that, when the treaty was concluded, the duke of Burgundy sent from Bruges orders for the sénéschal of Beaucaire to publish it.—Vol. iv. p. 357. Passports were, however, granted to the duke of Anjou, by Edward, to come to Bruges, and are to be found in Rymer.

the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of London *. In order that no harm might happen to these lords, nor to their people, who were going from one to the other, it was agreed there should be a truce, to last to the first of May, 1375, in all the country between Calais and the river Somme; but that it should not interfere with the other parts of the country now at war. Upon this being done, the lords de Clisson and de la Val were sent back to Brittany with their forces, to assist in guarding that country and the neighbouring frontiers.

During the time these negotiations were going forward at Bruges, the duke of Brittany, as has before been said, remained in England, where he felt much for the distress of his country, the greater part of which had turned against him: his duchess also was besieged and shut up in the castle of Auray. The duke, while he resided with the king of England, was very melancholy: upon which the king, who much loved him, said: "Fair son, I well know that through your affection to me, you have put into the balance, and risked, a handsome and noble inheritance: but be assured that I will reccover it for you again, for I will never make peace with the French without your being reinstated." On hearing these fine promises, the duke bowed respectfully to the king and humbly thanked him. Soon after this conversation, the duke of Brittany assembled at Southampton two thousand men at arms and three thousand archers, who all received their pay for half a year in advance, by orders from the king of England †. Among the commanders were the earls of Cambridge and March, the lord de Spencer, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nicholas Camoire, sir Edward Twyford, sir Richard de Pontchardon, sir John Lesley, sir Thomas Grantson, sir Hugh Hastings, the lords de Manne ‡ and de la Pole, with many other knights and squires.

The duke and all his men at arms arrived at St. Matthieu de Fine Poterne in Brittany, where, after they had disembarked, they attacked the castle very sharply. This castle was out of the town, and ill supplied with men and artillery, so that the English took it by storm, and slew all who were in it. When the inhabitants of the town were informed of this, they opened their gates, and received the duke as their lord. The English next advanced to the town of St. Pol de Léon, which was strong and well inclosed. The duke took his station; and, during a marvellously well conducted attack, the archers, who were posted on the banks of the ditches, shot so excellently, and so much together, that scarcely any dared appear to defend them: the town was therefore taken and pillaged. After this, they came before St. Brieu, which at that time was well provided with men at arms and all other provisions and stores: for the lords de Clisson, de Beaumanoir, the viscount de Rohan, and many other barons of Brittany, whose quarters were at Lamballe, had lately been there and had reinforced it with every thing necessary. The duke and the English besieged this town.

When the garrison of St. Sauveur le Vicomte heard that the duke of Brittany and the English lords were arrived in Brittany, they expected them to come and raise their siege; which they much desired, for they were greatly straitened by the engines, which day and night cast stones into the castle, so that they knew not where to retire to avoid them. Having called a council, they resolved to make overtures to the French lords, to obtain a truce for six weeks, until Easter 1375; and proposed, that if within that time there should not come any relief, which might be sufficient to offer battle and raise the siege, they would surrender themselves, their lives and fortunes being spared, and the fortress should be given up to the king of France. This treaty went off, and the siege continued; but no harm was further done to those of St. Sauveur, for the besiegers and garrison were both inactive.

* In addition, there were, sir John Cobham, sir Frank van Hall, sir Arnold Savage, and master John Shepeye and master Simon Multon, doctors of laws.—See their warrant in Rymer.

† Edward nominated the earl of Cambridge conjointly with the duke of Brittany, his lieutenants in France, with full powers to act as they pleased, without prejudice to the rights of the duke or to the patrimony of the church, dated 24th November, 1374.—See Rymer.

‡ Q. Maine.

CHAPTER CCCXXIII.—SOME BRETON LORDS OF THE FRENCH PARTY ARE NEAR BEING TAKEN BY THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, BUT ARE DELIVERED BY THE TRUCES AT BRUGES.

THE viscount de Rohan, the lords de Clisson and de Beaumanoir, were guarding the frontiers against the duke of Brittany and the English, at that time before St. Brieu. Sir John Devereux was then quartered near to Quimperlé, and was destroying that part of the country: he had caused to be repaired and fortified by the peasants a small fort which he had made his garrison, and called it the New Fort, in which he resided, so that none could venture out of the town without risk of being taken. This information the townsmen of Quimperlé sent to the lord de Clisson and the other lords at Lamballe. They marched immediately thither, leaving a sufficiency of men to guard that town, and rode on until they came before this new fort, which they surrounded. News of this was carried to the British army before St. Brieu. The duke had ordered a mine to be sprung, which they had worked at for fifteen days; but at that moment the miners had lost their point, so that it was necessary for them to begin another: which when the duke and the lords of his army heard, they said among themselves; "Every thing considered, we are but losing time here: let us go to the assistance of sir John Devereux, and if we shall be able to fall in with those who are besieging him in the open field, we shall perform a good exploit. Upon this, they held a council, and marched off, taking the road for the new fort, which the lords of Brittany were then assaulting. They had done so much that they were already at the foot of the walls, and dreaded not what might be thrown down upon them; for they were well shielded, but those within the fort had not wherewithal to annoy them in that manner.

Just at this instant a scout came with speed to the lords of Brittany who were busy at the assault, saying, "My lords, make off in haste from hence; for the English are coming with the duke of Brittany, and they are not more than two leagues off." The trumpet sounded a retreat: they collected themselves together, called for their horses, set off, and entered Quimperlé which was hard by. They closed the gates; but scarcely had they raised the draw-bridges, and strengthened the barriers, when the duke of Brittany with the barons of England were before it. They had passed by the new fort, and spoken with sir John Devereux, who thanked them exceedingly for coming, otherwise he must have been very shortly made prisoner. The duke and the English formed the siege of Quimperlé, and ordered their archers and foot soldiers, well shielded, to advance, when a sharp attack commenced; for the English, as well as those in the town, were very determined: so that there were many wounded on both sides. Every day there were such skirmishes and assaults that those in the town saw they should not be able to hold out much longer, and there did not seem any likelihood of their receiving assistance. They could not escape any way without being seen, so well was the town surrounded: and if they should be taken by storm, they doubted if they should receive any quarter, more especially the lord de Clisson, for he was much hated by the English.

These lords of Brittany opened a treaty with the duke to surrender; but they wanted to depart on a moderate ransom, and the duke would have them surrender unconditionally: they could only obtain a respite for eight days, and that with very great difficulty. This respite, however, turned out very fortunate to them; for during that time two English knights, sir Nicholas Carswell and sir Walter Ourswick *, sent by the duke of Lancaster from Bruges, where he had remained the whole winter, arrived at the army of the duke of Brittany. They brought with them deeds engrossed and sealed of the truces entered into between the kings of France and England. The duke of Lancaster sent orders, that in consequence of the treaty of Bruges, the army should be disbanded without delay. The truce was immediately read and proclaimed through the army, and signified also to those who were within Quimperlé. The lords de Clisson, de Rohan, and de Beaumanoir, and the others, were much rejoiced thereat, for it came very opportunely.

The siege of Quimperlé being raised, the duke of Brittany disbanded all his troops, except those of his household, and went to Auray, where his duchess was. The earls of Cambridge

* Sir Nicholas Charnels — sir Walter Urswick.—*Barnes.*

and of March, sir Thomas Holland earl of Kent, the lord de Spencer, and the other English, returned home. When the duke of Brittany had settled his affairs at his leisure, and had reinforced the towns and castles of Brest and Auray with artillery and provisions, he set out from Brittany with his duchess, and went for England.

CHAPTER CCCXXIV.—ST. SAUVEUR LE VICOMTE SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.—THE LORD DE COUCY LEADS A LARGE ARMY INTO AUSTRIA, WHICH HE CLAIMS AS HIS INHERITANCE.

On the day in which the truces were concluded at Bruges between the kings of France and of England, to last for one whole year, including their allies, the dukes of Lancaster and Burgundy again swore they would return thither on All-saints-day. Each party was to keep, during this truce, whatever he was then in possession of. The English thought that the capitulation respecting St. Sauveur le Vicomte would be voided by this treaty; but the French would not allow of this, and said the treaty did not affect the prior engagement concerning it: so that, when the day arrived for its surrender, the king of France sent troops thither from all quarters. There were assembled before it upwards of six thousand knights and squires, without counting the others: but no succour came to its relief, and when the day was expired, St. Sauveur was given up to the French, but most unwillingly, for the fortress was very convenient for the English. The governor sir Thomas Cornet, John de Burgh, the three brothers Maulevriers, and the English, went to Carentan, where having embarked all which belonged to them, they sailed for England *. The constable of France reinforced the town and castle of St. Sauveur le Vicomte with a new garrison, and appointed a Breton knight as governor. I heard at the time, that the king of France gave him the lordship of it.

The lord de Coucy at this period returned to France: he had been a long time in Lombardy with the count de Vertus †, son of the lord Galeas Visconti, and had made war on lord Bernabo Visconti and his allies, for the cause of the church and of Gregory XI. who at that time was pope, and for the holy college of Rome. The lord de Coucy, in right of succession to the lady his mother, who was sister to the duke of Austria last deceased, was the true heir of that duchy. The last duke did not leave any child by legal marriage, and the inhabitants of Austria had disposed of the estate in favour of a relation, but farther removed than the lord de Coucy. This lord had frequently complained of such conduct to the emperor, the lord Charles of Bohemia. The emperor readily acknowledged the lord de Coucy's right: but he could not compel the Austrians to do the same, who were in great force in their own country, and had plenty of men at arms. The lord de Coucy had gallantly carried on the war against them several times, through the aid of one of his aunts, sister to the aforesaid duke; but he had not gained much. On the lord de Coucy's return to France, the king entertained him handsomely. Having considered there were numbers of men at arms in France then idle, on account of the truce between the French and English, he entreated the king to assist him in obtaining the free companies of Bretons, who were overrunning and harassing the kingdom, for him to lead them into Austria. The king, who wished these companies any where but in his kingdom, readily assented to his request. He lent, or gave, I know not which, sixty thousand francs, in order to get rid of these companions. They began their march towards Austria about Michaelmas, committing many ravages wherever they passed. Many barons, knights, and squires of France, Artois, Vermandois, Hainault, and Picardy, such as the viscounts de Meaux and d'Aunay, sir Raoul de Coucy, the baron de Roye, Pierre de Bar, and several others, offered their services to the lord de Coucy. His army was increased by all those who wished to advance themselves in honour.

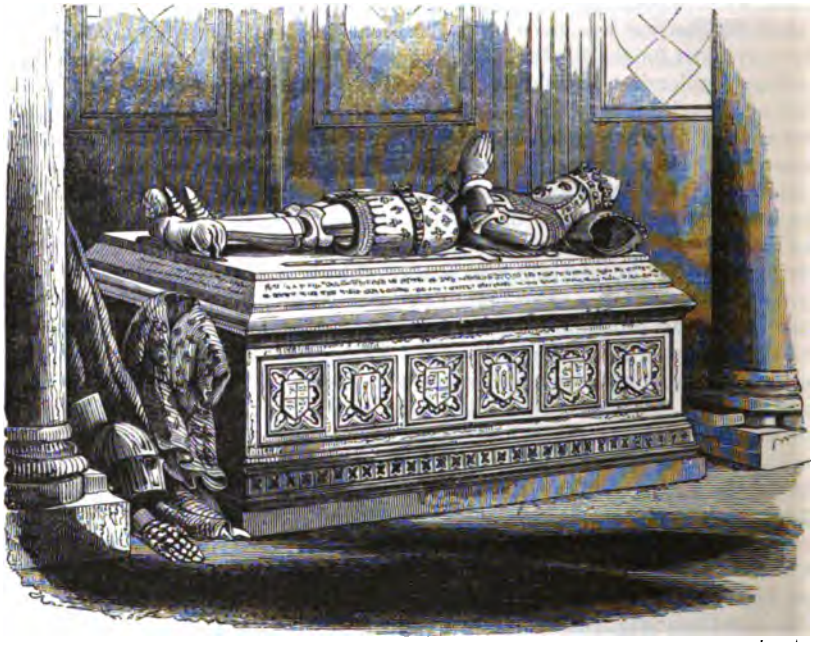
* Froissart has forgotten to add sir Thomas Carington among the governors of St. Sauveur le Vicomte. Nothing was said against him until the reign of Richard II. when he was accused of having treacherously given up this place by sir John Annesley, who had married sir John Chandos' niece: he challenged him to single combat, fought and vanquished him in the lists, formed in Palace-yard in the presence of the king. He was afterwards drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged for his treason.—See *Dugdale, Fabian, &c.*

† John Galeas Visconti, first duke of Milan, bore the title of count de Vertus, until Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, invested him with the ducal dignity 1395. He gained, by treachery, possession of his uncle Bernabo, and put him to death by poison.—For further particulars, see Muratori and Corio.

CHAPTER CCCXXV.—THE TRUCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IS PROLONGED.—THE DEATH OF THE BLACK PRINCE.—THE LORD DE COUCY RETURNS, HAVING HAD INDIFFERENT SUCCESS.

When the feast of All-saints was drawing near, the duke of Burgundy, the count de Saltzbourg, the bishops of Amiens and of Bayeux, came to Bruges by orders of the king of France, to hold a conference. The duke of Anjou staid at St. Omer, where he continued the whole time. From the king of England there came, the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany, the earl of Salisbury and the bishop of London: so that the town of Bruges was well filled by their retinues, more especially by that of the duke of Burgundy, who kept a most noble and grand state. Sir Robert de Namur resided with the duke of Lancaster, and showed him every attention as long as he remained in Flanders.

The ambassadors from the pope, the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Carpentras, were also there, who went to and fro to each party, proposing different terms for an accommodation, but without any effect; for these lords, in their first parley, were too much divided to come to any agreement. The king of France demanded repayment of fourteen



Tomb of Edward the Black Prince, Canterbury Cathedral. The Surcoat, Shield, Sword, and Gloves, placed by our Artist, at the end of the Tomb, are those actually worn by the Prince, and now presented in the Cathedral.—From an Original Drawing.

hundred thousand francs which had been given for king John's ransom, and that the town of Calais should be dismantled. This the king of England would never consent to. The truces were therefore prolonged until the feast of St. John the Baptist in the year 1376. The lords remained all that winter in Bruges, and some time longer. In the summer, each returned to his own country, except the duke of Brittany: he continued in Flanders with his cousin the count Lewis, who entertained him handsomely.

In this year, on Trinity-Sunday, that flower of English knighthood the lord Edward of England, prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, departed this life in the palace of Westminster

near London. His body was embalmed, placed in a leaden coffin, and kept until the ensuing Michaelmas, in order that he might be buried with greater pomp and magnificence when the parliament assembled in London *.

King Charles of France, on account of his lineage, had funeral service for the prince performed with great magnificence, in the holy chapel of the palace in Paris, which was attended, according to the king's orders, by many prelates and nobles of the realm of France.

The truces, through the mediation of the ambassadors, were again prolonged until the first day of April.

We will now say something of the lord de Coucy and the Germans. When those of Austria and Germany heard that he was advancing with so strong a force to carry on the war against them, they burnt and destroyed three days' march of country by the river side, and then they retreated to their mountains and inaccessible places. The men at arms, of whom the lord de Coucy was the leader, expected to find plenty of forage, but they met with nothing: they suffered all this winter very great distress, and knew not in what place to seek provision for themselves, or forage for their horses, who were dying of cold, hunger, and disorders: for this reason, when spring came, they returned to France, and separated into different troops to recruit themselves. The king of France sent the greater part of the companies into Brittany and lower Normandy, as he imagined he should have occasion for their services.

The lord de Coucy, on his return into France, began to think of becoming a good and true Frenchman; for he had found the king of France very kind and attentive to his concerns. His relationship to the king made him consider it was not worth his while to risk the loss of his inheritance, for so slender a reason as the war with the king of England; for he was a Frenchman by name, arms, blood, and extraction. He therefore sent the lady his wife to England, and kept with him only the eldest of his two daughters: the youngest had been left in England, where she had been educated. The king of France sent the lord de Coucy to attend the negotiations carrying on at Bruges, which continued all the winter. None of the great lords were there, except the duke of Brittany, who had staid with his cousin the count of Flanders; but he entered very little into the business.

CHAPTER CCCXXVI.—RICHARD, SON OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, IS ACKNOWLEDGED AS PRESUMPTIVE HEIR TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.—THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE HAVING FAILED, AND THE TRUCES EXPIRED, THE WAR IS RENEWED BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

After the feast of Michaelmas, when the funeral of the prince had been performed in a manner suitable to his birth and merit, the king of England caused the young prince Richard to be acknowledged as his successor to the crown after his decease, by all his children, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, the lord Thomas his youngest son, as well as by all the barons, earls, prelates, and knights of England. He made them solemnly swear to observe this; and on Christmas-day he had him seated next to himself, above all his children, in royal state, that it might be seen and declared he was to be king of England after his death.

The lord John Cobham, the bishop of Hereford, and the dean of London, were at this time sent to Bruges on the part of the English. The French had sent thither the count de Saltzbourg, the lord de Châtillon, and master Philibert l'Espiote. The prelates, ambassadors from the pope, had still remained there, and continued the negotiations for peace. They treated of a marriage between the young son of the prince and the lady Mary, daughter of the king of France: after which the negotiators of each party separated, and reported what they had done to their respective kings.

About Shrovetide, a secret treaty was formed between the two kings for their ambassadors to meet at Montreiul-sur-mer; and the king of England sent to Calais sir Guiscard d'Angle,

* The prince of Wales was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury.—For particulars, see Mr. Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

sir Richard Sturey, and sir Geoffry Chaucer. On the part of the French were, the lords de Coucy and de la Rivieres, sir Nicholas Bragues and Nicholas Bracier. They for a long time discussed the subject of the above marriage; and the French, as I was informed, made some offers, but the others demanded different terms, or refused treating. These lords returned therefore, with their treaties, to their sovereigns; and the truces were prolonged to the first of May. The earl of Salisbury, the bishop of St. David's chancellor of England, and the bishop of Hereford, returned to Calais; and with them, by orders of the king of France, the lord de Coucy, and sir William de Dormans chancellor of France.

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD THE SECOND. From a curious full-length picture, formerly on the Walls of the Jerusalem, or Painted Chamber, in the ancient Palace of Westminster.

Notwithstanding all that the prelates could say or argue, they never could be brought to fix upon any place* to discuss these treaties between Montreiul and Calais, nor between Montreiul and Boulogne, nor on any part of the frontiers; these treaties, therefore, remained in an unfinished state. When the war recommenced, sir Hugh Calverley was sent governor of Calais.

CHAPTER CCCXXVII.—POPE GREGORY XI. LEAVES AVIGNON, AND RETURNS TO ROME.—ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III. RICHARD, SON OF THE LATE PRINCE OF WALES, IS CROWNED KING OF ENGLAND.

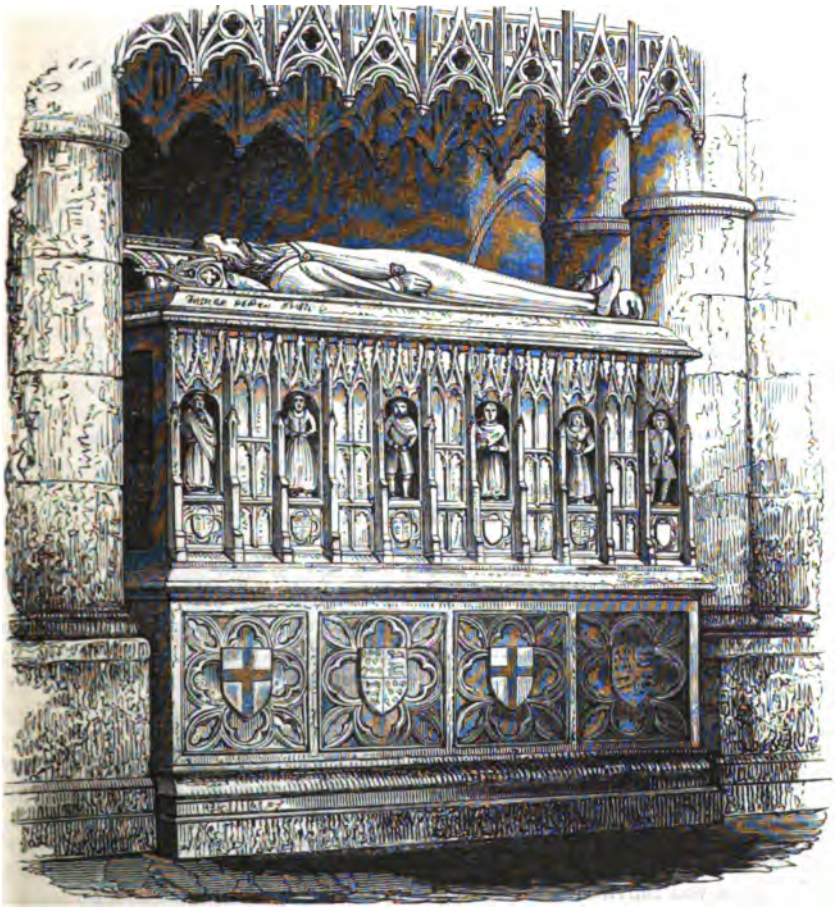
WHEN pope Gregory XI. who had for a long time resided at Avignon, was informed there was not any probability of a peace being concluded between the two kings, he was very melancholy, and, having arranged his affairs, set out for Rome, to hold there his seat of government.

The duke of Brittany, finding the war was to be renewed, took leave of his cousin the count of Flanders, with whom he had resided upwards of a year, and rode towards Gravelines, where the earl of Salisbury and sir Guiscard d'Angle, with a body of men at arms and archers, came to meet him, to escort him to Calais, where the duke tarried a month: he then crossed over to England and went to Shene, a few miles from London, on the river Thames, where the king of England lay dangerously ill: he departed this life the vigil of St. John the Baptist, in the year 1377. Upon this event, England was in deep mourning.

* They durst never trust to meet together in any place between Montreiul and Calais, &c.—*Lord Berners.*

Immediately all the passes were shut, so that no one could go out of the country; for they did not wish the death of the king should be known in France, until they had settled the government of the kingdom. The earl of Salisbury and sir Guiscard d'Angle returned at this time to England.

The body of king Edward was carried in grand procession, followed by his children in tears, and by the nobles and prelates of England, through the city of London, with his face uncovered, to Westminster, where he was buried by the side of his lady the queen.



Tomb of Edward the Third, Westminster Abbey. From an original drawing.

Shortly afterward, in the month of July, the young king Richard, who was in his eleventh year, was crowned with great solemnity at the palace of Westminster: he was supported by the dukes of Lancaster and Brittany. He created that day four earls and nine knights; namely, his uncle the lord Thomas of Woodstock earl of Buckingham, the lord Percy earl of Northumberland, sir Guiscard d'Angle earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Mowbray earl of Nottingham. The young king was placed under the tutorship of that accomplished knight sir Guiscard d'Angle, with the approbation of all, to instruct him in the paths of virtue and honour. The duke of Lancaster had the government of the kingdom.

As soon as the king of France learnt the death of king Edward, he said that he had reigned most nobly and valiantly, and that his name ought to be remembered with honour

among heroes. Many nobles and prelates of his realm were assembled, to perform his obsequies with due respect, in the Holy Chapel of the Palace at Paris. Shortly after, Madame, the eldest daughter of the king of France, died. She had been betrothed to that gallant youth William of Hainault, eldest son of duke Albert.

CHAPTER CCCXXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE EQUIPS FOR SEA A LARGE FLEET, WHICH BURNS SEVERAL TOWNS IN ENGLAND.

DURING the negotiations for peace, the king of France had been very active in providing ships and galleys: the king of Spain had sent him his admiral, sir Fernando Sausse, who, with sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, had sailed for the port of Rye, which they burnt, five days after the decease of king Edward, the vigil of St. Peter, in June, and put to death the inhabitants, without sparing man or woman. Upon the news of this event coming to London, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham were ordered to Dover with a large body of men at arms. The earl of Salisbury and sir John Mountague, on the other hand, were sent to the country near Southampton.

After this exploit, the French landed in the Isle of Wight. They afterwards burnt the following towns: Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth*, and several others. When they had pillaged and burnt all in the Isle of Wight, they embarked and put to sea, coasting the shores until they came to a port called Poq†. The earl of Salisbury and sir John Mountague defended the passage, but they burnt a part of the town of Poq. They again embarked, and coasted towards Southampton, attempting every day to land; but the earl of Salisbury and his forces, who followed them along the shore, prevented them from so doing. The fleet then came before Southampton; but sir John Arundel, with a large body of men at arms and archers, guarded well the town, otherwise it would have been taken. The French made sail from thence towards Dover, and landed near to the abbey of Lewes, where there were great numbers of the people of the country assembled. They appointed the abbot of Lewes, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir John Fuselee their leaders, who drew up in good array to dispute their landing, and to defend the country. The French had not the advantage, but lost several of their men, as well might happen. However, the better to maintain the fight, they made the land, when a grand skirmish ensued, and the English, being forced to retreat, were finally put to flight. Two hundred at least were slain, and the two knights, with the abbot of Lewes, made prisoners.

The French re-embarked, and remained at anchor before the abbey all that night. They then heard, for the first time, from their prisoners, the death of king Edward and the coronation of king Richard, and also a part of the regulations of the kingdom, and that great numbers of men at arms were under orders to march to the coast. Sir John de Vienne despatched a sloop to Harfleur, where there was a knight in waiting, who immediately rode to Paris to the king, and reported to him such intelligence respecting the death of king Edward that he was convinced of its truth.

The French and Spaniards put to sea, and having the wind favourable, came with an easy sail that same tide, about the hour of nine, before Dover. They amounted in all to about six score galleys. At that time there were in Dover the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, with immense numbers of men at arms and archers, who, with a hundred thousand common men, were waiting for the arrival of the French, drawn up before the port with displayed banners, for they had seen them at a distance, and they were continually joined by people from the country who had noticed this large fleet.

The French came before the harbour, but did not enter it, making for deep water, as the tide began to ebb. Notwithstanding this, the English continued strict guard all that day and following night. The French who were on the sea came with the next tide before Calais‡, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who closed their gates against them.

* Lamende, Dartemode, Plemende, Plesume.—*D. Sauvage.* † Q. if not Pool.

‡ Lord Berners says, The Frenchmen with the next tide came before the haven of Calais, and *there entered.*—Ed.

CHAPTER CCCXXIX.—THE TOWN OF ARDRES SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.—THE DEATHS OF THE CAPTAL DE BUCH AND OF THE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

While these things were passing, sir Hugh Calverley, governor of Calais, sir John Harlestone, governor of Guines, and the lord de Gommegines, governor of Ardres, made very frequent excursions into Picardy; three or four in every week. They advanced often before St. Omer, Arques, Mouton, Fiennes, and the towns in that neighbourhood, as well as to Boulogne and near to Terouenne, which were particularly molested by the garrison of Ardres. Complaints of them had frequently been made to the king of France. On asking how this was to be prevented, he was answered, "Sire, the garrison of Ardres is not so strong but it may be won." The king replied, "Have it then we will, whatever it may cost us. He soon after issued a secret summons, and it was not guessed to what part he intended sending this army, of which he made the duke of Burgundy general. There were in it twenty-five hundred lances of good and hardy men. They marched suddenly to the castle of Ardres, which they invested. With the duke of Burgundy were the count de Guines, the marshal de Blainville, the lords de Clisson and de la Val, de Rougement, de la Riviere, de Bregide, de Frainville, d'Ainville, d'Ancoing, de Rayneval, and d'Angest, sir James de Bourbon, the seneschal of Hainault, with many other knights and barons. They had with them machines that cast stones of two hundred weight, with which they made a most vigorous assault.

The lord de Gommegines, captain of the castle, was astonished to see himself surrounded by such numbers of gallant men at arms, who seemed determined, that if the place were taken by storm, they would spare no one they should find within it. As he was not provided with artillery for a long siege, through the mediation of his cousin-german, the lord de Rayneval, he offered to enter into a treaty for surrendering the place, on condition of their lives and fortunes being spared. This treaty was long debated; but at length the castle was surrendered, and all who chose it departed, and were conducted by sir Walter de Bailleul to the town of Calais. Sir William des Bordes was appointed governor of Ardres: he was succeeded by the viscount de Meaux, who remained there a long time: the third governor was the lord de Saimpy.

The same day that Ardres surrendered, the duke laid siege to the castle of Ardvick, which the three brothers Maulevriers held for England. During the three days he staid there, many skirmishes passed; but they at last surrendered, and the garrison was conducted to Calais by the marshal of France. After this the duke besieged Vauclignen, which also surrendered on the same terms as the others had done: and, when the duke had re-victualled and reinforced them with men at arms and cross-bows, he disbanded his army and returned to the king at Paris. The Breton lords went to Brittany, for they had heard that the duke of Prittany had arrived at Brest with a large army. The barons of Burgundy and the others returned to their own homes.

You have before heard how the lord John captal de Buch, having been made prisoner before Soubise, was confined in the Temple at Paris. The king of England and his son greatly desired his liberty, and it had been much debated at the negotiations at Bruges: they would willingly have given in exchange for him the young count de St. Pol and three or four other knights: but the king of France and his council would not consent. The king had him informed through the grand prior, who had the guard of him, that if he would swear never to bear arms against the crown of France, he would listen to terms for his liberty. The captal replied, that he would never make this oath, though he were to die in prison. He remained therefore strictly guarded for five years in confinement, to his great discomfort; for he bore it so impatiently that at last he died *. The king of France had him interred; and a solemn service was performed, which was attended by the barons, prelates, and nobles of France.

England was thus losing her great captains; for, in this same year, the lord de Spencer, a great banneret of England, died. He left issue by his lady, the daughter of the late sir

* The prince of Wales gave to the captal de Buch, and his male heirs, the county of Bigorre, with all its towns, &c. the 7th June, 1369. Confirmed by the king.—*Rymer.*

Bartholomew Burghersh, one son and four daughters. Soon after the death of that gallant knight the captal de Buch, the queen of France was brought to bed of a daughter, who was named Catherine; and, whilst in childbed, the queen was seized with an illness that caused her death. This amiable queen was daughter of the valiant duke of Bourbon, killed at the battle of Poitiers. Her obsequies were performed in the abbey of St. Denis, where she was buried with great solemnity, to which were invited all the nobles and prelates of France in the neighbourhood of Paris.

CHAPTER CCCXXX.—THE WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE SIEGE OF CHERBOURG.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER INVADES BRITTANY.—THE CASTLE OF AURAY SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

SINCE the peace made at Vernon between the kings of France and Navarre, as has been before related, and since the king of Navarre had left his two children with their uncle the king of France, suspicions had fallen on a squire of the king's household. He had been placed there by the king of Navarre at the time he left his children: his name was James de la Rue. A lawyer, who was one of the king of Navarre's council, and his chancellor in the county of Evreux, was also implicated in this business: the name of this chancellor was master Peter du Tertre.

These two men were cruelly executed at Paris, and acknowledged, before all the people, that they had intended to have poisoned the king of France. The king immediately collected a large army, the command of which he gave to the constable: there were with him the lord de la Riviere and many other barons and knights. They marched into Normandy, to attack the castles of the king of Navarre, which were strong and well garrisoned, and laid siege to one of them called Pont-au-demer *. The French had with them many cannon, and various engines and machines, with which, in the course of different assaults, they pressed the garrison hard; but they defended themselves valiantly. Though there were many attacks and skirmishes, the siege lasted a long time: the castle was much ruined, and the garrison hard pushed. They were frequently required by the constable to surrender, or they would all be put to death, if the place were taken by storm: this was the threat which the constable was accustomed to make. The men of Navarre seeing their provisions decrease, and finding themselves much weakened, without any hopes of assistance from their king, who was at too great a distance, surrendered the castle, and were conducted to Cherbourg, carrying with them all their plunder. This castle was razed to the ground, though it had cost large sums to erect: and the walls and towers of Pont-au-demer were levelled with the ground.

The French then advanced to besiege the fortress of Mortain †, where they remained some time; but the garrison, seeing no appearance of assistance from the king of Navarre, and that the other Navarre fortresses were too weak to resist the French, surrendered themselves on the same conditions with those of Pont-au-demer. You must know, that in this expedition, the constable put under the obedience of the king of France all the towns, castles, and forts in the county of Evreux: the castles and principal towns were dismantled, that from henceforward no war should be carried on against the kingdom of France from any town or castle which the king of Navarre held in the county of Evreux. The king of France established in them the gabelle and subsidies, in like manner as they were in the realm of France.

On the other hand, the king of Spain had ordered his brother, the bastard of Spain, to enter Navarre with a powerful army: he attacked towns and castles, and gained much country, in spite of the king of Navarre, who could do but little to defend himself. He sent to inform king Richard of England how he was situated, in the hope that he would aid him in opposing the king of France in his county of Evreux; for that he himself would remain in Navarre, to guard his fortresses against the king of Spain.

King Richard, in consequence of a council which had been called on this business, sent sir

* "Pont-Audemer,"—a town in Normandy, on the Rille, forty-one leagues from Paris.
† "Mortain,"—a town in Normandy, seventy-one leagues from Paris.

Robert le Roux * with a body of men at arms and archers, to Cherbourg. The garrisons of the different fortresses won by the constable in the county of Evreux were also collected at that town. When all were assembled, they were a numerous and handsome body of picked men, who had provided the castle with stores, for they concluded it would be besieged. The constable and the lord de la Riviere, having visited every place in the county of Evreux with their army, found that all the towns formerly belonging to the king of Navarre were now under the obedience of the king of France: they then came before Cherbourg, which is a strong and noble place, founded by Julius Cæsar, when he conquered England, and likewise a sea-port.

The French besieged it on all sides except that of the sea, and took up their quarters in such a manner before it as showed they were determined not to quit until they had conquered it. Sir Robert le Roux and his forces made frequent sallies, for neither night nor day passed without skirmishing. The French could never form a wish for feats of arms but there were always some ready to gratify it. Many combats took place with lance and sword, and several were killed or taken prisoners on each side, during this siege, which lasted the whole summer.

Sir Oliver du Guesclin posted himself in an ambuscade near the castle: he then ordered his men to begin a skirmish, in which the French were repulsed by the English, and driven back as far as the ambuscade of sir Oliver, who immediately rushed out with his troop, sword in hand, and advanced boldly on the enemy, like men well practised in arms. The encounter was sharp on both sides, and many a man was unhorsed, killed, wounded, or made prisoner: at last, sir Oliver du Guesclin was taken, and avowed himself a prisoner to a Navarrois squire, called John le Coq, an able man at arms: he was dragged into Cherbourg. The skirmish was now over, more to the loss of the French than of the English. Sir Oliver was sent to England, where he remained prisoner for a long time in London, and was at last ransomed.

The French remained before Cherbourg, at a heavy expense, the greater part of the winter, without having gained much. They thought they were losing time, and that Cherbourg was impregnable, as all sorts of reinforcements, men at arms, provision and stores, might be introduced into it by sea: for which reason the French broke up their camp, and placed strong garrisons in the places round Cherbourg, such as Montbourg, Pont Doue, Carentan, St. Lo, and in St. Sauveur le Vicomte. The constable then disbanded his army, and every one returned to the place whence he came. This was in the year 1378.

You have before heard how the duke of Brittany had left that country, and had carried his duchess with him to England. He resided at the estate he had there, which was called the honour of Richmond, and took great pains to obtain assistance from the young king, Richard, to reconquer his duchy, which had turned to the French, but he was not listened to. At length the duke of Lancaster was informed, that if he landed in Brittany with a good army, there were some forts and castles that would surrender to him: in particular, St. Malo, a handsome fortress, and a sea-port town. Upon this, the duke of Lancaster, having raised a large army, went to Southampton. He there prepared his vessels and stores, and embarked with many lords, men at arms and archers. This fleet had favourable winds to St. Malo; and when near the shore, having landed and disembarked their stores, they advanced towards the town, and closely besieged it. The inhabitants were not much alarmed, for they were well provided with provision, men at arms and cross-bows, who valiantly defended themselves, so that the duke remained there a considerable time. When the constable of France and the lord de Clisson heard of this, they sent summonses everywhere, and marched to St. Malo to raise the siege. Many thought that a battle must ensue; and the English drew out their army several times in battle-array, ready for the combat; but the constable and the lord de Clisson never came near enough for an engagement. The English, therefore, having lain before the town some time, and not perceiving any inclination in the inhabitants to surrender, the duke of Lancaster was advised to decamp, for he saw it was only wasting time; he therefore re-embarked, and returned to England, where he dismissed his army.

The castle of Auray was still in the possession of the duke of Brittany, who resided quietly

* Probably sir Robert Roose, or Rouse.

in England: the king of France sent thither several lords of France and Brittany, who began a siege which lasted a long time. The garrison of Auray, not seeing any hope of succour, entered into a treaty, that if they were not relieved by the duke of Brittany or the king of England, with a sufficient force to raise the siege on a certain day, they would surrender. This treaty was acceded to; and when the appointed day arrived, the French were there, but no one came from the duke nor the king of England: the castle was therefore placed under the obedience of the king of France, in the same manner as the other castles and principal towns of Brittany; and those of Auray, who were attached to the duke, departed thence.

CHAPTER CCCXXXI.—THE FRENCH GARRISON OF MONTBOURG IS DEFEATED BY THE ENGLISH AT CHERBOURG.

Soon after Easter, in the year of our Lord 1379, king Charles of France, finding the garrison of Cherbourg was oppressing the whole country of Coutantin, appointed sir William des Bourdes, a valiant knight and good captain, to be chief governor of Coutantin, and of all the fortresses round Cherbourg. Sir William des Bourdes went thither with a handsome body of men at arms and Genoese cross-bows, and fixed his quarters at Montbourg; which he made a garrison against Cherbourg; whence he formed frequent expeditions, and would willingly have met with the men of Cherbourg; for he wished for nothing better than an engagement with them, as he felt himself a good knight, bold and enterprising, and had also under his command the flower of the men at arms from all the adjacent garrisons. About the same time, sir John Harlestone was sent to Cherbourg, to take command of it. I have before mentioned him as having been governor of Guines. He had embarked at Southampton with three hundred men at arms and as many archers, and with them had safely arrived at Cherbourg. There were in this army sir Otho de Grantson *, and among the English sir John Aubourc †, sir John Orcelle ‡, with other knights and squires. On their arrival, they disembarked their horses and armour, with other stores, and remained some days in Cherbourg to recruit themselves, and make preparations for expeditions and for carrying on the war in earnest.

Sir William des Bourdes puzzled himself day and night in endeavouring to find out some means of annoying them. You must know, that these two governors laid several ambuscades for each other, but with little effect: for by chance they never met, except some few companions, who adventured themselves fool-hardily, as well to acquire honour as gain: these parties frequently attacked each other: sometimes the French won, at others they lost. Such skirmishes continued so often, that sir William des Bourdes marched out one morning from Montbourg, with his whole force, towards Cherbourg, in hopes of drawing that garrison out into the plain.

On the other hand, sir John Harlestone, who was ignorant of the intentions of the French, had also that same morning made an excursion, and had commanded his trumpets to sound for his men to arm themselves, as well horse as foot, and to advance into the plain: he had already ordered who were to remain in the garrison. He marched forth in handsome display, and ordered sir John Orcelle, with his foot soldiers, to take the lead as their guide. Having done this, he sent forward his light troops. Sir William des Bourdes had made a similar arrangement of his army. They both advanced in this array until the light troops of each party met, and came so near that they could easily distinguish each other. Upon which, they returned to the main body, and reported all they had observed. The two leaders, on hearing their reports, were quite happy; for they had at last found what they had been seeking for, and were much rejoiced thus to meet.

When the two knights had heard the news from their light troops, they each drew up their forces with great wisdom, and ordered their pennons to be displayed. The English

* "Sir Otho de Grandson"—was before mentioned, not as an Englishman, but as one who had an estate on the other side of the sea.

† "Sir John Auboure." May it not be Aubrey?

‡ "Sir John Orcelle." Perhaps Worsley, or Horsley.

foot were intermixed with their men at arms. As soon as they were within bow-shot, the French dismounted; so did likewise the English: then the archers and cross-bowmen began to shoot sharply, and the men at arms to advance with their lances before them in close order. The armies met, and blows with spears and battle-axes began to fly about on all sides. The battle was hardly fought, and one might there have seen men at arms make trial of their prowess.

Sir William des Bourdes was completely armed, and, with his battle-axe in his hand, gave such blows to the right and left, that on whomsoever they fell that person was struck to the ground. He performed valorous deeds, worthy of being praised for ever after; and it was not his fault the English were not discomfited. In another part of the field, sir John Harlestone, governor of Cherbourg, fought well and valiantly with his battle-axe, one foot advanced before the other; and well it needed him, for he had to do with an obstinate body of hardy men. Several gallant deeds were performed this day; many a man slain and wounded. Sir John Harlestone was struck down and in great peril of his life; but by force of arms he was rescued. The battle lasted long, and was excellently kept up, as well on one side as on the other. The English had not any advantage, for they had as many killed and wounded as the French; but at last the English continued the combat so manfully, and with such courage, that they gained the field: the French were all either slain or made prisoners: few men of honour saved themselves, for they had entered into the engagement with so much good heart that they could not prevail on themselves to fly, but were determined to die or to conquer their enemies.

Sir William des Bourdes was made prisoner on good terms by a squire from Hainault, called William de Beaulieu, an able man at arms, who for a considerable time had been attached to the English in the castle of Calais: to him sir William surrendered in great grief, and much enraged that the victory was not his. The English that day did much harm to the French. Several were made prisoners towards the end of the engagement; but it was a pity to see the numbers killed. When the English had stripped the dead, sir John Harlestone and his men returned to Cherbourg, carrying with them their prisoners and their riches. You may be assured that they rejoiced mightily in the success of this day, which God had given to them. Sir William des Bourdes was feasted and entertained with every possible attention; for he was personally deserving of whatever could be done for him. This defeat took place, between Montbourg and Cherbourg, the day of St. Martin *le bouillant* 1379.

When the king of France heard that the garrison of Montbourg and its governor were either slain or made prisoners, and that the country was much alarmed by this defeat, the king, like one well advised and attentive to his affairs, immediately provided a remedy, by sending, without delay, fresh troops to guard the frontiers, the fortresses and the country round Cherbourg. Sir Hutin de Bremalles was appointed general of these troops by the king of France, who kept the country against the English. However, by orders of the king, they afterwards abandoned Montbourg, and all the country of Coutantin, which is one of the richest in the world. They made all the inhabitants give up their handsome houses and other possessions, and retreat out of this peninsula. The French guarded the frontiers at Dune, Carentan, and at St. Lo, and all the borders of the peninsula of Coutantin *.

* The division into volumes here observed is in accordance with the French edition of D. Sauvage and of the most authentic MSS. Mr. Johnes did not adhere to the original arrangement, but divided the work and numbered the chapters to suit the four quarto volumes in which he originally published his work; and Lord Berners, who published his translation in two folio volumes, attended only to that natural division, so that the numbers of his latter chapters are quite at variance with those of other editions. We have thought it better to restore the old division which originated with Froissart himself. The numeration and arrangement of the chapters will be found nearly in unison with that of D. Sauvage, but Mr. Johnes's additions and corrections prevent their being identical.—Ed.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

SECOND VOLUME *

OF

THE CHRONICLES OF SIR JOHN FROISSART.

CHAPTER I.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ENGLISH IN THE BORDELOIS.

You have before heard related how the duke of Burgundy had made an incursion from the borders of Picardy, which was very honourable to him and profitable to the French; and how he had placed in Ardres, and the other castles of which he had gained possession, governors and men at arms to defend them: especially in the town of Ardres, where he had established for a time sir William des Bourdes, and, in his absence, the viscount de Meaux and the lord de Saimpy. These captains had it repaired and strengthened, notwithstanding it was strongly fortified before. The king of France had heard the news of this with infinite pleasure, and considered this expedition as having done him great service. He sent immediate orders to the governor of St. Omer, commanding the town of Ardres to be reinforced and provided with every kind of store and provision in the most ample manner: which orders were punctually obeyed. The army was disbanded, except the troops which were attached to the lord de Clisson and the Bretons; but they returned as speedily as they could into Brittany, for news had been brought to the lord de Clisson and the other barons before Ardres, that Janequin le Clerc†, an English squire and an expert man at arms, had sailed from England to Brittany, and had reinforced Brest with Englishmen. These Bretons, therefore, carried with them sir James de Verchin, séneschal of Hainault. The duke of Burgundy returned to his brother the king of France.

At this period, there was a large body of men at arms assembled on the borders of the Bordelois, in obedience to the summons of the duke of Anjou and the constable of France, who had appointed a day for attacking the Gascons and English, of which I shall speak more fully when better informed than I am at present.

Whilst the duke of Burgundy was with his army in Picardy, as I have before said, the duke of Anjou resided in the good town of Toulouse with the duchess his lady, and was devising, night and day, different schemes to annoy and harass the English; for he found that various castles and towns on the river Dordogne, and on the borders of Rouergue, the Toulousain, and Querci, were still harassing the country and those inhabitants who had put themselves under his obedience. He was anxious to provide a remedy for this, and resolved to lay siege to Bergerac: this place being the key to Gascony, and standing on the frontiers of Rouergue, Querci, and Limousin. But as he found there were yet several great barons of Gascony adverse to him, such as the lords de Duras, de Rosem, de Mucident, de Langurant, de Guernoles, de Carles, and sir Peter de Landuras, with many more, he determined to raise a large force that would not only enable him to oppose these lords but to keep the field. He wrote, therefore, to sir John d'Armagnac, who, in such a business, would not fail him, and sent also to the lord d'Albret. He had before sent for the constable of France, the lord

* The author employs the first twenty-seven chapters in recapitulating the events of the three last years of the preceding volume, which had been too succinctly related.—*St. Palaye's Essay on the Works of Froissart.*

† Janequin le Clerc,—I imagine to be sir John Clark, of whom Hollingshed speaks so handsomely in the 3rd of Richard II. and who was killed in a battle at a sea-port in Brittany.—See Hollingshed.

Louis de Sancerre, the lord de Coucy, and many knights and squires, in Picardy, Brittany, and Normandy, who were all willing to serve him and to advance their reputation in arms and renown. The constable and marshal of France were already arrived.

The duke of Anjou knew that there existed a coolness between the relations and friends of the lord de Pommiers, and sir Thomas Felton, high seneschal of Bordeaux, and the Bordelois. I will tell you the reason of it, and afterwards clear it up. Long before this period, in the year 1375, there was a cruel instance of justice executed at Bordeaux by the orders of sir Thomas Felton, lieutenant for the king of England in the Bordelois, upon sir William lord de Pommiers, on suspicion of treason, which astonished every one. By orders of sir Thomas Felton, this lord de Pommiers was arrested in Bordeaux, together with a lawyer, his secretary and counsellor, called John Coulon, a native of Bordeaux. It was proved on them (as I was at the time informed,) that the lord de Pommiers had agreed to surrender himself and all his castles to the French; from which charge they could never clear themselves, so that they were condemned to death. The lord de Pommiers and his secretary were publicly beheaded in the market-place of the city of Bordeaux, before all the people, who much wondered thereat*. His relations blamed this proceeding exceedingly, and that gallant knight, sir Aymon de Pommiers, uncle to sir William, set out from Bordeaux and the Bordelois very indignant at such a disgrace to his family, and swore he would never again bear arms for the king of England. He crossed the seas to the Holy Sepulchre, and made several other voyages. On his return, he changed to the French interest, placing himself and his territories under the obedience of the king of France. He immediately sent his challenge to the lord de l'Esparre, and made war upon him, because he had been one of the judges of his nephew.

Sir John Blessac, sir Peter de Landuras, and sir Bertrand du Franc, were also implicated in these suspicions of treason, as well as on account of the surrender of the castle of Fronsac, which had been delivered up to the French, it being the inheritance of the lord de Pommiers who had been beheaded: they were detained in prison at Bordeaux upwards of seven months. They were at length set at liberty, through the entreaties of their friends, for nothing could be proved against them. Sir Gaillard Vighier, however, continued a long time in imminent danger, which surprised many, as he was not of that country, but had come from Lombardy with the lord de Coucy, and was in the service of pope Gregory, who exerted himself in his deliverance as soon as he heard of his imprisonment, the knight having insisted on his innocence. By these means, much secret hatred was caused, from which many mischiefs ensued.

When the duke of Anjou saw the time was arrived for his marching from Toulouse, and that the greater part of his men at arms were in the field—in particular, the constable of France, in whom he had the greatest confidence—he set out from Toulouse, and took the direct road to Bergerac. Sir Perducas d'Albret was governor of the place: he resided in a small castle, a short league from Languedoc, called Moueux, which is a strong fort.

The duke of Anjou and his army marched until they came before Bergerac, when they encamped themselves all around it, and as near the river as possible for the greater ease of themselves and their horses. Many great barons were with the duke: in the first place, sir John d'Armagnac, with a large troop; the constable of France, with another large body; the lord Louis de Sancerre, sir John de Bueil, sir Peter de Bueil, sir Evan of Wales, sir Maurice de Trisiquidi (who had formerly been one of the thirty knights on the French side at the duel in Brittany), sir Alain de Beaumont, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir William and sir Peter de Mornay, sir John de Vers, sir Baldwin Cremoux, Thibaut du Pont, Heliot de Calais, and many other able men at arms with large companies. They encamped themselves to a great extent in those fine meadows along the river Dordogne, so that it was a great pleasure to look at them.

The constable was lodged very near to the quarters of the duke. Those companions who were desirous of advancing themselves frequently came to the barriers to skirmish: many of

* A. D. 1377, 1378.
Rotali Vasconiæ de anno primo Ricardi II.—Membrane 16, 17, 18, 19.

1. Processus judicii reditl contra Willelmum Sans, dominum de Pomers, pro proditione, in curia Vasconiæ, et de castris et terris suis satisfactis ad dominum regem.

whom were slain or wounded by arrows, as in such adventures must happen. At the end of six days after the town of Bergerac had been besieged, the lord d'Albret and sir Bernard d'Albret, his cousin, arrived in the camp of the duke, well accompanied by men at arms and foot-soldiers, where they were received with joy, as the army was by them greatly reinforced.

Duke of Anjou with his army, marching against Bergerac. From a MS. Froissart of the 15th century.

The duke, with the principal leaders of the army, held a council on the eighth day, to consider in what manner they could most effectually annoy the inhabitants of Bergerac. Many speeches were made, and different proposals offered. It was long debated to storm the town, but afterwards this measure was abandoned, as their men might suffer much, and not make any great gain. The council broke up without coming to any determination, except to continue on the siege; for they were still expecting large bodies of men at arms from France, and in particular the lord de Coucy.

CHAPTER II.—SIR THOMAS FELTON IS DEFEATED AND MADE PRISONER, WITH MANY OF THE PRINCIPAL LORDS OF GASCONY, BY A PARTY OF FRENCH AT THE SIEGE OF BERGERAC.

Sir Thomas Felton, who resided at Bordeaux, was not at his ease from knowing that his enemies were but twelve leagues distant, and in such numbers that he could not think of opposing them by force, having also learnt the duke of Anjou's summons and intentions: he had, therefore, sent information to the king and council in England; but those whom he had despatched thither had not been able to do anything, for the kingdom of England was

much shaken, and different parties were mutually opposing each other. The duke of Lancaster, in particular, was unpopular with the common people; from which cause much party animosity and danger happened afterwards in England. No men at arms were sent either to Gascony or to Brittany; on which account, those who were defending the frontiers for the young king were very ill pleased. It happened that sir Thomas Felton had desired the lord de l'Esparre to go to England, for the better information of the king and his uncles respecting the affairs of Gascony, in order that they might take council to provide for them. The lord de l'Esparre had already left Bordeaux, and was proceeding on his voyage; but the wind proving unfavourable, he was driven into the Spanish seas, where he was met by some ships from Spain, with whom he engaged unsuccessfully; he was made prisoner and carried to Spain, where he remained upwards of a year and a half, and suffered many mortifications from the relations of the lord de Pommiers.

Sir Thomas was a truly valiant man: he had written and sent special messengers to the lords de Mucident, de Duras, de Rosem, and de Langurant, four of the most noble and powerful barons of Gascony, and who were attached to England, to request, that for the honour of the king their lord, they would not fail, on any account, to defend the principality, and to desire they would come to Bordeaux with their vassals; for all knights who were anxious to acquit themselves towards the king and lord were already arrived there. When they were all assembled, they amounted to full five hundred lances: they remained at Bordeaux, and in the Bordelois, during the time when the duke of Anjou was beginning the siege of Bergerac. Sir Thomas Felton and these four Gascon barons held a council, in which they resolved to march towards the French, and post themselves in a secure situation, to see if they could gain any advantage over them. They set out, therefore, from Bordeaux with upwards of three hundred lances, taking the road for La Réole, and came to a certain town called Yuret*, in which they quartered themselves. The French knew nothing of this ambuscade, and suffered much from it. The siege of Bergerac was still going forward: there were many skirmishes and deeds of arms performed with the garrison by the besiegers; but the French were not great gainers, for sir Perducas d'Albret, the governor, was very active in opposing them, that no blame might be imputed to him.

The army called another council, and resolved to send for a large machine, called a sow, from La Réole, in order the more to harass the garrison. This sow was a large engine, which cast weighty stones, and one hundred men, completely armed, could be drawn up in it, and attack the walls. Sir Peter de Bueil, sir John de Vers, sir Baldwin de Cremoux, sir Alain de Beaumont, the lord de Montcalay, and the lord de Gaures, were ordered to go for this engine: they left the army, in consequence, with about three hundred men at arms whom they could depend on, and, fording the river Dordogne, rode towards La Réole: they advanced between Bergerac and La Réole, until they came to Yurac, where the English were in ambuscade with upwards of four hundred combatants, of which they were ignorant.

News was brought to the army and to the constable of France, that the English had taken the field; but it was unknown which way they had marched. The constable, lest his men might be surprised, immediately ordered a large detachment to guard the foragers, who were out between the rivers Garonne and Dordogne, and gave the command of it to sir Peter de Mornay, sir Evan of Wales, Thibaut du Pont, and Heliot de Calais: there might be in this detachment two hundred lances of tried men. Sir Peter de Bueil, and the others who were sent to bring the sow, rode on to La Réole, and, having laden a great many carts with it, set out on their return, but by a different route from that by which they had arrived, for they required a broader road for their convoy, and yet they were to pass by Yurac, or very near to it, where the English were in ambuscade: however, they were so fortunate to meet with a second detachment from their army, when they were within a short league of the town. The whole then amounted to full six hundred lances. They continued their march in greater security, and more at their leisure.

Sir Thomas Felton and the barons of Gascony in Yurac were informed, that the French were escorting that way a very large engine, from La Réole to their siege of Bergerac.

* "Yuret,"—probably Yurac,—a village in Guienne, near Bordeaux.

They were much rejoiced at this intelligence, and said it was what they wished. They then armed themselves, mounted their horses, and drew up in the best array they were able. When they had advanced into the plain, they had not long to wait before they saw the French, marching in a large body, and in handsome order. No sooner was each party assured that those whom they saw were enemies, who seemed mutually eager for the contest, than sticking spurs into their horses, and with spears in their rests, they charged each other, shouting their different war-cries. I must say, that in this first conflict, many a gallant tilt was performed, and many a knight and squire were unhorsed and driven to the ground. In such deadly warfare, there is no accident but what may happen. Heliot de Calais, a most able squire and good man at arms, was knocked off his horse, by a violent stroke on the throat-piece with a spear, whose broad point was as sharp and as fine as a razor. This iron cut through the throat-piece, as well as all the veins: the stroke beat him to the ground, when he shortly after died: the more the pity. By this accident did he end his days. Among the French, there was a knight from Berry or Limousin, named sir William de Lignac, an excellent man at arms, who this day performed many gallant deeds.

The combat was sharp, and long continued on each side, close to the village of Yurac: when their lances failed, they drew their swords, and the attack was more vigorously renewed. Many feats of prowess were performed, many captures made, and many rescued. Of the English slain on the spot, was a Gascon knight, called the lord de Gernos and de Calais: of the French, Thibaut du Pont. This battle was well and long fought: many handsome deeds were done, for they were all men of valour: but in the end the English could not gain the field: they were fairly conquered by the French. Sir William de Lignac captured with his own hand sir Thomas Felton, séneschal of Bordeaux: nearly at the same time, the lords de Mucident, de Duras, de Rosem, de Langurant, were also made prisoners. Few of the English or Gascons but were made prisoners or slain.

Those who could escape met, on their return towards Bordeaux, the séneschal des Landes, sir William Helman, the mayor of Bordeaux, and sir John de Multon; in the whole, about one hundred lances: who were hastening to Yurac, but, when they heard the news of so complete a defeat, they wheeled about, and returned as speedily as possible to Bordeaux.

CHAPTER III.—BERGERAC SURRENDERS TO THE DUKE OF ANJOU.—THE LORDS DE DURAS AND DE ROSEM, AFTER HAVING PROMISED TO BE OF THE FRENCH INTEREST, RETURN AGAIN TO THE ENGLISH.

When this engagement was over and the field cleared, and all those who had been made prisoners placed under a secure guard, they set out on their return to the siege carrying on at Bergerac. The duke of Anjou was mightily rejoiced when he heard of the detachments having had such success, and that all the flower of Gascony, the knights and squires his enemies, were either killed or taken, and among them sir Thomas Felton, who had been very active against him; so that he would rather have lost five hundred thousand francs than that it should have been otherwise. Sir Peter de Bueil, sir William de Lignac, sir Evan of Wales, and others, continued their march until they came to their army before Bergerac, where they were received with much pleasure by the duke of Anjou, the constable, the barons and knights their friends, who considered their success as very honourable and profitable to them.

On the morrow, the sow they had brought was erected near to the walls of Bergerac, which much alarmed the inhabitants, who held a council to consider their situation, and whether they could maintain it. They addressed themselves to their governor, for they found they could not long hold out, as no succour was to be expected since their seneschal was taken, and with him the chivalry of Gascony, on whose assistance they had depended. Sir Perducas told them, they were in sufficient strength to hold out for some time, being well provided with provisions and artillery, if they made not any foolish agreement.

Things remained in this situation until the next morning, when the trumpets of the army sounded for an assault, and every one repaired to his banner. The constable of France, who

was in the field with a grand array, sent to hold a parley with the inhabitants before the assault began, or any of their men were wounded or slain; in which he remonstrated with them, that having had their leaders made prisoners, from whom alone they could hope for assistance, and who were now in treaty to place themselves and their lands under the obedience of the king of France, they could not look for any relief; and, should the town be taken by storm, it would inevitably be destroyed by fire and flame, and none receive quarter. These threats frightened the inhabitants, who demanded time to hold a consultation, which was granted to them. The burghers then assembled, without calling in their governor, and agreed to surrender as good Frenchmen, provided they were peaceably and gently dealt with, without any of the army entering their town, which was directly granted.

When sir Perducas d'Albret, their governor, heard of this, he mounted his horse, ordered his men to march, and, having passed the bridges, made for the fort of Moncin, when Bergerac surrendered to the French. The constable of France took possession of it, placing therein a governor and men at arms to keep and defend it.

After the surrender of Bergerac, the duke of Anjou was advised to advance further into the country, and lay siege to Castillon * on the Dordogne. News of this was soon spread through the army, when every one began to make his preparations accordingly; that is to say, the duke, the constable, and the other men at arms, except the marshal of France, who remained behind to wait for the lord de Coucy, as he was expected to arrive that evening (which indeed he did), when the marshal advanced to meet him with a very large attendance of his men, and received him most amicably. They remained all that night in the place which the duke had left. The duke and his army advanced to a fine mead, on the banks of the Dordogne, in his march to Castillon.

Under the command of the lord de Coucy were, sir Aymon de Pommiers, sir Tristan de Roye, the lords de Faignelles, de Jumont, sir John de Rosay, sir Robert de Clermont, and several other knights and squires. They marched from their quarters, and continued advancing in company with the marshal of France and his troops until they arrived at the army of the duke, where they were received with much satisfaction.

In the road to Castillon, there is a town called St. Foy: before the van-guard arrived at Castillon, they marched thither, and having surrounded it, began to attack it briskly. This town had not any men at arms, and but trifling fortifications, so that it did not long defend itself. On its surrender, it was pillaged. The siege was formed before Castillon above the river, and continued for fifteen days: of course, there were many skirmishes at the barriers, for some English and Gascons had retreated thither after the battle of Yurac, and defended themselves valiantly. The Gascon barons who had been made prisoners at Yurac, were still in the French camp, and in treaty to turn to the French party. Sir Thomas Felton was not solicited so to do, as he was an Englishman, but had his ransom fixed by his master, sir William de Lignac, to whom he paid thirty thousand francs, and obtained his liberty: but this was not immediately settled. After much negotiating, the four Gascon barons turned to the French: they engaged, on their faith and honour, that themselves and their vassals would ever after remain good Frenchmen; for which reason the duke of Anjou gave them their liberties.

The lords de Duras and de Rosem left the duke with a good understanding, intending to visit their own estates: the lords de Mucident and de Langurant remained with the army, and were graciously treated by the duke of Anjou, with whom they frequently dined and supped. The first-mentioned lords thought the duke very obliging in thus lightly allowing them to depart, which indeed he afterwards repented, as he had good reason. These two lords, when on their road conversing together, said, "How can we serve the duke of Anjou and the French, when we have hitherto been loyal English? It will be much better for us to deceive the duke of Anjou than the king of England, our natural lord, and who has always been so kind to us." This they adopted, and resolved to go to Bordeaux, to the séneschal des Landes, sir William Helman, and assure him that their hearts would never suffer them to become good Frenchmen. The two barons continued their journey to Bordeaux, where they

* "Castillon,"—a town of Guienne, election of Bordeaux.

were joyfully received: for they had not then heard anything of their treaties with the duke of Anjou.

The séneschal des Landes and the mayor of Bordeaux were inquisitive after news, and what sums they had paid for their ransoms. They said, that through constraint and threats of death, the duke of Anjou had forced them to turn to the French: but added, "Gentlemen, we will truly tell you, that before we took the oath, we reserved in our hearts our faith to our natural lord the king of England; and, for anything we have said or done, will we never become Frenchmen." The knights from England were much pleased with these words, and declared they had acquitted themselves loyally towards their lord.

Five days afterwards, news was brought to the duke of Anjou and the army before Castillon, that the lords de Duras and de Rosem had turned to the English, which very much astonished the duke, the constable, and the other barons. The duke then sent to the lords de Mucident and de Langurant, told them what he had heard, and asked what they thought of it: these barons, who were exceedingly vexed, replied, "My lord, if they have broken their faith, we will not belie ours; and that which we have said and sworn to you we will loyally keep, nor shall the contrary be ever reproached to us; for by valour and gallant deeds of arms have your party conquered us, and we will therefore remain steady in our obedience to you." "I believe you firmly," said the duke of Anjou; "and I swear by God first, and then by my lord and brother, that on leaving this place, we will not undertake any one thing before we have besieged the towns of Duras and Rosem." Things remained in this state; that is to say, the duke of Anjou much enraged at the conduct of the two Gascon barons, and the siege continuing before Castillon. The town and castle of Castillon, on the Dordogne, was a town and inheritance of the captal de Buch, whom the king of France had detained in prison at Paris.

CHAPTER IV.—CASTILLON, SAUVETERRE, AND SEVERAL OTHER PLACES IN GASCONY, SURRENDER TO THE DUKE OF ANJOU.

During the time Castillon was besieged, there was a great famine, insomuch that for money there was difficulty in getting provisions. The French were forced to march twelve or fifteen leagues for forage for the army, and in going and returning they ran great risks; for there were many castles and English garrisons on the frontiers, from whence they sallied forth and formed ambuscades; or they waited in the narrow passes and defiles; and whenever they found themselves the strongest, they fell upon the French foragers, killed and wounded them, and carried off their forage. For this reason, they never could forage but in large bodies.

The siege of Castillon was carried on with much vigour, and the garrison so harassed by assaults and engines that they surrendered, on their lives and fortunes being spared. The men at arms marched out, and as many more as chose to leave it, and went to St. Macaire *, where there is a good castle and strong town. On the surrender of Castillon, the duke of Anjou received the fealty and homage of the inhabitants, and renewed the officers: he appointed as governor of it a knight from Touraine, called sir James de Montmartin. When they were about to march from Castillon, they called a council to consider whither they should go next; and it was determined to advance towards St. Marine; but, as several small forts were scattered about the country before they could arrive there, it was not thought proper to leave them in their rear on account of the foragers. They therefore, on quitting Castillon, marched to Sauveterre †, which they besieged.

Other intelligence was brought, respecting the lords de Duras and de Rosem, different from what had been at first reported; that in truth they were at Bordeaux, but it was not known on what terms. This news was spread through the army, and was so public as to come to the ears of the lords de Mucident and de Langurant: they mentioned it to the lord

* St. Macaire,—a city in Guienne, on the Garonne, nine leagues from Bordeaux.
† Sauveterre,—a town in Gascony, diocese of Comminges.

de Coucy and sir Peter de Bueil, whom they were desirous to interest in excusing those knights, adding that it was very simple to believe such tales so lightly told. They replied, they would willingly undertake to speak to the duke, who told them he should be very happy to find the contrary true to what he had heard. The affair remained in this state, and the siege of Sauveterre continued. The town of Sauveterre held out only for three days; for the knight who was governor surrendered it to the duke, on condition of himself, his troops, with their fortunes, being spared. By these means they marched and came before St. Bazille, a good town, which immediately surrendered, and put itself under the obedience of the king of France.

They then advanced to Montsegur *, which they attacked on their arrival, but did not gain it on this first attempt. They encamped and refreshed themselves for the night. On the morrow, they prepared for the assault, and those within, seeing they were in earnest, began to be greatly alarmed, and called a council, wherein it was at last determined that they would offer to surrender on having their lives and fortunes spared; and upon these terms they were received. The French marched away to another good walled town, situated between St. Macaire and La Réole, called Auberoche. They were four days before they could gain it, which was done by capitulation. The French then advanced to St. Macaire.

CHAPTER V.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF ST. MACAIRE BY CAPITULATION,—THE TOWN OF DURAS BY STORM, BUT THE CASTLE RECEIVES QUARTER.

The army of the duke of Anjou was daily increasing from all quarters; for such knights and squires as were desirous of renown came to wait on him, and to serve him. The siege was formed before St. Macaire in a very handsome manner; for those men at arms had retreated thither who had quitted the garrisons which had surrendered. The town, therefore, had been greatly reinforced, and better guarded. There were many grand assaults and skirmishes, as well before the town as at the barriers. Whilst the siege was going forward, the duke of Anjou and the constable of France ordered the leaders of the different corps to make excursions in various parts. Large detachments, therefore, set out, under the orders of the marshal of France, sir Perceval de Marneil and sir William de Moncontour. These detachments remained for six days in the field, took several towns and small castles, and put all the surrounding country under the subjection of the king of France. None went out to oppose them, for the whole country was almost empty of men at arms attached to the English, and the few who were there fled towards Bordeaux. When they had finished their expeditions, they returned to the army.

The inhabitants of St. Macaire knew well that they could not hold out for a long time: and the besiegers promised them every day, that if they suffered themselves to be taken by storm, they should all without mercy be put to death. They began to be doubtful lest their career might terminate in this cruel manner, and secretly opened a treaty with the French to surrender, on their lives and fortunes being spared. The men at arms in St. Macaire had intelligence of this, and suspecting the inhabitants might perhaps form some treaty inimical to them, they retired into the castle, which was large and strong, and built to stand a good siege, taking with them all their own wealth, and a good deal of pillage from the town. Upon this, the inhabitants surrendered their town to the king of France. The duke of Anjou received intelligence during the siege of St. Macaire, that his lady the duchess had been brought to bed of a son at Toulouse. The duke and the whole army were much rejoiced at this event, and their warlike heroism was greatly increased. The men at arms entered the town, for it had large and handsome houses, in which they refreshed themselves, as they had wherewithal, the town being well provided with every sort of provision.

The castle was surrounded on all sides, and engines erected before it, which cast such large

* A village in Gascony, election of Landes.

stones as greatly astonished the garrison. Whilst this siege was carrying on, true intelligence was brought respecting the lords de Duras and de Rosem, by two heralds, who declared they had turned to the English. On hearing this the duke said, "Let me but gain St. Macaire, and I will immediately march and lay siege to Duras." He ordered the attacks on the castle to be renewed with greater vigour, for he was not willing to leave it in his rear. The garrison seeing themselves thus attacked, without any hopes of succour, and knowing that the duke and constable were determined to have them by fair or foul means, thought they should act wisely if they entered into a treaty, which they accomplished, and delivered up the castle, on their lives and fortunes being spared, and on being conducted to Bordeaux. Thus did the town and castle of St. Macaire become French. The duke of Anjou took possession of it, appointed a governor, and then decamped with his whole army, taking the road towards Duras.

The army continued its march until it came before Duras, when an attack was immediately ordered. The men at arms made themselves ready, and the cross-bowmen, well shielded, advanced to the town: some of whom had provided themselves with ladders, in order the more easily to scale the walls. This attack was very severe, and those who had mounted the walls fought hand to hand with their opponents: so many gallant deeds were done by each party, that it lasted the greater part of the day. When they had thus well fought for a length of time, the marshals ordered the trumpets to sound a retreat, and every man retired to his quarters for the night. In the meantime, sir Alain de la Haye, and sir Alain de St. Pol, arrived at the army with a large troop of Bretons, who had marched towards Libourne *, and had attacked an English garrison at Cadillac †, which they had taken by storm, and slain all within it.

On the morrow morning, the duke ordered the storming to be renewed, and that each man should exert himself to the utmost. He had it also proclaimed by a herald, that whoever should first enter Duras should receive five hundred francs. The desire of gaining this reward made many poor companions come forward. Ladders were placed against the walls in various places, and the attack began in earnest; for the young knights and squires, who were eager for renown, did not spare themselves, but fought with a thorough good will.

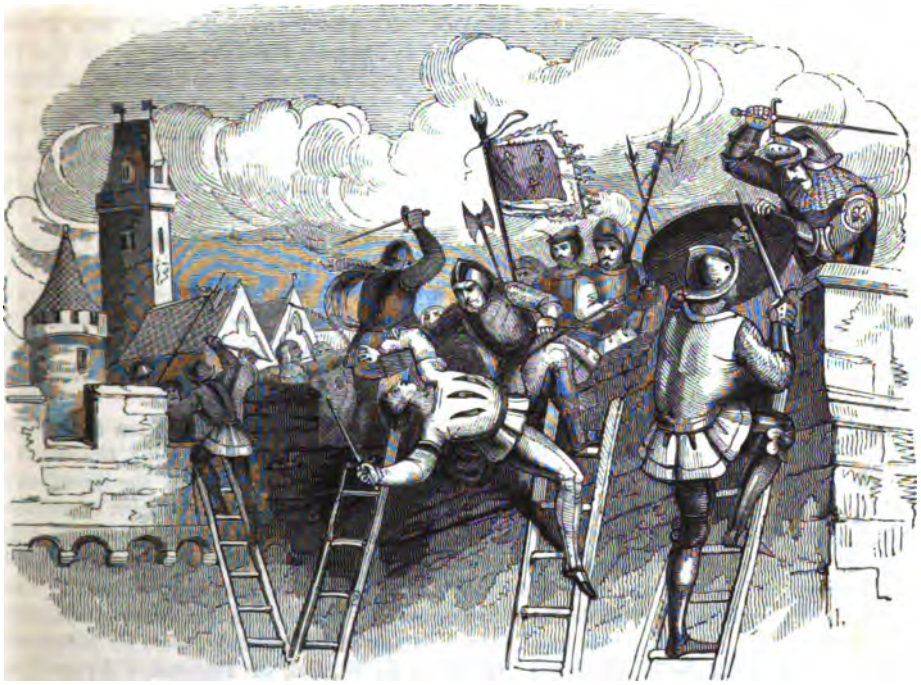
The lord de Langurant had ascended a ladder, with his sword in his hand, and fought hard to enter the town the first, not indeed for the five hundred francs, but to illustrate his name; for he was exceedingly angry that the lord de Duras had so lightly turned to the English. The lord de Langurant, as I must say, performed such deeds that his own people as well as strangers were quite astonished therewith, and advanced so far that his life was in great jeopardy; for those withinside the walls tore off the helmet from his head, and with it the hood, so that he would inevitably have been slain, if his own squire, who followed him close, had not covered him with his target. The knight descended the ladder by degrees, but he received in his descent several heavy blows on the target. He was much esteemed for this assault, by all those who saw him.

In another part, sir Tristan de Roye and sir Perceval d'Ayvenal, mounted on ladders, fought most valorously; and also sir John de Jumont and sir John de Rossy, where each for his part did wonders in arms. On the battlements was the lord de Seriel, mounted on a ladder, fighting gallantly hand to hand with those on the inside; and all who saw him said, that if any one was likely to have the advantage of first entering the town, he was in the road so to do. This knight did not thus adventure himself for profit, but for glory: however, as fortune is hazardous, he was struck down with such force by a sword, that he tumbled into the ditch, and broke his neck. In suchwise died this knight. The same fate attended a squire from Brittany, who bore for his arms two chevrons gules, chequered with or, argent, and azur. This vexed the constable so much that he ordered the assailants to be reinforced, and the fight continued with more vigour than before. The lord de Mucident proved himself an able knight, and showed he was indeed a Frenchman from the manner in which he assaulted.

* "Libourne,"—a city of Guienne on the Dordogne, ten leagues from Bordeaux.
† "Cadillac,"—a town in Guienne, seven leagues from Bordeaux.

The town of Duras was taken by storm, and the first persons who entered it were sir Tristan de Roye and sir John de Rosay. When the men at arms in Duras saw that the town must be lost, they retreated into the castle, leaving the rest to its fate. Thus was Duras taken, and all found in it were put to death. The men at arms retired to their quarters, where they disarmed themselves, and took their ease, having plenty of provision with them.

On the morrow morning, the constable of France, attended by the marshal, mounted their horses, and rode to the castle to reconnoitre, and see on which side they could best attack it. Having well examined it, they found it was marvellously strong, and said, that without a very long siege, it would not be easily taken: on their return, they related this to the duke of Anjou. "That does not signify," replied the duke, "for I have said and sworn, that I would not stir from hence until I should have this castle under my obedience." "And you



Storming of Duras. From a MS. Froissart of the fifteenth century.

shall not forswear yourself," answered the constable. Engines were directly pointed against the castle, as they were ready on the spot. When those within saw the great preparations that were making against them, as well by those in the town as by the French, and that the attack would be severe, and probably fatal to them, they thought it advisable to enter into a negotiation. They opened a treaty with the constable, who agreed to spare their lives and fortunes on their surrendering the castle. The duke of Anjou was therefore advised by the constable not to fatigue or hurt his men, but to grant them quarter, which he did. On the third day they marched out of the castle, and were conducted whither they wished to go, and the constable took possession of it; but I believe the duke of Anjou ordered it to be razed to the ground.

CHAPTER VI.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU RETURNS TO THE DUCHESS AT TOULOUSE, AND THE CONSTABLE TO THE KING OF FRANCE.—EVAN OF WALES LAYS SIEGE TO MORTAIN-SUR-MER.

AFTER the conquest of the town and castle of Duras, the duke of Anjou ordered sir John de Jumont, sir Tristan de Roye, and sir John de Rosay, to remain in the town of Landurant * (for the lord of it had turned to the French since he had been made prisoner at the battle of Yurac), with one hundred good spears to guard the frontiers against the Bordelois: he himself wished to return to Toulouse to see his duchess, who had been delivered of a handsome boy, for he was desirous of holding a grand feast at Toulouse to celebrate this event. He therefore ordered men at arms to the different towns and castles which he had conquered. On dismissing Evan of Wales, he said to him: "You will take under your command the Bretons, Poitevins, and Angevins, with whom you will march into Poitou, and lay siege to Mortain-sur-mer, which the lord de l'Estrade † holds; and do not quit the place for any orders which you may receive in the king's name until you have had possession of it; for it is a garrison that has done us much mischief." "My lord," replied Evan, "as far as shall be in my power I will loyally obey you." The duke, the constable, and the lord de Coucy, then ordered all those who were to accompany Evan into Poitou. Upon this, full five hundred good men at arms left the duke, and took the road to Saintonge, in order to advance towards St. Jean d'Angely.

The duke of Anjou, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, the marshal of France, sir John and sir Peter de Bueil, returned to Toulouse, where they found the duchess newly recovered from her lying-in. On this event there were very great rejoicings and feastings at Toulouse. The constable and the lord de Coucy then returned to Paris: the marshal de Sancerre into Auvergne, to assist the dauphin of Auvergne and the barons of that country, who were carrying on the war against the English that had remained in Limousin, Rouergue, and on the borders of Auvergne.

Let us now say something of Evan of Wales, how he laid siege at this season to Mortain, and how he harassed its garrison. Evan of Wales, being desirous of obeying the orders of the duke of Anjou, (for he knew well that whatever the duke did was by the directions of the king of France his brother, as he had paid all the expenses of the different expeditions he had made) had advanced as far as Saintes. He had halted to refresh himself and his companions in that rich country between Saintes and Poitou, and in the beautiful meads which are on the banks of the rivers in those parts. Many knights and squires of Poitou were with him, such as the lords de Pons, de Touars, de Vivarois, the lord James de Surgeres, and several more. On the other hand, from Brittany and Normandy, were sir Maurice de Trisiquedi, sir Alain de la Houssaye, sir Alain de St. Pol, sir Perceval d'Ayneval, sir William de Montcontour, the lord de Mommor, and Morelet his brother. These troops, when ordered, marched away, and laid siege to Mortain. The castle is situated on the Garonne, near to and below its embouchure with the sea: it is the handsomest and strongest fort in all the borders of the countries of Poitou, la Rochelle, and Saintonge.

When Evan of Wales, the barons and knights, were arrived there, they formed the siege very prudently, and provided themselves by little and little with every thing they wanted; for they were well aware that they could never conquer the castle by storm, but that it must be won by distressing the garrison with famine and a long blockade. Evan, therefore, ordered four block-houses to be erected, so that no provision could enter the place by sea or by land.

At times the young knights and squires who wished to display their courage, advanced to the barriers of the castle, and skirmished with the garrison. Many gallant deeds were there performed. There was a knight in Mortain called the souldich, who was from Gascony, a valiant knight and able man at arms, whose orders they obeyed as if he had been their governor. The castle was plentifully supplied with wines and provision, but they were in great want of several smaller necessaries.

* "Landurant,"—should be Landiras,—a town in Guienne, near Bordeaux. William Shalton was lord of Landiras.—See *Rolles Gasconnes*.

† The souldich de l'Estrade.—See *Anstis*.

CHAPTER VII.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE INSTIGATES THE SCOTS TO MAKE WAR ON ENGLAND. THE SCOTS TAKE THE CASTLE OF BERWICK.

KING Charles of France, notwithstanding he always resided at Paris, or at various other places in France which pleased him more, and that he never bore arms himself, kept up a very sharp war against his enemies the English. He had formed alliances, as well in the empire as with the adjoining kingdoms, in a greater degree than the four or five preceding kings of France had ever done. He paid great attentions to all from whom he thought he should derive any assistance; and because king Richard of England was young, and his kingdom unsettled, he had sent to renew his alliance with the Scots, and with their king, Robert Stuart, who had succeeded his uncle king David Bruce, and to excite them to make war upon the English, so that they should be disabled from crossing the seas. Upon this, king Robert, after the death of Edward and the coronation of Richard, assembled his council at Edinburgh, where he had summoned the greater part of those barons and knights from whom he looked for assistance. He remonstrated with them against the English for having in former times done them much mischief by burning their country, razing their castles, killing and ransoming the inhabitants: that the time was now arrived when they might revenge themselves for all these disgraces; as king Edward was deceased, who had been so successful against them, and a young king was now on the throne.

The barons of Scotland and the young knights present, being desirous of advancing themselves and revenging the injuries which the English had formerly done to their country, replied unanimously, that they were willing and prepared to invade England, either to-day or to-morrow, or whenever he pleased. This answer was very agreeable to the king of Scotland, who returned them his thanks for it. Four earls were appointed captains of men at arms; namely, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Mar and the earl of Sutherland; sir Archibald Douglas constable of Scotland, and sir Robert de Versi * marshal of the whole army.

Summonses were immediately issued for the assembling of the forces by a certain day in the Merse†, which is the country bordering on England. Whilst this summons was obeying, a valiant squire of Scotland, named Alexander Ramsay, set off with forty men from his company, determined to perform a gallant enterprise. They were all well mounted, and, having rode the whole night through bye-roads, came to Berwick nearly at day-break. A squire attached to the earl of Northumberland, called William Bisset, was governor of the town of Berwick; and a very able knight, called sir Robert Abeton‡, was constable of the castle.

When the Scots were arrived near Berwick, they concealed themselves, and sent a spy to observe the state of the castle. The spy entered it as far as the ditches, wherein there was not any water, nor indeed could any be retained in them, for they were of moving sands: he looked about him on all sides, but did not see a soul: upon which, he returned back to his masters. Alexander Ramsay directly advanced with his companions, without speaking a word, and passed the ditches: they had brought good ladders with them, which they placed against the walls. Alexander was the first who mounted them sword in hand, and entered the castle followed by his men without opposition.

When they had all entered, they hastened to the great tower where sir Robert Boynton slept, and began to cut down the door of it with the axes they had brought. The governor

* "Sir Robert de Versi." Q.

† The Marches.—Ed.

‡ "Sir Robert Abeton"—sir Robert Boynton. Dr. Fuller, in his history of Berwick, 1799, says, "that seven intrepid Scotsmen in 1377 took possession of Berwick castle by storm in the night, and continued masters of it for eight days, though it was besieged by seven thousand English archers and three thousand cavalry, and only lost two of their number, which had increased to forty-eight when they were subdued. Notwithstanding this heroic achievement, they were all put to the sword.

"Upon entering the castle, they killed the governor, sir Robert Boynton, but liberated his lady for two thousand marks.

"When the earl of Northumberland summoned these heroes to surrender, they boldly replied;

"That they would not yield it either to the kings of England or Scotland, but would retain and defend it for the king of France."

No authority is mentioned.

was suddenly awakened: he had slept all the night, and kept but a poor watch, for which he paid dear. He heard the door of his chamber broken, and thought it might be done by some of his own men who wanted to murder him, because he had quarrelled with them the preceding week. With this idea, he opened a window which looked on the ditches, leaped out of it without further consideration, and thus broke his neck and died on the spot. The guards of the castle, who towards day-break had been asleep, awakened by his groans, found the castle had been scaled and taken: they began to sound their trumpets, and to cry out, "Treason! treason!"

John Bisset, the governor of Berwick, on hearing their cries, armed himself, as well as all the able men of the town, and advanced toward the castle, when they plainly heard the noise of the Scots; but they could not gain entrance, for the gates were shut, and the draw-bridge raised. Upon this, John Bisset, having considered a short time, said to those with him: "Come quickly: let us break down the supports of the bridge, so that none can sally out, nor get away without danger from us."

They soon got hatchets and wedges, and the supports of the gate next the town were destroyed. John Bisset sent off a messenger to the lord Percy at Alnwick, which is but twelve short leagues off, to request he would come immediately to his assistance with all his forces, for that Berwick castle had been taken by the Scots. He also said to Thomelin Friant*, who was the person he sent: "Tell my lord of Percy the state you have left me in, and how the Scots are shut up in the castle, and cannot get away, unless they leap the walls; so let him hasten here as fast as he possibly can."

Alexander Ramsay and his men having scaled the castle of Berwick, thought they had done wonders, as in truth they had: they would have been masters of the town if John Bisset had not acted so prudently, and slain whomever they pleased, or shut them up in the tower, for such was their intention: they said, "Let us now go into the town; it is ours; and seize all the riches, which we will make the good men of the town carry away for us, and then we will set fire to it, for it cannot now make any resistance: in three or four days' time, succours will come from Scotland, so that we shall save all our pillage: and on our departure we will set the castle on fire, and by these means repay our hosts." All his companions assented, for they were eager for gain. They tightened on their arms, and each grasped a spear, for they had found plenty in the castle, and, opening the gate, let down the draw-bridge. When the bridge was let down, the chains which supported it broke; for the pillars on which it should have rested were destroyed, and the planks carried into the town. When John Bisset, and the inhabitants who were there assembled, saw them, they began shouting out, "Oh what, are you there? keep where you are, for you shall not go away for a certainty without our permission."

Alexander Ramsay, seeing their appearance, soon found they intended to keep them confined in the castle, and that they must get away as well as they could: he therefore shut the gates, to avoid their arrows, and ordered his people to inclose themselves within, intending to defend the castle. They flung all the dead into the ditches, and shut up the prisoners in a tower. They thought the place was full strong enough to hold out until succours should come from Scotland, for the barons and knights were assembling in the Merse and in that neighbourhood: the earl of Douglas had even left Dalkeith, and arrived at Dunbar. We will now return to the squire whom John Bisset sent to Alnwick, and speak of his arrival, and of the information he gave to the earl of Northumberland.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND RETAKES THE CASTLE OF BERWICK.

Thomelin Friant made haste until he arrived at Alnwick, and entered the castle from the knowledge he had of it; for it was so early that the earl of Northumberland was not out of bed. Having arrived at his bedside to speak to him, for the business was very pressing, he said: "My lord, the Scots have this morning taken Berwick castle by surprise; and the

* "Thomelin Friant." Q.

governor of the town sends me to inform you of it, as you are the lieutenant of all these countries." When the earl heard this news, he made every possible haste to order succour to Berwick: he sent off letters and messengers to all knights and squires of Northumberland, and to those from whom he expected any assistance, desiring them to repair to Berwick without delay, and informing them that he was marching thither to besiege the Scots, who had conquered the castle.

This summons was soon spread over the country, and every man at arms, knight, squire, and cross-bowman, left their houses. The lord Neville, the lord Lucy, the lord Gastop*, the lord Stafford, the lord de Blelles†, the governor of Newcastle, and a right valiant and expert man at arms, called Sir Thomas Musgrave, were there; but the earl of Northumberland first arrived at Berwick with his people; and forces daily came thither from all parts. They were in the whole about ten thousand men, who surrounded the castle so closely on all sides that a bird could not have escaped from it without being seen. The English began to form mines, the sooner to accomplish their purpose against the Scots and regain the castle.

Alnwick Castle. From an original drawing.

Intelligence was brought to the barons and knights of Scotland, that the earl of Northumberland, with the chivalry of that country, were besieging their countrymen in Berwick castle: they therefore determined to march thither, raise the siege, and reinforce the castle, for they considered what Alexander Ramsay had performed as a most gallant achievement. Sir Archibald Douglas, the constable, said, "Alexander is my cousin, and it is his high birth that has caused him to undertake and execute so bold a feat as the taking of Berwick castle: it behoves us to do all in our power to assist him in this business, and if we can raise the siege it will be to us of great value: I am of opinion, therefore, that we march thither." He immediately ordered part of the army to remain behind, and the rest to advance towards Berwick. He chose five hundred lances from the flower of the Scots army, and set off well mounted and in good order, taking the road to Berwick.

* "Gastop." Q.

† "Blelles." Q. Bellasis.

The English, who were before Berwick with ten thousand men, including archers, soon heard how the Scots intended to raise the siege and reinforce the garrison: they called a council, and resolved to extend their ground, to wait for them and offer battle, as they were anxious to meet them. The earl of Northumberland ordered all to prepare themselves, and march into the plain to be mustered, when they were found to amount to full three thousand men at arms and seven thousand archers. When the earl saw his army so numerous, he said, "Let us keep to this ground, for we are able to combat all the force Scotland can send against us." They encamped on an extensive heath, without the walls of Berwick, in two battalions, and in good array.

This had been scarcely done an hour before they perceived some of the scouts of the Scots army advancing, but too well mounted to be attacked by the English: however, some English knights and squires would have been glad to have quitted their lines to have checked their career, but the earl said, "Let them alone, and allow their main body to come up: if they have any inclination for the combat, they will themselves advance nearer to us." The English remained very quiet, so that the Scots scouts came so close they were able to reconnoitre their two battalions and judge of how many men they were composed. When they had sufficiently observed them, they returned to their lords, and related what they had seen, saying, "My lords, we have advanced so near to the English that we have fully reconnoitred them: we can tell you, they are waiting for you, drawn up in two handsome battalions, on the plain before the town: each battalion may consist of five thousand men: you will therefore consider this well. We approached them so close that they knew us for Scots scouts; but they made not the smallest attempt to break their line to pursue us."

When sir Archibald Douglas and the Scots knights heard this account, they were quite melancholy, and said, "We cannot think it will be any way profitable for us to advance further to meet the English; for they are ten to one, and all tried men: we may lose more than we can gain: and a foolish enterprise is never good, and such is what Alexander Ramsay has performed." Sir William Lindsay, a valiant knight and uncle to Alexander Ramsay, took great pains to persuade them to succour his nephew, saying, "Gentlemen, my nephew, in confidence of your assistance, has performed this gallant deed, and taken Berwick castle. It will turn to your great shame, if he should be lost, and none of our family in future will thus boldly adventure themselves." Those present answered, "That they could not amend it, and that the many gallant men who were there could not be expected to risk their own destruction in the attempt to prevent a single squire from being made prisoner." It was therefore determined to retreat further up in their own country among the mountains near the river Tweed, whither they marched in good order and at their leisure.

When the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the other barons of England, found the Scots were not advancing, they sent off scouts to enquire what was become of them, who brought back intelligence that they had retreated towards the Merse beyond the castle of Roxburgh *. On hearing this, each man retired quietly to his quarters, where they kept a strict guard until the morrow morning about six o'clock, when they all made themselves ready for the attack of the castle. The assault immediately began: it was very severe, and continued until the afternoon. Never did so few men as the Scots defend themselves so well, nor was ever castle so briskly attacked; for there were ladders raised against different parts of the walls, on which men at arms ascended with targets over their heads, and fought hand to hand with the Scots. In consequence, many were struck down and hurled into the ditches. What most annoyed the Scots were the English archers, who shot so briskly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the bulwarks. This assault was continued until the English entered the castle, when they began to slay all they could lay hands on: none escaped death except Alexander Ramsay, who was made prisoner by the earl of Northumberland.

In this manner was Berwick regained. The earl of Northumberland appointed John Bisset constable thereof, a very valiant squire, through whose means, as you have already heard, it had been reconquered. He had every part of it repaired, and the bridge which he had broken down restored.

* There seems some mistake of geography here.

CHAPTER IX.—THE EARLS OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND NOTTINGHAM ENTER SCOTLAND WITH A LARGE ARMY.

After the re-capture of Berwick castle, the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, the two most powerful barons of the army, determined to make an excursion after their enemies, and if they could find them to offer them battle. As they had resolved, so did they execute: early on a morning they marched away taking the road to Roxburgh up Tweedside. When they had marched about three leagues, they called a council, and the two earls thought it advisable to send a detachment to Melrose, a large monastery of black monks, situated on the Tweed, which is the boundary of the two kingdoms, to know if any Scots were lying thereabouts in ambuscade; whilst they with the main body would march into the Merse; by which means they would not fail of hearing some news of the Scots. That valiant knight sir Thomas Musgrave was appointed commander of this detachment: it consisted of three hundred men at arms and as many archers. They left the army, which, on the separation, took a different route, one marching to the right and the other to the left. Sir Thomas and his son rode on to Melrose, where they arrived at an early hour, and took up their quarters, to refresh themselves and their horses, as well as to make enquiries after the Scottish army.

They ordered two of their squires, well mounted, to ride over the country, to endeavour to find out the situation of the Scots, and in what order they were. These two squires, on leaving their commanders, continued their route until they fell into an ambuscade of the Scots, commanded by sir William Lindsay, who had posted himself in hopes of meeting with some adventure, and to hear news of Berwick, and also what had been the fate of his nephew, Alexander Ramsay, and into whose hands he had fallen: this he was very anxious to learn: he had with him about forty lances. The English were seized immediately on their entering this ambush, which gave the knight very great pleasure. He demanded from them whence they came: but they were afraid of speaking, lest they should betray their masters: however, they were forced to be explicit, for the knight assured them that he would have them beheaded, if they did not truly answer all the questions he should put to them.

When things became so serious, and they saw no means of escaping, they related how the castle of Berwick had been regained, and all found within put to death except Alexander Ramsay: they afterwards told how the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham were marching along Tweedside in search of the Scots, and how sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, sir John Seton, and sir Richard Breton, with three hundred spears and as many archers, were lodged in the abbey of Melrose, and that these knights had sent them out to discover where the Scots were. "By my troth," replied sir William Lindsay, "you have found us, and you will now remain with us." They were then taken aside, and given up to some of their companions, with orders to guard them well under penalty of their lives. Sir William Lindsay instantly sent off one of his men at arms, saying, "Ride to our main army, and tell them all you have heard, and the situation of the English: I will remain here until morning, to see if anything else may happen."

This man at arms rode on until he came to a large village beyond Morlaine *, which is called Hondebray †, situated on the Tweed, among the mountains, where there were large meads and a plentiful country; for which reasons the Scots had quartered themselves there. Towards evening, the squire arrived; and, as they knew he had brought some intelligence, he was conducted to the earls of Douglas, Murray, Sutherland, and to sir Archibald Douglas, to whom he related all you have just read. The Scots were much vexed on hearing of the recapture of Berwick castle, but they were reconciled by the news of sir Thomas Musgrave and the other English knights being quartered at Melrose. They determined to march instantly, to dislodge their enemies, and make up from them for the loss of Berwick. They armed themselves, saddled their horses, and left Hadingtoun, advancing to the right of Melrose, for they were well acquainted with the country, and arrived a little before midnight.

* "Morlaine." Lambirlaw.—*M'Pherson's Geographical Illustrations of Scottish History.*

† "Hondebray." "It seems Hadingtoun; and, if so, the river ought to be Tyne."—*M'Phersons' Geog. Illust.*

But it then began to rain very heavily, and with such a violent wind in their faces that there was none so stout but was overpowered by the storm, so that they could scarcely guide their horses: the pages suffered so much from the cold, and their comfortless situation, that they could not carry the spears, but let them fall to the ground: they also separated from their companions, and lost their way.

The advanced guard had halted, by orders of the constable, at the entrance of a large wood, through which it was necessary for them to pass; for some knights and squires who had been long used to arms said, they were advancing foolishly, and that it was not proper to continue their course in such weather, and at so late an hour, as they ran a risk of losing more than they could gain. They therefore concealed themselves and their horses under oaks and other large trees until it was day. It was a long time before they could make any fire from their flints and wet wood: however, they did succeed, and several large fires were made; for the cold and rain lasted until sun-rise, but it continued to drizzle until the hour of six. Between six and nine o'clock, the day began to get somewhat warmer, the sun to shine, and the larks to sing. The leaders then assembled to consider what was best to be done, for they had failed in their intentions of arriving at Melrose during the night. They resolved to breakfast in the open fields on what they had, to refresh themselves and horses, and send out parties to forage. This was executed, and the greater part of their foragers spread themselves over the country and adjacent villages. They brought hay and corn for the horses, and provision for their masters.

It happened that the English quartered in the abbey of Melrose had that morning sent out their foragers, so that the two parties met, and the English had not the advantage: several of their party were slain and wounded, and their forage seized. When sir Thomas Musgrave and the English knights in Melrose heard of it, they knew the Scots were not far distant: they ordered their trumpets to sound, and their horses to be saddled, whilst they armed themselves, for they were determined to take the field. They left the abbey in good order, and in handsome array. The Scots knights had received information from their foragers of their enemies being near: they therefore made all haste to refresh their horses, to arm and draw themselves up in order of battle, alongside and under cover of the wood. They were full seven hundred lances, and two thousand others, whom I call lusty varlets, armed with hunting spears, dirks, and pointed staves. The lord Archibald Douglas and his cousin the earl of Douglas said, "We cannot fail to have some business since the English are abroad: let us therefore be on our guard, for we will fight with them if the parties be nearly equal." They sent two of their men at arms to observe the order of the English, whilst they remained snug in their ambush.

CHAPTER X.—SIR THOMAS MUSGRAVE AND THE ENGLISH UNDER HIS COMMAND ARE DEFEATED BY THE SCOTS.

Sir Thomas Musgrave and the knights of Northumberland, being desirous of meeting the Scots on equal terms, set out from Melrose, and took the road to Morlaine: they left the Tweed on their left hand, and, by an ascending road, made for a mountain called St. Giles*.

Two Scots scouts were posted there, who, having well considered the English, immediately set off to their own troops, and related their observations on the English; in what order they were marching, and that they had only seen three banners and ten pennons. The Scots were highly pleased with this intelligence, and said with a hearty good will, "In the name of God and St. Giles, let us march towards them, for they must be our prisoners." They then shouted their war-cry, which I think was, "Douglas, St. Giles!" They had not advanced half a league before both armies came in sight, and each knew a combat was unavoidable. Upon this the earl of Douglas knighted his son, and sir James Douglas displayed his banner. He also knighted the lord Robert and lord David, sons of the king of Scotland, who in like manner displayed their banners. There were made on the spot about thirty knights in the

* "St. Giles." Q. this mountain.

Scottish army, and one from Sweden, called sir George de Besmede, who bore on a shield argent a mill-iron gules with an indented bordure gules.

On the other hand, sir Thomas Musgrave made his son Thomas a knight, with others of his household. The lord Stafford and lord Gascoyn made some likewise. They drew out their archers, posting them on their wings; and, this day, the English cry was, "Our Lady of Arlestone!" The engagement then commenced with vigour, and the archers by their shooting confounded the men at arms; but the Scots were in such numbers, the archers could not be everywhere. There were between the knights and squires many a tilt and gallant deed performed, by which several were unhorsed. Sir Archibald Douglas was a good knight, and much feared by his enemies: when near to the English, he dismounted, and wielded before him an immense sword, whose blade was two ells long, which scarcely another could have lifted from the ground, but he found no difficulty in handling it, and gave such terrible strokes, that all on whom they fell were struck to the ground; and there were none so hardy among the English able to withstand his blows.

The battle was sharp and well fought as long as it lasted: but that was not any length of time, for the Scots were three to one, and men of tried valour. I do not say but the English defended themselves valiantly: in the end, however, they were defeated, and sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, with several other knights and squires, made prisoners. The Scots took seven score good prisoners; and the pursuit lasted as far as the river Tweed, where numbers were slain. The Scots, after this victory, resolved to march straight for Edinburgh, as they learnt from their prisoners that the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham were in the neighbourhood on the other side of the Tweed, on their road to Roxburgh, and that they were in sufficient numbers to engage with all the force the Scots could bring against them: on which account, they thought they might as well abandon their expedition, in order to save themselves and guard their prisoners. They had wisely determined to retreat without making any halt; for, had they returned that evening to their former quarters, they would have run a risk of being conquered, as I shall now relate.

When the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and the other barons of England, had separated from sir Thomas Musgrave, they advanced directly towards Roxburgh. They learnt from their spies, that the Scots, whom they were seeking to fight with, were quartered at Hondebray, which pleased them much, and they resolved to have a skirmish with them: they were marching thither that same night the enemy had left it: but it rained so hard that they could not accomplish their purpose: they therefore took up their quarters in the woods until the morrow, when they again sent out their scouts to find where the Scots were, who returned, saying that they could not see anything of them. They then determined to advance towards Melrose, in order to gain intelligence of sir Thomas Musgrave and his companions. When they had dined, they marched along Tweedside, on their way thither, and sent scouts over the river to learn some news of them.

After the defeat on the plains of St. Giles, which I have just related, the scouts met several of their fellow-soldiers flying like men discomfited, who told them as much as they knew of the battle. Upon this, they returned, and with them the runaways, who related truly what had passed between the English and Scots: they well knew they had been defeated, but were ignorant who had been killed or who made prisoners. The lords of Northumberland, on hearing this unfortunate intelligence, were very melancholy, and with reason. They had two causes for vexation; for having lost the battle, and for having missed finding the Scots, whom they had been in search of.

A numerous council was assembled in the field, whether or not to pursue the Scots; but as they did not know which way they had marched, and night approaching, they resolved to make for Melrose, and fix their quarters there. Before they could accomplish their march to Melrose, they heard the truth of the event of the battle; that sir Thomas Musgrave, his son, with seven score men at arms, had been made prisoners by the Scots, who were carrying them off, and had taken the road to Edinburgh. These barons then found that they must submit to their loss, for help it they could not. They passed the night as well as they were able, and on the morrow they decamped, when the earl of Northumberland gave permission for every one to return to his home: he himself retired into his own country. Thus was this expedition

put an end to. The Scots returned to Edinburgh, but not all, for the earl of Douglas and his son took the road to Dalkeith. This great success which they had obtained was a great novelty for Scotland. The knights and squires treated their prisoners handsomely, ransomed them courteously, and did with them the best they could. We will now leave off speaking of the Scots, and relate other events which happened in France.

CHAPTER XI.—THE DEATHS OF THE QUEENS OF FRANCE AND OF NAVARRE, AND THE RENEWAL OF THE FEUDS BETWEEN THEIR TWO HUSBANDS.

This year, in the month of February, the queen of France died, and, as the physicians said, by her own fault. She was with child of the lady Catherine, who was afterwards duchess of Berry *. The queen, as I have before said, was not very far advanced in her pregnancy; but the doctors had forbidden her bathing, as being full of danger: however, she would persist, and continued using baths, which brought on a mortal disorder. King Charles of France never married again. Soon after the death of the queen of France, the queen of Navarre died also. She was sister-german to the king of France. Upon her death disputes arose among the lawyers of the county of Evreux in Normandy: they said, that that county was, by rightful succession from the mother, devolved to the children of the king of Navarre, who were separated from him, under age, and in the guardianship of king Charles their uncle.

King Charles of Navarre was so much suspected of having caused, in former times, many ills to France, that he was not thought worthy of possessing any inheritance in that kingdom under the name of his children. The constable of France, therefore, returned from Aquitaine, where he had been a considerable time with the duke of Anjou, and brought with him the lord of Mucident, that he might see the king and become acquainted with him. The constable was received by the king with great joy, as was the lord de Mucident on his account. There were many secret councils and conversations between the king and constable, which were not immediately made public, respecting the situation of France and Navarre. We will shortly return to this business; but, in order to chronicle justly all the events which at this period happened in the world, I will relate to you the beginning of that grand schism which desolated the church, by which all Christendom was shaken, and from which many evils were engendered and spread abroad.

CHAPTER XII.—THE DEATH OF POPE GREGORY XI.—AFTER THE SUDDEN DEATH OF HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR, THE CARDINALS ARE CONSTRAINED TO ELECT URBAN VI. WHICH CAUSES A SCHISM IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

You have before heard how pope Gregory XI. filled the papal chair at Avignon. When he found there was not any likelihood of his bringing about a peace between the kings of France and England, he was much displeased, for he had laboured hard at it, as well as the cardinals by his orders. He resolved, as a matter of devotion, to revisit Rome and the holy see, which St. Peter and St. Paul had edified and augmented; for he had made a vow to God, that if he should ever be raised to so eminent an honour as the papacy, he would never hold his seat but where St. Peter had placed it. This pope was of a delicate constitution and sickly habit, so that he suffered more than another; and during his residence at Avignon he was much engaged with the affairs of France, and so much pressed by the king and his brothers, that he had not time to attend to his own concerns: he therefore said, he would place himself at a distance, that he might enjoy more repose. He made preparations in the most ample manner becoming such a great personage, on the riviera of Genoa and on all the roads. He told his brethren the cardinals to provide for themselves; for, being resolved to go to Rome, he should certainly set out. On hearing this, the cardinals

* See Chap. ccclxix.—Ed.

were much surprised and vexed; for they remembered the Romans, and would willingly have turned him from taking this journey, but they could not succeed.

When the king of France was informed of it, he was in a violent passion; for when at Avignon he had him more under his power than any where else. He wrote, therefore, directly to his brother the duke of Anjou, at Toulouse, signifying, that on the receipt of the letter, he should set out for Avignon, and endeavour, by talking to the pope, to make him give up his intended journey. The duke of Anjou did what the king had ordered, and went to Avignon, where he was received with great respect by the cardinals. He took up his lodgings in the palace of the pope, that he might have more frequent opportunities of conversing with him. You may easily imagine that he acquitted himself ably in the different conversations he had with the pope, to dissuade him from his intentions of going to Rome; but he would not listen to him on this subject, nor give up any thing that related to the affairs beyond the Alps: he ordered, however, four cardinals to remain at Avignon; to whom he gave full powers for them to act in all respects, excepting some papal cases, which he had not the power to delegate out of his own hands. When the duke found that neither reason nor entreaties could prevail with his holiness to remain where he was, he took leave of him, and said at his departure, "Holy father, you are going into a country, and among people by whom you are but little loved. You leave the fountain of faith, and a kingdom wherein the church has more piety and excellence than in all the rest of the world. By this action of yours, the church may fall into great tribulation; for should you die in that country, (which is but too probable, as your physicians declare) these Romans, who are a strange people and traitors, will be lords and masters of all the cardinals, whom they will force to elect a pope according to their wishes."

Notwithstanding these speeches and reasons, he would not put off his journey, but set out and arrived at Marseilles, where the galleys of Genoa had been ordered to wait for him. The duke of Anjou returned to Toulouse *. Pope Gregory embarked at Marseilles with a numerous attendance, and a favourable wind landed him at Genoa. After having re-victualled his galleys, he again embarked, and, making sail for Rome, disembarked not far from it. You must know, that the Romans were exceedingly rejoiced at his arrival: the consuls and all the principal nobility of Rome went out to meet him on horseback with great pomp, and conducted him with triumph into that city. He took up his residence in the Vatican, and often visited a church within Rome which he was much attached to, and to which he had made many considerable additions: it was called Santa Maria Maggiore. He died soon after his arrival, in this same church, in which he was buried, and there lies. His obsequies were performed in a magnificent manner, as was becoming so eminent a personage.

The cardinals, shortly after the death of pope Gregory, assembled in conclave at the Vatican. As soon as they had met to elect a pope, according to the usual modes, who might be worthy and of service to the church, the Romans collected in great numbers, in the suburbs of St. Peter: they were, including all sorts, upwards of thirty thousand, encouraging each other to do mischief, if things did not go according to their wishes. They came frequently before the conclave and said, "Listen to us, my lords cardinals: allow us to elect a pope: you are too long about it. Choose a Roman, for we will not have one of any other country: if you shall elect another, neither the Roman people nor the consuls will consider him as pope, and you will run a risk of being all put to death!" The cardinals heard these words, and being in the power of the Romans, were not at their ease, nor assured of their lives: they therefore appeased their anger as well as they could. The wickedness of the Romans arose to such a height that those who were nearest the conclave broke in, to frighten the cardinals, in order that they might the sooner decide in favour of him whom they wished. The cardinals were much alarmed, fearing they would all be put to death, and fled, some one way, some another. The Romans, however, would not suffer them to depart, but collected them again together whether they would or not. The cardinals, finding themselves in their power and in great danger, made quickly an end of the business, to appease the people: and, though it was not done through devotion, yet they made a good

* Denys Sauvage says in a note, that it was after this return to Toulouse, he undertook the expedition mentioned in the 1st chapter of this volume.

election of a very devout man, a Roman, whom Pope Urban V. had raised to the purple: he was called the Cardinal of St. Peter.

This election pleased the Romans exceedingly, and the good man had all the rights attached to the papacy; but he only lived three days, and I will tell you the reason. The Romans, being desirous of having a pope from their own nation, were so much rejoiced at the election falling as it had done on the cardinal of St. Peter, that they took the good man, who was at least one hundred years of age, and placing him on a white mule, carried him in triumph for such a length of time, through Rome, out of wickedness and in exultation of their victory over the cardinals by having gained a Roman pope, that the fatigue was too much for him. On the third day, he took to his bed, and died, and was buried in the church of St. Peter.

The cardinals were much vexed at the death of the pope; for as they saw things were taking a wrong turn, they had determined, during the life of this pope, to have dissembled with the Romans, for two or three years, and to fix the seat of the church elsewhere than at Rome, at Naples or Genoa, out of the power of the Romans. This would have been carried into execution, but the pontiff's death deranged every thing. The cardinals assembled in conclave, in greater danger than before; for the populace collected in large bodies before St. Peter's, showing plainly that they would not scruple to destroy them unless they elected a pope according to their pleasure. They kept crying out before the conclave, "Consider, my lords cardinals; consider well what you are about, and give us a Roman pope, who will reside among us; otherwise we will make your heads much redder than your hats." Such speeches and menaces frightened the cardinals, for they wished rather to die confessors than martyrs: to free themselves from all danger, they began to deliberate on the choice of a pope, but it fell not on one of their brother cardinals. They elected the archbishop of Bari, a very learned man, who had laboured much for the church. With this promotion to the papacy the Romans were satisfied. The cardinal of Geneva put his head out of one of the windows of the conclave, and, calling out aloud to the Roman populace, said, "Be appeased, for you have a Roman pontiff, Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bari." The people unanimously answered, "We are satisfied."

The archbishop was not at this moment at Rome, but, as I believe, at Naples. He was immediately sent for, and, being much pleased at the event, came directly to Rome to show himself to the cardinals. On his arrival, great feasts were made: he was elevated, and had all the powers of the papacy. He took the name of Urban VI. This name was very gratifying to the Romans, on account of Urban V. who had much loved them. His elevation was published in all the churches in Christendom, and made know to the different potentates, emperors, kings, dukes, and earls. The cardinals wrote also to their friends, to inform them that they had chosen a pope by a good and fair election, of which several repented afterwards. This pope renewed all the graces and pardons which his predecessor had given, so that divers left their own countries and repaired to Rome to receive them. We will now for a while leave this matter, and return to the principal object of our history, the affairs of France.

CHAPTER XIII.—THE KING OF NAVARRE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO FRANCE, IN HOPES OF REGAINING POSSESSION OF HIS CHILDREN.—TWO OF HIS PEOPLE ARE CONVICTED OF HAVING ATTEMPTED TO POISON THE KING OF FRANCE.

You have before heard, that after the death of the queen of Navarre, sister to the king of France, there were many persons who, from love to one and hatred to the other, had declared that the inheritance of the children of the king of Navarre, which had fallen to them on their mother's decease, was legally their due; and that the king of France, their uncle by the mother's side, had a right to the guardianship of them, and the management, in their name, of all the lands which the king of Navarre held in Normandy, until his nephews should be of age*. The king of Navarre was suspicious of something being

* Denys Sauvage says, in a marginal note, that he does not understand this; for the kings of Navarre, from father to son, were the legal inheritors of the county of Evreux; nor how the children could claim any right from their mother.

proposed like to the above, for he was well acquainted with the laws and customs of France. He therefore determined to send the bishop of Pampeluna and sir Martin de la Carra into France, to entreat the king in the most amicable manner that, out of love to him, he would send him his two sons, Charles and Peter; and that, if it were not agreeable to the king to allow of both coming to him, he at least would let him have Charles, for a treaty of marriage was in contemplation between him and the daughter of king Henry of Castille. He resolved, notwithstanding this embassy to France, to order his castles in Normandy to be secretly inspected and reinforced, that the French might not seize them; for, if they were not strengthened in every respect, they might do so; and, should they once get possession, he could not regain them when he pleased.

He made choice, for this business, of two valiant men at arms of Navarre, in whom he had great confidence, whose names were Peter de Basille and Ferrando. The bishop of Pampeluna and sir Martin de la Carra arrived in France, and had long conferences with the king, to whom, with much reverence, they recommended the king of Navarre, and entreated of him that he would suffer his two sons to depart. The king replied, that he would consider of it. They afterwards received an answer in the king's name, his majesty being present, that "the king wished to have his nephews, the children of Navarre, near him: that they could not be any where better placed: and that the king of Navarre ought to prefer their being with their uncle, the king of France, to any other person: that he would not allow either of them to leave him, but would keep them near his person, and form them a magnificent establishment, suitable to their rank as sons of a king, and his own nephews." This was all they could obtain.

During the time these ambassadors were in France, Peter de Basille and Ferrando arrived at Cherbourg with many stores. These two visited, by orders of the king of Navarre, the whole county of Evreux, renewed the officers, and placed others in the different forts, according to their pleasure. The bishop of Pampeluna and sir Martin de la Carra returned to Navarre, and related to the king, whom they met at Tudelle*, all that had passed in France. The king was not well pleased that he could not have his children, and conceived a violent hatred against the king of France, which he would have shown if he had had the power; but he was incapable of hurting that kingdom, and besides he had not formed any alliances. He thought it, therefore, better to dissemble, until he should have greater cause of complaint, and more real evils be done unto him. The king of France and his council received information that the king of Navarre was reinforcing all the castles and towns in Normandy, which he called his own; and they knew not what to think of his conduct.

At this time there was a secret armament formed in England, of two thousand men at arms, who were embarked, but without any horses, of which the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge were the commanders. The Normans, hearing of it, had informed the king of France that this expedition was certainly intended for the coasts of Normandy, but they could not say whither it had sailed. Others supposed it to have been undertaken by the advice of the king of Navarre, who meant to deliver up to the English his strong places in Normandy. The king of France was also told, that he must hasten his preparations, if he wished to be master of these castles, and that it had been too long delayed; for, if the English should once gain them, they would be enabled to harass France very much, and they could not obtain a more convenient entrance into the kingdom than by being possessors of the towns and castles of the king of Navarre. Two secretaries of the king of Navarre were arrested in France, a lawyer and a squire: the name of the first was Peter du Tertre, and the other James de Rue: they were conducted to Paris for examination, and were found so intimately connected with the king of Navarre's intentions of poisoning the king of France that they were condemned to death, and were executed and quartered at Paris accordingly†.

* "Tudelle,"—a village in Armagnac, diocese of Auch.

† See Chap. ccexxx.—Ed.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE KING OF FRANCE ORDERS THE POSSESSIONS OF THE KING OF NAVARRE TO BE SEIZED AS WELL IN NORMANDY AS IN LANGUEDOC.—THE KING OF NAVARRE FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH THE ENGLISH.—THE TERMS OF THAT ALLIANCE.

THESE machinations and wicked attempts of the king of Navarre were so numerous that the king of France swore he would not undertake anything before he had driven him out of Normandy, and had gained possession, for his nephews, of every town and castle which the king of Navarre held there. Every day brought fresh information and worse news, respecting the king of Navarre, to the palace of king Charles. It was currently reported that the duke of Lancaster was to give his daughter Catherine to the king of Navarre, who, in return, was to deliver up to him the whole county of Evreux. These reports were readily believed in France, for the king of Navarre had but few friends there. The king of France, at this period, went to reside at Rouen, where he had summoned a large body of men at arms, and had given the command of it to the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, who advanced to Bayeux, a city in Normandy attached to Navarre. These barons had with them the lord Charles and lord Peter, the two sons of the king of Navarre, to show to the whole country and to the county of Evreux, that the war they were carrying on was in behalf of these children, and for the inheritance which belonged to them in right of their mother, and which the king of Navarre wrongfully withheld. However, the greater part of the men at arms were so much attached to the king of Navarre, that they would not quit his service: the Navarrois who were collected in Bayeux, as well as those whom he had sent thither, maintained the war for him handsomely.

The king of France ordered commissioners to Montpellier, to seize all the lands and lordships which were in the possession of the king of Navarre. When these commissioners, sir William des Dormans and sir John le Mercier, were arrived at Montpellier, they sent for the principal inhabitants, to whom they showed their instructions. Those of Montpellier obeyed. Indeed it was necessary for them to do so; for had they acted otherwise they would have suffered for it, as the duke of Anjou and the constable of France had entered their territories with a considerable force, who wished for nothing better than to carry the war thither. Two knights of Normandy, governors of Montpellier for the king of Navarre, were made prisoners by orders of the king of France, as were also sir Guy de Graville and sir Liger d'Argesi, who remained a long time in confinement. Thus was the town of Montpellier and all the barony seized by the French.

We will now return to the army of Normandy, and relate how the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere went on. They advanced to Bayeux, and laid siege to it. The garrison-towns of Navarre had closed their gates against the French, and showed no intentions of speedily surrendering them. When the king of Navarre heard that the French had seized the town and territory of Montpellier, and that a large army was in the county of Evreux, where they were pillaging and destroying his towns and castles, he held many conferences on these subjects with those in whom he placed the greatest trust. It was determined in these councils, that as he could not receive any assistance but from England, he should send thither a person in whom he confided, with credential letters, to know if the young king Richard and his council were willing to form an alliance with him, and to assure them, that from henceforward he would swear to be true and loyal to the English, and would place in their hands all the castles which he possessed in Normandy. To execute this embassy to England, he called to him a lawyer in whom he greatly trusted, and said to him: "Master Paschal, you will set out for England, and manage so as to return to me with good news, for from this day forward I will be steady in my alliance with the English."

Master Paschal prepared to do what he had been ordered; and, having made himself ready, he embarked, made sail, and landed in Cornwall; and from thence journeyed on until he arrived at Sheen, near London, where the king resided. He approached his person, and recommended to his majesty his lord the king of Navarre. The king entertained him handsomely. There were present the earl of Salisbury and sir Simon Burley, who entered into

the conversation and answered for the king, saying his majesty would shortly come to London, and summon his council on a day fixed on between them.

Master Paschal, at this council, informed the king of all that he had been charged to say: he harangued so ably and eloquently, that he was listened to with pleasure. The council for the king replied, that the offers which the king of Navarre had made were worth attending to; but that, in order to form so extensive an alliance as the king of Navarre was desirous of making, it would be necessary for him to come over himself, that he might more fully explain everything, for the affair seemed well deserving of it. On this, the council broke up, and master Paschal returned to Navarre, when he related to the king that the young king of England and his council were desirous of seeing him. The king replied, he would go thither, and ordered a vessel, called a lin*, to be prepared, which sails with all winds, and without danger. He embarked on board this vessel, with a small attendance: he, however, took with him sir Martin de la Carra and master Paschal. The king of France, some little time before he set out for Rouen, had conceived a great hatred against the king of Navarre: he was informed secretly, by some of his household, of all his negotiations with England: in consequence, he had managed so well with king Henry of Castille, that he had sent the king of Navarre his defiance, and had commenced a severe war against him. The king of Navarre had therefore, before his embarkation, left the viscount de Castillon, the lord de Lestrac, sir Peter de Vienne, and Bascle, with a large body of men at arms, as well from his own country as from the county of Foix, with orders to defend his kingdom and his forts against the Spaniards. He embarked with a very favourable wind, which landed him in Cornwall, from whence he journeyed until he came to Windsor, where king Richard and his council were. He was received there with great joy; for they thought they might gain much from him in Normandy, more especially the castle of Cherbourg, which the English were very desirous of possessing.

The king of Navarre explained to the king of England and his council, in a clear manner, with eloquent language, his wants, and his reasons for coming, so that he was willingly attended to, and received such promises of succour that he was well satisfied. I will inform you what treaties were entered into between the two kings.

The king of Navarre engaged to remain for ever true and loyal to the English, and never to make any peace with the kings of France or Castille without the consent of the king of England. He engaged to put the castle of Cherbourg into the hands of the king of England, who was to guard it for three years at his own costs and charges, but the lordship and sovereignty of it were to remain in the king of Navarre. If the English should be able, by force of arms, to gain any of the towns or castles which the king of Navarre then had in Normandy, from the French, they were to remain with the English; the lordship, however, resting in the king of Navarre†. The English were much pleased with these terms, because they gained a good entrance to France through Normandy, which was very convenient for them.

The king of England promised to send, at this season, a thousand spears and two thousand archers, by the river Gironde, from Bordeaux to Bayonne; and these men at arms were to enter Navarre, and make war on the king of Castille. They were not to quit the king nor the kingdom of Navarre so long as there should be war between the kings of Navarre and Castille. But these men at arms and archers, on entering the territories of Navarre, were to be paid and clothed by the king of Navarre as was becoming them, and on the same footing as the king of England was accustomed to pay his soldiers.

Different treaties, alliances, and regulations were drawn up, signed, sealed, and sworn to, between the kings of England and Navarre, which were tolerably well observed. In this council, the king named such members as were ordered to Normandy, and those who were to go to Navarre: because neither the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, nor the duke of Brittany, were present at these treaties, it was resolved to send copies sealed to them, in order that they might hasten to invade Normandy.

* "Lin."—a felucca, or small frigate.—*Du Cange.*

† See Rymer—for the passport to the king of Navarre, and the treaty at length, an. reg. Ric. II.

The passport for Charles of Navarre is dated a year later than Froissart mentions. It is in Rymer dated the 12th August, from the manor of Clarendon, 1370, to continue to the feast of St. John Baptist following, for five hundred persons.

CHAPTER XV.—THE LORDS DE COUCY AND DE LA RIVIERE TAKE SEVERAL PLACES IN THE COUNTY OF EVREUX FROM THE KING OF NAVARRE.

KING CHARLES of France, being wise and subtle (as his whole life plainly showed,) had received information of the armament in England, but was ignorant whither it was to sail, to Normandy or Brittany. On account of these doubts, he had kept in the latter country a large body of men at arms, under the command of the lords de Clisson, de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lords de Beaumanoir and de Rochefort. They had besieged Brest by block-houses only, to prevent any provision from entering. The governor of Brest was a valiant English squire called James Clerk.

Now, because the king of France knew of the king of Navarre's voyage to England, in the hopes of forming an alliance with his adversary the king of England, he suspected that this naval armament would land in Normandy, and seize by force those castles which belonged to the king of Navarre: he therefore in haste sent orders to the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, stating to them his suspicions, with orders to conquer, by the speediest modes possible, all castles, more particularly such as were near to the sea-coasts, by force or by negotiation. He knew that Cherbourg was not easy to be taken, and also that it could not be reinforced on the land side.

The king of France had likewise ordered large bodies of men at arms to Valognes* from the lower parts of Brittany. Sir Oliver du Guesclin commanded the Bretons; and the lord d'Ivoy and sir Perceval were the leaders of the Normans. The lords de Coucy and de la Riviere had besieged the city of Bayeux with a great force, which was daily increasing from the additions the king of France was sending to them from all quarters. Bayeux is a handsome and strong city near the sea, which at that time belonged to the king of Navarre. The citizens (finding themselves thus besieged by their neighbours, who told them, that if the town were taken by storm, they would all inevitably be destroyed, both men and women, and the town re-peopled with another set of inhabitants,) began to be seriously alarmed. They saw no appearance of assistance coming to them, but, on the contrary, found themselves in opposition to the lord Charles de Navarre, to whom the county of Evreux belonged, in right of succession to his late mother. The inhabitants also listened to the harangues of the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, who, with impressive language, showed them the dangers into which they were running: knowing likewise that their bishop was well inclined towards the French, they thought, considering all things, it would be much better for them to surrender their city from affection, as they were required to do by the above-mentioned lords, than to remain in such peril. The inhabitants of Bayeux demanded a truce for three days; during which time, a treaty was so far concluded that the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere entered the city, and took possession of it for the king of France, as his acknowledged commissaries. The attorney-general was sent thither on the part of the children of Navarre, who were present during all the negotiations.

The two lords renewed all the officers of the city, and, for fear of a rebellion, left a body of good men at arms: they then marched off to lay siege to Carentan, a handsome and strong town situated on the sea-shore, and in the district of Caen. The inhabitants of Carentan were without any governor of note: indeed, they had not had one since sir Eustace d'Ambreticourt, who had been their governor for four years, and had died there; so that they had not any to look to for advice but themselves: they knew also that the admiral of France, sir John de Vienne, in conjunction with the Spanish admiral, and a large force, were before Cherbourg, but were ignorant of the treaties of the king of Navarre, as well as unacquainted with the result of his journey to England. They were attacked every day in two different manners; by words and arms; for the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere were very anxious to gain this town, and succeeded in winning it by capitulation: they put it under the obedience of the king of France, reserving the rights of the two sons of the king of Navarre.

* "Valognes,"—a town in Normandy; it lies between Cherbourg and Carentan.

These lords of France readily granted very favourable terms, in order to get possession of such towns and castles as they wanted by the most expeditious means. They took possession of Carentan, reinforcing it with men at arms: they then departed, and came before the castle of Molineaux *, which in three days capitulated. They advanced to Conches †, and encamped on the banks of the beautiful river Or e, which runs by Caen, and there refreshed themselves, until they knew the inclinations of the inhabitants, who shortly surrendered on terms; for the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere having the heir of Navarre with them, gave a good colour to their proceedings.

However, when any town or castle surrendered itself to the king of France, or to his commissaries, there was a condition in the treaty, that all those who chose to depart might go wherever they pleased: those who did depart only went to Evreux, of which Ferrando, a Navarrois, was governor. After the conquest of Conches, which was gained, as you have heard, by treaty, they advanced before Passy ‡, where there was an assault: many were killed and wounded on both sides. That same day, the castle surrendered to the king of France: they then marched away. In short, all that the king of Navarre possessed in Normandy surrendered, excepting Evreux and Cherbourg. When they had won different small forts, and placed the whole country under the obedience of the king of France, they laid siege to Evreux, which was cut off from any communication with Cherbourg.

In Evreux there was, according to custom, the strongest garrison of Navarrois in Normandy; and the inhabitants never perfectly loved any other lord but the king of Navarre. The place was closely besieged. It held out for a long time: for Ferrando, the governor, performed in person several gallant deeds of arms. About this time the king of Navarre, being returned to his own country, expected to have had some assistance from the English; but it does not appear that he had any succours from them, for the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, before these treaties had been entered on, had experienced very contrary winds for their voyage to Normandy, and so numerous a levy as had been ordered of four thousand men at arms and eight thousand archers, could not immediately be assembled at Southampton, where they were to embark. It was St. John Baptist's day before they were all collected and had sailed from England. The earl of Salisbury and sir John Arundel were still at Plymouth, who ought to have reinforced Brest and Hennebon §; but they had wanted wind, so that they joined the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge's army. They landed on the Isle of Wight, where they remained some time waiting for intelligence, and to know whether they should sail for Normandy or Brittany: they there learnt that the French fleet was at sea, on which sir John Arundel was ordered back to Southampton, with two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, to defend that place.

CHAPTER XVI.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU RETAINS LARGE BODIES OF MEN AT ARMS AGAINST THE ENGLISH.—THE SPANIARDS LAY SIEGE TO BAYONNE.

On account of the information the king of France had received from the Normans, that the English were in great force at sea, but doubtful whither it was directed, he had issued a special summons throughout his realm for every knight and squire, according to his degree, to keep himself fully prepared to march to whatever part he should be ordered. The duke of Anjou had also, at this period, retained large bodies of men at arms from all quarters, with the intention of laying siege to Bordeaux. He had with him his brother the duke of Berry, the constable of France, and all the flower of knighthood from Gascony, Auvergne, Poitou and Limousin. In order to carry their enterprise, he had raised an immense army, and had also, with the consent of the king of France, collected two hundred thousand francs in Languedoc; but he could not at present undertake this siege, for the king of France had recalled the duke of Berry, the constable and other barons, on whose assistance

* "Molineaux,"—a village in Normandy, election of Caen.

† "Conches,"—a market town in Normandy, near Evreux.

‡ "Passy,"—a town in Normandy, four leagues from Evreux.

§ "Hennebon." Denys Sauvage thinks it should be Aubray, or Derval, instead of Hennebon.

he had depended, as it was well known the English were at sea, but uncertain in what part of the kingdom they would attempt to land. Notwithstanding this expedition from Languedoc had failed, the poor people who had been so hard pressed to pay such large sums were never repaid any part.

The king of Castille, about this time, laid siege to Bayonne with full twenty thousand Spaniards and Castillians: he began the siege in the winter, and continued it through that whole season. Many gallant deeds were performed there by sea and land, for Roderigo le Roux, don Fernando de Castille, Ambrose de Boccanegra and Peter Bascle, lay at anchor before Bayonne with two hundred vessels, and gave sufficiency of employment to its inhabitants. The governor of the town at the time was a right valiant knight from England, called sir Matthew Gournay. His good sense and prowess were, as I have been informed, of great assistance to the townsmen. I have heard from some of those who were besieged, that the Spaniards would have succeeded in their attempt on Bayonne, had not a great mortality afflicted their army, so that out of five who were taken ill three died.

King Henry had with him a necromancer from Toledo, who declared that the whole air was poisoned and corrupted, and that no remedy could be had for it without risking the death of all. In consequence of this decision, the king broke up the siege; but the Spaniards and Bretons had conquered a number of small forts and castles in the adjacent country, into which they entered; and the king went to refresh himself at la Coulongne *. He sent his constable, with ten thousand men, to lay siege to Pampeluna.

In that city were the viscount de Castillon, the lord de Lescut and le Bascle, with two hundred lances in the whole, who carefully guarded the place. The king of Navarre, who had but lately returned from England, resided at Tudelle, impatiently expecting the succours which were to come to him from England, and which indeed had been ordered; for, by directions from the king and council, the lord Neville and sir Thomas de Termes †, were at Plymouth, or in that neighbourhood, with about one thousand men at arms and two thousand archers, and were laying in their stores for the voyage to Bordeaux; but they had not met with a passage according to their wishes.

With regard to the great army under the command of the duke of Lancaster, at last it landed near to St. Malo: news of which was soon carried to the Breton lords of the French party, and immediately the viscount de Belliere, sir Henry de Malatrait and the lord de Combor, left their habitations and flung themselves into St. Malo with two hundred men at arms, to the great joy of Morfonace the governor, who otherwise would have been hardly pushed.

CHAPTER XVII.—THE ENGLISH, AT THIS PERIOD, MAKE EXCURSIONS INTO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE.—THE MELANCHOLY DEATH OF EVAN OF WALES.

Sir John Arundel, who had remained at Southampton with his two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers, received information from some prisoners who had been taken in a Norman vessel, that the duke of Lancaster had well scoured the ports of Normandy, so that none of the French dared to put to sea. He directly ordered his vessels and four large ships to be got ready, laden with provisions, in which he embarked, and made sail for Cherbourg, where he was joyfully received. The castle remained under the guard of the English, on the departure of the Navarrois; but sir Peter de Basle, the governor, did not leave it. I must inform you, that Cherbourg is only to be conquered by famine; for it is one of the strongest castles in the world: the garrison made many profitable excursions on those of Valognes. Sir John Arundel, after he had garrisoned Cherbourg with English, remained there but fifteen days to re-victual it, and returned to Southampton, of which he was governor.

We will now speak of the siege of St. Malo. When the English entered the harbour, they found therein a number of vessels from La Rochelle, laden with good wines; the merchants were soon eased of them, and their vessels burnt. The siege of St. Malo was directly

* "La Coulongne." Sala calls it Calongne. Q. if not Orogne.
† "De Termes." Q. Sir Thomas Trivet.

commenced, for they were in sufficient numbers to undertake it: they overran the country, and did much damage. Those who were most active in this business were sir Robert Knolles, and sir Hugh Broc his nephew, who were well acquainted with those parts. These two made excursions daily, and the canon de Robesart in company with them. Some days they lost, and at others gained: they, however, burnt and destroyed all round St. Malo.

The army of the duke of Lancaster had plenty of provision, for they had brought with them large quantities from England. Many severe assaults were made on St. Malo, and the attacks as ably resisted, for there were several men at arms within it not easily to be conquered. The lords of the army caused the carpenters to make sheds, under which they could with greater ease carry on their attacks; they had four hundred cannons pointed against the different parts of the town, which very much harassed its inhabitants. Among the various assaults, there was one which was particularly severe, for it lasted a whole day, and many English were killed and wounded: those within made so prudent a defence as not to lose a man: a knight from England called sir Peter l'Escume, was slain, for whose death the duke and the earl were sorely vexed. We will now return for a while to the siege of Mortain-sur-mer in Poitou, and to Evan of Wales.

Evan of Wales had closely blockaded Mortain in Poitou, of which place the souldich de l'Estrade was governor, and had erected four block-houses: the first was built on the edge of a rock before the castle, on the Garonne, and Evan had posted himself within it: the second was built between the water and the lower castle, opposite to a postern gate, from which none could issue without the certainty of being taken: the third was on the opposite side of the castle: the fourth was the church of St. Leger, near half a league from the fort. The inhabitants of Mortain were long sorely harassed by these means, for the blockade lasted upwards of a year and a half, in which time they were hardly pushed for provision and other necessaries, having neither stockings nor shoes to their feet; but what was the most grievous, they did not see any appearance of succour being sent to them.

During the time of this siege, there came out of England, and from the borders of Wales, a Welsh squire named John Lambe, who was scarcely a gentleman; and indeed he showed it, for no gentleman would ever have practised such base wickedness. It was said, that on his departure from England, he had been instigated by some English knights to perform the treason he did; for Evan of Wales was greatly hated in England and Gascony, on account of the captal de Buch, whom he had made prisoner before Soubise in Poitou, and whose ransom could never be obtained either by the exchange of the count de St. Pol or by any other, nor for any sum of money that could be offered: this caused his death, through melancholy, in the Temple at Paris, to the very great regret of all his friends.

About this time John Lambe arrived in Brittany, and continued his journey until he came to Poitou: he was honourably received everywhere, by calling himself one of Evan's friends and speaking very good French. He said he was come from Wales to visit Evan, and was too lightly believed. For these reasons he was escorted by the men of Poitou to Mortain, where the siege was going forward. John Lambe advanced towards Evan, when, falling on his knees, he said in his country language, that he had left Wales to see and serve him. Evan, not harbouring the least suspicion, received him kindly, thanked him for coming, and accepted his offers of service: he then asked the news from Wales. He told him enough of true and false, and made him believe that the whole principality was desirous of having him for their lord. This information gained so much the love of Evan (for every one naturally would wish to return to his own country) that he immediately appointed him his chamberlain. John won daily on the affection of Evan: there was no one in whom he had so great a confidence. Evan's regard increased so fast that evil befel him, for which it was great pity, for he was a valiant knight, a good man, and the son of a prince of Wales whom king Edward had caused to be beheaded, but on what account I am ignorant.

The king of England had seized his lands in Wales; and this Evan, in his infancy, having come to France, explained his situation to king Philip, who willingly listened to him, retained him near his person, and as long as he lived he was one of the pages of his chamber, with his nephews d'Alençons and several other young nobles. He was also retained by king John, under whom he bore arms, and was at the battle of Poitiers, but fortunately escaped,

otherwise death would soon have followed his captivity. On the peace between France and England, he went to Lombardy, where he continued to bear arms; and, on the renewal of the war, he returned to France, and conducted himself so well that he was much praised and loved by the king of France, and by all the great lords. I will now tell his end, which I shall do unwillingly; but it is necessary to show to posterity what became of him.

Evan of Wales had a custom during the siege of Mortain, as soon as he was risen, if it were a fine morning, to seat himself before the castle, when he had his hair combed and plaited for a considerable length of time, during which he viewed the castle, and the surrounding country, for he had not the smallest dread from any quarter: it was not usual for any one to attend him as a guard but this John Lambe. Very often it happened that he there completely dressed himself; and, if any one had business with him, they went there to seek him. On his last visit it was early morn and fine clear weather, and the heat of the night had prevented him from sleeping: he went thither all unbuttoned, with only his jacket and shirt, and his cloak thrown over him, when he seated himself as usual, attended by John Lambe. All the others were asleep, and no guard was kept, for he considered the castle of Mortain as conquered. After Evan had seated himself on the trunk of a tree, he said to John Lambe, "Go and seek my comb, for that will refresh me a little." He answered, "Willingly, my lord." On his way to seek for the comb, or when returning with it, the devil must have entered the body of this John; for with the comb he brought a short Spanish dagger that had a broad point, to accomplish his evil intentions: he struck this dagger into Evan, whose body was almost naked, and pierced him through, so that he fell down dead. After he had performed this deed, he left the dagger in the body, set off, and went slowly to the barriers of the castle, wherein he was received by the guards, to whom he made himself known, and was conducted to the souldich de l'Estrade. "My lord," said he to the souldich, "I have delivered you from one of the greatest enemies you ever had." "From whom?" replied the souldich. "From Evan of Wales," answered John. "By what means?" demanded the souldich. "By such means," said John, and then related to him the circumstances you have just heard. When the souldich heard this, he shook his head, and, eyeing him with anger, replied, "Thou hast murdered him; but know from me, that if we did not reap much advantage from thy wicked deed, I would have thy head cut off: what is done, however, cannot be undone; but such a death is unworthy of a gentleman, and we shall have more blame than praise for it *."

Thus was Evan of Wales killed by a wicked and treasonable act, to the great grief of the army and all manner of people. King Charles of France particularly lamented his loss, but he could not help it. Evan of Wales was buried in the church of St. Leger, which he had converted into a fort, half a league distant from the castle of Mortain, and all the gentlemen of the army attended his obsequies, which were very grandly performed.

The siege of Mortain was not, however, discontinued for this loss. There were very good knights from Brittany, Poitou, and France, who had resolved never to quit it unless forced by superior numbers; and they were more eager than before to conquer the castle, by way of revenge for the death of Evan. They remained in the same position, without making any assaults, for they knew the garrison were exceedingly straightened for provision, and that none could enter the place. We will leave this siege for a short time, and return to that of St. Malo; but we will first mention how those who had besieged Evreux persevered in it.

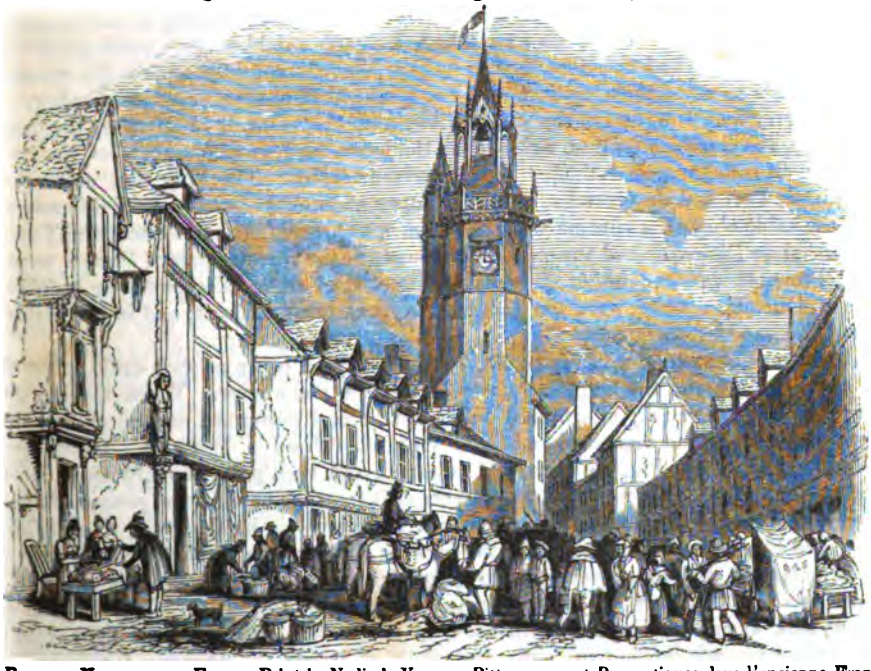
* It would appear, however, from the following extract from the Fœdera, under the year 1381, of payments made on account of the war in Aquitaine, that John Lambe was sent on purpose to murder Evan: at least he is recompensed for it:

"Item paie le xviii jour de Septembre à Johan Lambe & à ses deux compagnions, en recompensacion & regarde, si bien de les bons & agréables services qu' il a fait à monsieur le prince, que Dieu assoile, & fera au roi q'ore est, come de la mourt de You de Galles.—C francs."

After all the inquiries I have been able to make, I have not succeeded in identifying Evan of Wales with any known character in the old Welsh books. In the works of David Nanmor, who flourished from about 1430 to 1470, there is a passage, where the poet, in looking for more happy times than his own in futurity, among other predictions announces the coming of Ievan Dyvi, or Evan of Dovy. Now this Evan of Dovy must have been some person of celebrity, at some period prior to the time of the writer before-mentioned, whose fame is totally obscured, probably owing to the danger of espousing the cause of that personage, from his being hostile to the existing government. This seems to be the only reason for the ambiguity of the poet, and it seems also satisfactorily to account for the silence of all the Welsh writers respecting Evan of Wales.

CHAPTER XVIII.—THE INHABITANTS OF EVREUX SURRENDER TO THE FRENCH.—THE TWO ARMIES ASSEMBLE BEFORE ST. MALO.

The siege of Evreux being formed by the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere, they had frequent communication with the king of France, who had fixed his residence at Rouen to be as near his army as possible. He was desirous they should gain Evreux, either by storm or capitulation, as soon as might be, for he knew the English were in great force in Brittany: he ordered, therefore, all his troops to advance thither to raise the siege of St. Malo, and to combat the English. These two lords acquitted themselves loyally and valiantly, for every day there were assaults as well as negotiations going forward. They sent to remonstrate with the inhabitants on their folly in thus having war made upon them with the risk of losing their fortunes and having their houses razed to the ground; for they had their lawful lord with



Evreux, Normandy.—From a Print in Nodier's Voyages Pittoresques et Romantiques dans l'ancienne France.

them, the lord Charles de Navarre, to whom, by right of succession from his mother, the county of Evreux had devolved. They advised them, therefore, not to attend to the erroneous opinions of that madman Ferrando of Navarre, who was there only to ruin them; for they must well know that the goodness of their cause would never allow them to march from thence without having conquered it; and, should it be taken by storm, every one would be put to the sword, and the town re-peopled with new inhabitants. Such were the offers, speeches, and menaces to the townsmen of Evreux; but these did not prevent daily assaults from being made.

The inhabitants at last began to waver, on seeing that no succour was likely to be sent them; and they said to each other, "We see that the king of France does not claim the territory for himself, but for his nephew." They therefore entered into a treaty with the lord de Coucy. When Ferrando perceived this, he shut himself up in the castle, and would not be present at any of the meetings. In short, they surrendered on their lives and fortunes

being spared, whether they were in town or country, and acknowledged the lord Charles for their lord. They then besieged Ferrando in the castle, who negotiated with the lords of France, and offered to surrender the castle if they would permit him and his men freely to depart. His offer was accepted. Shortly after, they packed up their baggage, and marched out of Evreux, under the conduct of the lords de Coucy, de la Riviere, and sir John le Mercier, taking the road to Cherbourg.

After the conquest of Evreux, all the leaders of the French army went to Rouen, where the king resided, in order to consider what was next for them to do; for they had heard that the English were besieging St. Malo. The king of France received them very graciously; in particular, the lords de Coucy and de la Riviere; for having so well succeeded in their exploits. All the men at arms remained in Normandy: not one of their captains were dismissed, but were regularly paid their allowances. The king of France, during his residence at Rouen, had heard of the English having laid siege to St. Malo with a powerful army, and that the inhabitants were hard pressed by their daily assaults. He was unwilling to lose his subjects, as well as the town; for if St. Malo were taken, Brittany would be very much weakened in that part. The king had therefore, to this purpose, issued a special summons for assembling troops, in order to assist them against the English, which no one dared to disobey. The dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the count d'Alençon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Guines, sir John de Boulogne, and great numbers of barons and knights of all sorts, marched thither with numerous forces. The king sent orders to his constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, to see that none absented themselves from this assembly.

The constable obeyed, and came with all the men at arms of Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine. The marshal de Blainville and the marshal de Sancerre, the two marshals of France, were also there. From other parts came sir Olivier de Clisson, the lord de Léon, with the knights and barons of Brittany: there were ten thousand men at arms at least, and in the plains one hundred thousand horses *.

These men at arms took up their quarters as near to each other as they could; but there were between them and the English an arm of the sea and a river. When the sea ebbed, some young knights usually adventured on the sands, and performed several gallant deeds. Never was there seen so numerous an assembly of knighthood in Brittany. If the French were in great force, the English were very powerful, and each party thought there must be a combat, for every day there was an appearance of it from the banners and pennons fluttering in the wind. The English frequently drew out their army in battle-array, to examine the force of the French and the strength of the banners and pennons, which were there in very great abundance. It was a great pleasure to see them thus drawn out in a line of battle, and advance towards the river, to show that they were ready to engage. The English said, "Let us look at our enemies, who will soon, at low water, cross over and fight with us." But they had no such inclination, and were afraid of trying the chance; for their leaders would not allow them to advance to the combat.

During these frequent displays on each side, the earl of Cambridge, being fatigued with their inutility, declared with an oath, that if he saw them continued without any further advance made towards a battle, he would engage the French himself, whatever might be the consequence. The van-guard, composed of numbers of able men under the command of the constable, who well knew the hot and impatient temper of the English, were ordered to draw up their battalions on foot, on the sands as near to the river as possible. The earl of Cambridge, who saw this manœuvre, cried out, "Let them who love me follow me, for I am going to engage!" He then dashed into the river, which was low, but the tide was returning, and he began to cross it with his banner: the English commenced shooting at the French, when the constable ordered his men to retreat to the fields, in hopes the English would have crossed; for very willingly would he have seen them do so, and have had them on the other side of the water.

The duke of Lancaster was prepared, with a very strong battalion, to follow his brother, should there have been occasion. He said to Gerard de Brees, a squire from Hainault who was near him; "Gerard, see how my brother ventures: he shows the French by his example

* Denys Sauvage doubts if this number of horses be not too great.

his willingness for the combat, but they have no such inclination." Thus was this business carried on, without any deeds of arms being performed worth mentioning: the French keeping on one side the water, the English on the other. The flood beginning to increase, the English retreated out of the river, and returned to their quarters: the French followed their example. Whilst these appearances of a battle were carried on, the siege of St. Malo was continued, and several feats of arms were done. The French guarded the banks so well, that the English were afraid to cross the water.

It frequently happened that several knights or squires of Brittany, well acquainted with the country, forded the river, and in their excursions met the English foragers, with whom they engaged; and success, as is usual in such cases, was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. The lords of England resolved to employ a mine, to gain entrance into St. Malo; for otherwise they thought they could not win it, as it was well provided with men at arms, who carefully defended it, as well as with all sorts of stores and artillery. The English were obliged to be continually armed, and to keep in a body ready for battle, should the French advance; and for this reason, they had not leisure to assault the town, except by their cannon, of which they had plenty, that greatly annoyed it. Having fixed on a spot, they set their miners to work. We will now leave for a while the siege of St. Malo, and return to that of Mortain in Poitou.

CHAPTER XIX.—THE ENGLISH RAISE THE SIEGE OF MORTAIN.

You have before heard related the death of Evan of Wales, how he was murdered, and how the Bretons and Poitevins were before Mortain, under the command of sir James de Montmort, sir Perceval d'Ayneval, sir William de Montcontour, and sir James de Surgeres, who would not break up the siege, for they were much enraged at the death of Evan of Wales their commander, and wished to revenge themselves on the garrison for it. You have also heard how sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Scrope, sir Thomas Breton, sir William Cendrine, with a large body of men at arms and archers, had been ordered to the country near Bordeaux, and to assist those in Mortain, with sir Matthew Gournay, who resided in Bayonne, and who daily found employment there against the Gascons and barons possessing fortresses in those parts. These four knights had remained with their men upwards of seven months at Plymouth, waiting a favourable wind to carry them to Gascony, which, though it vexed them much, they could not help themselves.

You have heard likewise that the lord Neville of Raby had been ordered with a body of men at arms and archers to the assistance of the king of Navarre, with the appointment of sénéschal of Bordeaux. All these knights met at Plymouth, which was very agreeable to every one of them. On the arrival of the lord Neville, they had a wind to their wish, and, having embarked on board the vessels that had been long laden, they set their sails, and steered for Gascony. This fleet consisted of six score vessels and forty barges, having on board about a thousand men at arms and two thousand archers. They had favourable weather, which carried them into the port of Bordeaux, the night of Our Lady, in September, in the year of grace 1378.

When the Bretons and Poitevins who were before Mortain saw this great fleet pass by, with trumpets sounding and every sign of joy, they were much cast down; while, on the contrary, the garrison were rejoiced, for they justly imagined they should very soon be relieved, or that there would be a battle, as they thought they never would have come so far to remain idle. Sir James de Montmort and the other leaders of the army assembled in council, and debated for some time in what manner they should act; they repented they had neglected to accept the offers of negotiating; for the souldich de l'Estrade had, a short time before, proposed a parley, and offered to surrender the castle, on the garrison being allowed to march in safety to Bordeaux; but the French would not listen to it. However, they now sent a herald to say, they would accept of their terms: but the souldich replied, he would have nothing to say to them; that he did not want to capitulate, for that the reinforcements he looked for were arrived; and that they might remain or march away, as should please

themselves. Things remained thus, when the lord Neville and the English arrived at Bordeaux, where they were magnificently received by sir William Helmen, sénéschal des Landes, sir John de Multon, mayor of Bordeaux, the archbishop, the ladies, and citizens.

Soon after his arrival, he issued a summons to the knights and squires of Gascony attached to England, and collected so many vessels that four thousand embarked on board of them, and sailed down the river Garonne, to raise the siege of Mortain. News was soon carried to the French army, that the English and Gascons were coming down the river in great force to raise the siege: upon this, the leaders called another council, wherein it was resolved, that as they were not sufficiently strong to wait for their enemies, it was better to give up their lost time than to run a greater danger; having ordered their trumpets to sound, they marched away without doing anything more, and retreated into Poitou. All, however, did not march off, for a company of Bretons and Welsh, who had been attached to Evan of Wales, retired into the blockhouse of St. Leger, which they said would hold out against every force, and dragged all their artillery in with them. The English and Gascon knights, who came full sail down the river Garonne, cast anchor in its mouth before Mortain; when they disembarked leisurely, and as they landed drew up in order of battle to attack the fort of St. Leger, into which the Bretons and Welsh had retired. Immediately a sharp attack commenced. Whilst this assault was going on, the lord Neville sent a herald to the castle to speak with the souldich, and to inquire how he was. The herald performed his message, and reported that they were in good health, but so naked they had not a shoe to their feet nor a coat to their backs. The attack on St. Leger lasted three hours; and the assailants gained nothing, but had several wounded. The barons then encamped, with the intent of not departing thence before they had conquered it, and were much vexed that the lord de Montmort and the other lords were not shut up in this fort: those lords had very wisely marched off, and had left the Bretons.

CHAPTER XX.—THE ENGLISH RECOVER SEVERAL STRONG CASTLES FROM THE FRENCH IN THE BOURDELOIS.

The lord Neville and the English knights, on the morrow, gave orders for the assault being renewed: the trumpets sounded for the attack, and each company advanced to the fort St. Leger, when it began marvellously fierce. That fort is situated on a rock which cannot easily be approached, and the weakest side is defended by wide ditches. The assailants laboured hard, but got nothing except many killed and wounded. The attack ceased; when they thought it most advisable to fill up the ditches as well as they could, that they might gain more advantage in their next assault. Having filled up the ditches with much difficulty, the Bretons who were within the fort began to be more alarmed than before, and not without reason; so they entered into a treaty. The lords from England, being as anxious to assist the king of Navarre as to recover several places which the Bretons held in the Bourdelois, readily listened to their proposals. The fort of St. Leger was surrendered, on condition that the garrison should depart without danger to themselves or fortunes, and be conducted whither they chose to go. Thus was the fort of St. Leger won by the English; when the principal lords went into Mortain, and found there the souldich de l'Estrade and his party in the manner the herald had described them. He was immediately accommodated suitably to his rank, and the castle re-victualled and reinforced with fresh troops. They then returned by the river Garonne to Bordeaux the same way they had come.

When these knights were recruiting themselves in Bordeaux, they learnt that a baron held a fort called St. Maubert, six leagues distant, in Medoc, from whence he much harassed the country. They embarked on the Garonne great provision of stores and artillery, and, having mounted their horses, marched by land to St. Maubert, with about three hundred spears. The Gascons who accompanied lord Neville in this expedition were, sir Archibald de Greilly, the lords de Roussy, de Duras, and de Tournon. On the arrival of these barons with their forces before St. Maubert, they encamped, and soon after began an assault, which at the onset was very severe; for the Bretons who were in St. Maubert were men of

courage, and had for their captain a person called Huguelin, round whom they rallied, and by whose advice they acted with vigour.

These first attacks did no harm to the Bretons; when the English retired to their quarters, and on the morrow erected their engines to cast stones, in order to break through the roof of the tower in which they resided. On the third day they ordered an assault, and said such a ruffianly crew could not hold out much longer. This attack was sharp, and many were slain; for never did men defend themselves better than these Bretons: however, seeing that no assistance was likely to come to them, they entered into a treaty: for they found they would never be left in quiet until they were conquered. Treaties were concluded between them and the lords of the army, that they should surrender St. Maubert, and march out without any damage to themselves or fortunes, and should retire into Poitou, or wherever they chose, and be conducted thither.

When lord Neville had gained St. Maubert, he had it repaired, re-victualled, and provided with artillery: he placed therein Gascons to guard it, and appointed a squire from Gascony, called Peter de Prefias, governor, and then returned to Bordeaux. The English at Bordeaux received daily information that Pampeluna in Navarre was besieged, under the conduct of the infant of Castille; but they neither heard from the king of Navarre nor that king from them, which very much displeased him. We will now return to the affairs of Brittany and Normandy, and tell how the siege of St. Malo continued.

CHAPTER XXI.—THE MINE WHICH THE ENGLISH HAD MADE AT ST. MALO FAILS; IN CONSEQUENCE, THE SIEGE IS RAISED.

There were many grand attacks made by the English on St. Malo, during the siege; for they had full four hundred cannon, which fired day and night against the town and castle. The governor, whose name was Morfonace, a valiant man at arms, was resolved to defend it well, aided by the councils of sir Hervé de Malatrait, the lord de Combor and the viscount de la Belliere, and had so far succeeded that there was not as yet any apparent damage. In the adjacent country, as I have before said, was the flower of France, as well great lords as others; they amounted to sixteen thousand men at arms, knights and squires, with upwards of one hundred thousand horses. They were as willing for the combat as the English could be; but each of them fought to have an advantage: what, however, prevented this from happening several times was the large river, when the tide was in, between the two armies, which hindered them from attacking each other. The mine was advancing, of which the inhabitants of St. Malo had some suspicions. In such large armies as these, it was not possible but that the foragers of each should frequently have rencounters, in which fortune favoured sometimes one party, and sometimes the other; for there were very expert and youthful knights of each army who sought for such exploits. The miners of the duke of Lancaster laboured hard at their work day and night, to carry it under the town and throw down part of the walls, so that the men at arms and archers might easily gain an entrance.

Morfonace and the knights in the town guessed what they were about, and knew well that if they should succeed they were ruined. They did not fear their other assaults, for the town was well provided with all sorts of stores and artillery for two years, if necessary: wherefore they considered how they might best counteract this mine. After having long consulted, they succeeded in their attempt: it was in some sort accidental, for things fell out with extraordinary good fortune for them.

Richard, earl of Arundel, was on guard one night with his people, but he was very inattentive to obey the orders he had received, of which the garrison were informed by their spies or otherwise. When they had fixed on an hour in which they imagined the army (trusting to lord Arundel's want of vigilance) would be fast asleep, they sallied from the town very secretly, and advanced to where the miners were at work, who had little more to do to complete their mine. Morfonace and his company, being prepared to accomplish their enterprise, destroyed the mine at their ease; and some of the workmen who were within were never seen afterwards, as the mine fell upon them.

When they had finished this business, they said they would awaken the guard next the town, in order that they might know with what success their gallantry had been crowned. They advanced to one of the wings of the army, shouting their war-cry, cutting down tents, and slaying all they met, so that the whole army was seriously alarmed. Morfonace and his companions retreated into St. Malo without any loss; during which time the English armed themselves, and advanced in front of the duke's division, who was much astonished at this event: he demanded how it could have happened, when they informed him, that by the negligence of the guard, the mine had been destroyed, and they had suffered a great loss. Upon this, the earl of Arundel was sent for and sharply reprimanded by the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge for his neglect: he excused himself as well as he was able, but was so greatly ashamed that he had rather have lost several thousand pounds. After the destruction of the mine, the principal chiefs held a council to determine how they should act. They saw they had lost the season of the year, which was not to be regained; for should they attempt another mine, winter would come before it could be finished; they therefore resolved, taking all things into consideration, that their wisest plan would be to break up their camp and return to England. Orders were, in consequence, issued by the duke and the marshals for the army to decamp, and embark on board their fleet in the port of St. Malo. This order was soon obeyed; and, having a favourable wind, they made sail for Southampton, where they arrived. On disembarking, they learnt that sir John Arundel, the governor of Southampton, was gone to reinforce the garrison of Cherbourg.

Thus was this army dispersed, when some re-crossed the seas, and others returned to their own country. The common people in England began to murmur against the nobles, saying they had that year done little good in suffering St. Malo to escape from them: in particular, the earl of Arundel found no favour with them. We will now leave the English, to speak of the French and of Cherbourg.

CHAPTER XXII.—SIR OLIVER DU GUESCLIN IS MADE PRISONER BY THE GARRISON OF CHERBOURG.

Soon after the English had retreated from St. Malo, and the French had reinforced the town and castle, the constable of France resolved to march and lay siege to Cherbourg; of which place sir John Harlestone was governor, who had with him many knights from England and Navarre. The whole army, however, did not march thither; for the dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, of Bourbon, the count de la Marche, the dauphin of Auvergne, with other chiefs and great lords, sent back their troops to their different countries. Several went to pay their respects to the king at Rouen, who very graciously received them. The Bretons and Normans advanced to Valognes, three leagues from Cherbourg, where they erected small forts. They knew well that sir John Arundel had reinforced the garrison, and they supposed he was still there.

Between Cherbourg and Valognes are large forests, even as far as Coutances. The garrison of Cherbourg could sally forth, and make excursions over the country as often as they pleased, for there were in these forests well-hedged roads, which prevented them from being attacked, and Cherbourg is one of the strongest castles. The garrison of Valognes were exceedingly vexed that they could not hurt the English, by harassing the country. Sir Oliver du Guesclin, brother to the constable, imagined that if he could, by means of the forest, approach in a cunning way near to Cherbourg, to reconnoitre it; particularly if he could any how besiege it; or if at least he could seize the town, which lies at some little distance from the castle, he would so strongly fortify it that the garrison could not quit or enter the castle without great loss.

Sir Oliver determined to try this project; and taking with him about fifteen lances, and guides who were acquainted with the roads through the forest, he set out one morning from Valognes, continuing his march until he had passed through the forest opposite to Cherbourg. That same day sir John Arundel had visited the town to amuse himself, and had brought with him a squire of Navarre, called John Coq, to show him the town. He

was there informed that the French were at hand reconnoitring the place. "My lord," said John Coq, "I have heard that sir Oliver du Guesclin, the constable's brother, has passed the wood, and is examining our castle: for God's sake, let him be pursued. I think I can conduct you in such a manner that he must fall into our hands, so that we may conquer them all." "By my faith," replied sir John, "I am very willing so to do." Having armed themselves secretly, they mounted their horses, in number about one hundred lances, picked men, and set out from Cherbourg, entered the forest without the French knowing anything of the matter, and rode on. Sir Oliver, finding the place of such strength as to make it impossible to besiege it, took the same road to Valognes by which he had come. He had not marched three leagues before sir John Arundel and John Coq, with their companions, who had been very exactly conducted, charged them, shouting "Our Lady for Arundel!" When sir Oliver heard this cry, and saw them advancing, he wished himself in Valognes: he therefore mounted a fleet courser, in hopes of saving himself, for he found the parties were too unequal for a combat; and his people dispersed themselves in the forest. Too few kept together. John Coq, like to a valiant man at arms, pursued sir Oliver so closely that at last he made him his prisoner: there were also ten or a dozen more taken; the remainder saved themselves among the trees, and returned to Valognes as well as they could, and related to sir William des Bordes how they had fallen into an ambuscade, and that sir Oliver, with the remainder of their companions, had been made prisoners.

Oliver du Guesclin made prisoner by the garrison of Cherbourg.

The knights and squires at Valognes were greatly hurt at this, but help it they could not. Sir Oliver du Guesclin was conducted by the garrison to the castle of Cherbourg, where he was told his ransom would be at least ten thousand francs. This capture was great news for England; and the business continued thus for a considerable time. Sir Oliver du Guesclin remained prisoner in Cherbourg, under the guard of John Coq who had taken him; but sir John Arundel had all the profit: he ransomed sir Oliver and those who had been captured with him, but not immediately. When the garrison of Cherbourg had been

reinforced, sir John Arundel returned to Southampton, of which place he was governor. There remained with sir John Harlestone in Cherbourg some English knights; such as sir John Copeland, sir John Briole, sir Thomas Pigourde, and several knights and squires; who so carefully guarded it that no damage was done. We will now leave for a while Cherbourg, and speak of lord Neville, the séneschal of Bordeaux, sir Thomas Trivet, with others their companions, and show how they prospered.

CHAPTER XXIII.—THE FRENCH GARRISON OF BERSAT* IS DEFEATED.—THE TOWN SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH.—THE KING OF NAVARRE COMES TO BORDEAUX, TO SOLICIT AID FROM THE ENGLISH.

THE lord Neville, who resided at Bordeaux, had had good information that the infants of Castille, with a large army of Spaniards, was besieging the good city of Pampeluna, and that the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, Raimond de Rameren, with several others, were shut up in it; but he had no intelligence of the king of Navarre, nor where he kept himself, which very much astonished him: he supposed, however, that he should soon hear from him. The inhabitants of Bordeaux and the adjacent countries entreated him not to quit those parts, nor to send away any of his men at arms, so long as the Bretons should hold any forts near them: they informed him particularly how the garrison of Bersat very much harassed the country of the Bourdelois. To the inquiries of the lord Neville, how many Bretons there might be in Bersat; they answered, there were full five hundred fighting men. Upon this, he called to him the séneschal des Landes and sir William Scrope, and said to them: "Take two or three hundred lances, with as many archers, and march to Bersat, and manage so as to free the country from that garrison; when we will afterwards turn our thoughts to things of greater importance."

These two knights wished nothing more than to obey the orders they had received; and, collecting their men, they crossed the Garonne, and marched towards Bersat. The same day the English had left Bordeaux, the garrison of Bersat had made an excursion, with about six score lances: they had ascended the river Garonne in hopes of meeting some boats, and were under the command of a knight from Perigord, called sir Bertrand Raimond, a good man at arms. About a short league from Bersat, the two parties of English and French came suddenly in sight of each other. When sir Bertrand saw that a combat was unavoidable, he was no way alarmed, but gave proper orders to his men, who were almost all Gascons, and drew them up in handsome array.

The English charged them with couched lances, spurring their horses until they were in the midst of them. On the first shock, many were unhorsed on each side, and several gallant deeds done. At last, however, the French Gascons could not maintain the fight; for there were too many against them, who were likewise chosen men. The party from the garrison of Bersat were either slain or made prisoners; very few escaped. Sir Bertrand Raimond and sir William Hemon were among those taken. The English then rode on towards Bersat. When the garrison found that their party had been defeated, they were thunderstruck, and surrendered the place upon their lives being spared. Thus did Bersat become English; and the detachment returned to Bordeaux. At the same time the English returned to Bordeaux (the night of All-saints, in the year 1378), the king of Navarre came also thither, without being expected. The English received him most honourably; and, after they had lodged him and his attendants commodiously, they asked what news from his country and of the Spaniards, for they had received orders to make such inquiries. He fully answered their questions, by saying that the infant John of Castille had besieged Pampeluna with a large army, and had much constrained those who were within it. He therefore entreated them, in conformity to the orders they had from the king of England, to make themselves ready to assist his people, and to raise the siege. The English knights replied they were perfectly willing, and through no negligence on their part should the siege fail to be raised;

* "Bersat,"—a small town of Limousin, diocese of Limoges.

that they would prepare everything speedily, but added, "Sir, you will return to your country, and issue out a special summons to your people; for we will be with you on a fixed day, when we shall be altogether in greater force: besides, your people know the country better than we do." The king of Navarre replied that they spoke well, and what they had proposed should be done. After this, he remained with the English but three days, when he took his leave, and left the city of Bordeaux, returning home by sea; for there were, in the neighbourhood of Bayonne and the city of Dax in Gascony, several fortresses in the hands of the Bretons. The king of Navarre safely arrived at the town of St. Jean, where he resided.

CHAPTER XXIV.—THE INFANT OF CASTILLE BESIEGES PAMPELUNA.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET, IN CONDUCTING SUCCOURS TO THE KING OF NAVARRE, TAKES SEVERAL PLACES IN GASCONY FROM THE FRENCH.

During the time the king of Navarre was at Bordeaux, and since his return to his own country, John of Castille, son of the king of Spain, with the constable of Castille, who was the chief of this war, and whose name was don Pedro de Manriquez, had besieged the good city of Pampeluna with a large force.

With them were the count don Alphonso, the count de Medina, the count de Manons, the count de Ribede, Peter Ferrand de Falesque, Peter Goussart de Modesque, and several other barons and knights from Spain, with their troops*.

These Spaniards, on their march towards Pampeluna, had taken and burnt the town of Lorwich and the city of Viana, on this side Logrono; and there was not a lord in Navarre who dared to show himself before them, but each remained shut up in his castle. The king of Navarre knew well all this, for he had continually messengers coming and going, but he could not do anything without the assistance of the English.

Lord Neville†, who resided at Bordeaux, whither he had been sent by the king of England and his council, was informed of all the treaties between the two kings, and that it was incumbent on him to fulfil them. Having considered this matter, he called to him sir Thomas Trivet, a very valiant knight, and said to him, "Sir Thomas, you know that we have been ordered hither to guard the frontiers of this country, to drive out our enemies, and to assist the king of Navarre, who has been lately here, and told us how much he was in want of our help. You were present when I promised him assistance. This must be done, or we shall be blamed. Therefore, my dear friend and companion, I appoint you leader of the troops I shall send to this war, and now order you to march thither with five hundred lances and a thousand archers. I shall remain where I am, being seneschal of Bordeaux, under the orders of the king of England; for I must pay attention to what passes here, as this whole country is not very secure against our enemies." "My lord," replied sir Thomas, "you do me more honour than I deserve: I will obey your orders, as in justice I ought to do, and will acquit myself in this business to the utmost of my power." "Of that, sir Thomas," answered lord Neville, "I am perfectly assured."

Sir Thomas Trivet made no long delay, but, having completed his preparations, set out from Bordeaux with his complement of men at arms and archers, taking the road towards Dax in Gascony. There were with him William Condone, sir Thomas Berton, sir John Affulée, sir Henry Paule, sir William Croquet, sir Louis Malin, sir Thomas Fourque, and sir Robert Haston, all Gascons. When this army was arrived at the city of Dax, they received intelligence that the king of Navarre was at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, there assembling his men at arms. This news was very pleasing to them. Sir Matthew Gournay‡, uncle to

* Ferreras does not mention any siege of Pampeluna, but says the infant advanced to Gorriaz, near Pampeluna, and afterwards besieged Viana; when, having taken it, he returned to Castille. He notices only the first of the Spaniards in the text.—Vol. v. pp. 458, 459.

† Lord Neville of Raby.—*Dugdale.*

‡ Sir Matthew Gournay was fourth and youngest son of Thomas, one of the murderers of Edward II. He was a soldier of fortune, an able and valiant man, and séneschal des Landes (a sandy tract between Bordeaux and Bayonne). He died 26th September, 1406, and is buried at Stoke under Hamden, county of Somerset.—For further particulars, and his epitaph, see Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. ii. p. 20.

sir Thomas Trivet, was governor of Dax, who received his nephew and his companions very agreeably, and helped them to find out lodgings. Sir Thomas's intentions were to have continued his march without halting: but sir Matthew Gournay said to him, "Fair nephew, since you have with you so large a force, let us free this country from the Bretons and French, who hold at least a dozen fortresses between this place and Bayonne; otherwise you leave them in your rear, and they may do us much mischief the ensuing winter. If you consent, the country will thank you, and I entreat it of you." "By my faith," replied sir Thomas, "I am very willing." Soon after this conversation, he set about the business, and, drawing out his forces in the plain, marched towards a fort called Montpin, which was in the possession of the Bretons. A squire from the county of Foix, whose name was Taillardon, was governor of it.

On their arrival, the English began a very severe attack. The fort was stormed, and all in it put to the sword except Taillardon, who was made prisoner. After having placed in the castle a new garrison, they marched away, and came before another, called Carcilhat, which the Gascons held. They immediately commenced an assault, but not gaining it directly, they encamped. On the morrow, they renewed the attack with so much vigour that it was taken, and all within slain except the governor, who was from Lower Brittany, and called Yvonnet Aprisidly: he was given to the English as prisoner, and the castle burnt. They then marched towards another fort, called Besenghen, of which a Gascon squire was governor, whose name was Roger de Morelac. The English were two days before they could win it, which was at last done by capitulation: the garrison marched out in surety, and each man returned to his home.

From this castle they came before Tassegnon, which is situated three leagues from Bayonne, and laid siege to it. The Bayonnois were much rejoiced when they heard of this; and they were joined from that town by full five hundred men with lances and shields, bringing with them the largest of their warlike engines. The garrison of Tassegnon having done so much harm to those of Bayonne made them thus desirous of their destruction; but they would never have succeeded had it not been for the judgment and advice of the English: yet with all their united force they were fifteen days before they gained it, which was done by capitulation, on the garrison marching out in safety under passports from sir Thomas Trivet, who had them escorted as far as Bregent, which belonged to the French. The Bayonnois bought the castle for three thousand francs, and then razed it, carrying the stones to Bayonne; where the English were received with great joy, and had all things according to their wish by paying for them.

CHAPTER XXV.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET WITH THE ENGLISH COME TO THE SUCCOUR OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE SIEGE OF PAMPELUNA IS RAISED.

The king of Navarre, who resided at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, was exceedingly angry that the English were so long coming, for his country was in great danger; and the city of Pampeluna would have been taken by the Spaniards, had it not been for the viscount de Chastillon, the governor, who had under him in all but two hundred Gascon spears, but his prudence and watchfulness prevented it.

Sir Perducas d'Albret was governor of the town of Tudela in Navarre; the count Pullois and his brother Roger commanded in the city of Miranda: a knight from Catalonia, called sir Raymond de Bageth, was governor of another strong town in Navarre, named Arques*. The king of Navarre, placing his confidence in these captains, remained at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, and left them to act as they pleased. The whole country round Pampeluna was destroyed; for none dared to oppose the Spaniards, and they concluded they must by a long siege gain the town. However, those within thought otherwise; for the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, and sir William de Paux, defended it so well, that the Spaniards began to be tired: winter was approaching, it being about St. Andrew's day, and their provision was becoming scarce: for, if the viscount de Roquebertin had not reinforced

* "Arques,"—probably les Arcos.

them with men at arms and sixty horse-loads of provision, they would have retreated at All-saints day.

The king of Navarre sent one of his knights, called sir Peter de Bascle, to the English, to entreat them, if they wished to serve him, to hasten their march; for they had too long delayed it, according to the promises they had made, and the need he had of them. The knight rode until he came into the country of Bayonne, and found the English before a castle named Poulat, to whom he delivered his message very punctually. Sir Thomas Trivet replied, that as soon as the castle he was now before was conquered, he would march for Navarre, and that the knight might return and depend on what he had said. Sir Peter went back, and two days afterwards the castle surrendered, on the garrison marching out in safety. It was re-garrisoned, and afterwards the country continued tolerably quiet. There were some other smaller bodies, who had posted themselves in churches and monasteries, that harassed the country; but they were in no great numbers. The English, therefore, declared they could no longer remain with them, but must march to Navarre to raise the siege of Pampeluna and combat the Spaniards.

Sir Thomas Trivet, sir Matthew Gournay, with their men, returned to Dax, where they halted four days: on the fifth, they departed, and took the road to Navarre. Sir Matthew Gournay marched back to the city of Bayonne with those under his command, to defend the country, and to conquer some of the small forts which the Bretons still held. Sir Thomas continued his march until he arrived at St. Jean du Pied des Ports, where he found the king of Navarre, who was right glad to see him. He lodged the knights in the town, and the men at arms found the best quarters they could in the country about. The king had, some time before, issued his summons for a large army to assemble before the city of Miranda: none dared to disobey it, and all knights and squires had in consequence prepared themselves to march to Pampeluna against the Spaniards.

News arrived at the Spanish army, that the English with a powerful force were with the king of Navarre, at St. Jean, to the amount of twenty thousand men at arms. Upon this, a council was held of the principal chiefs, to consider whether to wait for the king of Navarre, or to retreat. This was long debated; for some of the captains wished to wait for the English and Navarrois, while others were of a contrary opinion, saying they were not strong enough to meet such an army, and too much fatigued and worn down by the length of the siege. This council sat a considerable time: at last, orders were given to decamp, and make a handsome retreat into their own country. What inclined them most to this was, that some valiant knights who had great experience in war, declared that their honour would not suffer any disgrace, for that king Henry, being returned into Castille, had sent, fifteen days before, orders of recal to his son, as well as for the discontinuance of the siege of Pampeluna.

The Spaniards, therefore, quitted their quarters, and when they marched off, set fire to them, taking the road to Logrono and to St. Domingo in Castille. When the inhabitants of Pampeluna saw them march away, they were much rejoiced, for they had pressed them hard. News was brought to the king of Navarre and to the English at St. Jean of the Spaniards having raised the siege, and of their retreat to their own country. They seemed as if much enraged at it, for they would willingly have fought with them. Notwithstanding this, they marched to Pampeluna, where they found the viscount de Chastillon, the lord de l'Escut, and the others, who received them with pleasure.

When these men at arms had refreshed themselves for two or three days in Pampeluna, they thought it advisable to march from thence and divide themselves in different garrisons, to gain more country: besides, the mountains of Navarre are too cold in the winter, being covered with snow. The English were, therefore, ordered to Tudela; the lord de l'Escut to Pont à la Reine*; the count Pullois and his brother Roger to Corella, and the lord de Chastillon to Mundon. In this manner were the men at arms distributed, and the king of Navarre remained in his palace at Pampeluna. The garrisons in Navarre continued in peace without manifesting any inclination to make excursions during the winter: on which account, the Spaniards dispersed, and king Henry went to reside at Seville, accompanied by his queen and children.

* "Pont à la Reine,"—Punte à la Reyna,—appears by the map to be in Arragon.

CHAPTER XXVI.—THE ENGLISH AND NAVARROIS OVERRUN THE KINGDOM OF SPAIN.—THE EVENTS THAT BEFEL THEM THERE.

Sir Thomas Trivet and his companions were quartered in Tudela, and had not done any thing since their entrance into Navarre; but, hearing that the Spanish army was disbanded, they determined to make an excursion into Spain, to perform something for their pay. They made preparations for a secret expedition, and sent information of it to the count Pullois and his brother Roger, who came to Tudela with two hundred lances and three hundred shields: when they were all mustered, they might be about seven hundred spears, twelve hundred archers, and as many other foot soldiers. They loaded many horses, with all sorts of provision, and, marching away, encamped, on Christmas eve, in a fair meadow by a river side at the foot of the mountain Montcain *, which separates the three kingdoms of Navarre, Castille, and Arragon: on the other side of this mountain lies a country called Val di Soria. This day the weather was very fine, and wondrous hot. When they had dined, the captains assembled in council to determine whether they should remain there Christmas-day, or attempt some warlike exploit; for they were on the borders of the enemy's country. They resolved to march that very night, so as to arrive at the city of Soria † by dawn on Christmas-day, and scale its walls.

This plan was adopted, and orders given in consequence. Three hundred lances were only to be employed; the others with the foot were to remain where they then were until the morrow, to hear the success of the enterprize. The count Pullois with one hundred lances, and sir Thomas Trivet with his troops, having guides to conduct them, were to march in four divisions and to form three ambuscades, the more secretly to execute their enterprise and the more surely to succeed in it. About two o'clock after midnight, they were armed and mounted, but without any trumpets. The captains and the guides made themselves well acquainted with the different points of the country, that they might all arrive punctually at Soria at the same time. They had ascended the mountain and advanced into the plains, when it began to snow and hail so marvellously fast that the ground was all covered, and they rode on until the morrow without meeting each other. This misfortune of the English fell out luckily for the inhabitants of Val di Soria, as they had not taken any precautions against an attack; and, had they met according to the plan laid down, they must have taken the town by escalade, without a possibility of a disappointment.

When sir Thomas Trivet and the other captains saw that their attempt had failed, they were much vexed: they collected themselves as well as they could, to take some refreshment from their sumpter horses, and then to follow the right road to Soria, according to their original intentions. As they had resolved, so did they execute; and, after a short breakfast, sir Raymond de Balge, a Navarrois, was chosen to advance before the town with forty lances, in order to draw out the javelin-men who were the guard of it. The knight rode up to the barriers, where he skirmished with the guard; for these javelin-men were full two hundred; they sallied forth instantly, and began a combat, when the others retreated by little and little to draw them further into the plain. The garrison would have very roughly treated this detachment, if their ambuscade had not advanced to their assistance: they charged the guard full gallop, with spears in their rests, so that at the first shock several were killed and wounded, and the rest driven back into the town with great loss. They immediately closed their gates and barriers, and mounted the battlements, for they expected an assault; but they were disappointed, as the English and Navarrois retreated in the course of the day, and returned to their quarters, where they had left their men.

They remained there that night; and on the morrow, which was St. Stephen's day, they marched to a town called Quasquan ‡, in Navarre, where they met the king of Navarre, who had come thither on Christmas-eve. The English, on their way to Cascante, burnt several villages, and in particular a considerable one called Nigrete, which they completely pillaged.

* "Montcain,"—probably by the map, Moncaio: it seems near to Taraçona.
† "Soria,"—a town in Castille.
‡ "Quasquan,"—Cascante, near to Tudela.

CHAPTER XXVII.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET MAKES AN EXCURSION TO THE TOWN OF ALFARO IN CASTILLE.—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF SPAIN AND NAVARRE.—THE DEATH OF HENRY KING OF SPAIN.—HIS SON JOHN IS CROWNED AS HIS SUCCESSOR.

WHILST king Henry resided at Seville, in the heart of his kingdom, news was brought to him that the English had made an incursion, and burnt the town of Soria, in the name of the king of Navarre. He was much enraged thereat, and swore he would make them pay for it. He wrote letters to his son, John of Castille, commanding him instantly to issue a particular summons throughout the kingdom, and to assemble the nobles: for that he should very shortly be in Castille, to revenge himself on the king of Navarre for the excesses which he had committed. The infant neither dared nor wished to disobey the commands of his father, but immediately issued the summons.

Whilst these men at arms were collecting, and before the arrival of king Henry, sir Thomas Trivet resolved to march towards a handsome town in Spain called Alfaro. In this design, he set out one evening from Cascante, leaving there the king of Navarre, with only one hundred lances; but they were all such as he could depend on. They came near to Alfaro about day-break, and halted a league from the town, where they placed themselves in ambush. Sir William Cendrin and sir Andrew Andrac were sent forwards, with about ten spears, to alarm the place. They came to a little brook which runs before the town, and is dangerous to pass: however, Andrew Andrac and Peter Mascle, Navarrois, made their coursers leap over it, and galloped up to the barriers.

The town was exceedingly alarmed; and, having sounded their trumpets to assemble their men at arms, they opened the gates and barriers, sallied forth, and directly began to skirmish. Of these ten lances, there were only those I have named who had crossed the brook, so that, when they saw such numbers advancing, they wheeled about and leaped back again. Those of Alfaro seeing so small a number, and not suspecting any ambuscade, followed them closely, passing the rivulet a little higher up, at the ford. The ten spears allowed themselves to be pursued as far as the ambush, from whence sir Thomas and the others rushed full gallop, shouting their cry, and, charging the enemy, unhorsed several. In truth, the Spaniards, unable to withstand the English, turned about as quickly as they could: few escaped death or being made prisoners.

The alarm was great in the town, which made the English think they should be immediate masters of it, for they saw the inhabitants were as good as defeated: however, they were disappointed, for the women of the place saved it by their presence of mind. Whilst the English were crossing the brook, they closed the gates and barriers, and, having mounted the battlements over the gate, shewed every inclination to defend themselves. When sir Thomas saw them thus drawn up, he said as he was advancing, "Look at these good women: let us return back, for we cannot do any thing more." Upon which they retreated, crossed the brook, and made for Cascante, carrying with them their prisoners. Sir Thomas Trivet acquired great favour from the king of Navarre for the success of this expedition.

About fifteen days after this affair of Alfaro, the Spaniards took the field, amounting in the whole, horse and foot, to twenty thousand men, with a good inclination to combat the English. The king of Navarre, on hearing this, went to Tudela, attended by sir Thomas Trivet and his troops, and sent orders for all the garrisons of Navarre to march thither: they willingly obeyed his orders, as they wished for nothing more than to engage the Spaniards. The Spaniards were only waiting for the arrival of king Henry, who had left Seville with a numerous attendance, and was traversing his kingdom to St. Domingo, where on his arrival he halted, and quartered his people in the adjacent plain. When don John heard that the king was come to St. Domingo, he left Alfaro, and marched thither with his army. It was the intention of the Spaniards to lay siege to Tudela and inclose the king of Navarre in it, or force him to fight.

The king of Navarre was informed of all this, and he knew that he was not strong enough to risk a battle with king Henry, who had forty thousand men, including horse and foot. There were some prelates and barons, wise and valiant men of both kingdoms, in either army,

who foresaw that great troubles might arise if the two kings, Henry and Charles, should mutually slay each other in battle: they therefore proposed an armistice, that they might endeavour to settle their differences: but these negotiators had much labour and difficulty before they could bring matters to an issue, for the English, who amounted to full two thousand, were haughty and bitter against the Spaniards, and advised the king of Navarre to risk a battle.

On the other hand, the Spaniards, who were very numerous, held the English and Navarrois cheap. The treaties, however, were drawing to a conclusion; and, with much difficulty, an armistice was agreed on, for six weeks, between the two kingdoms, with the intent of concluding a peace. The negotiators proposed also that a marriage should take place between the eldest son of king Henry with a daughter of the king of Navarre, that the peace might be more solid and durable. The king of Navarre readily listened to this proposal, for he saw by it how highly his daughter would be settled. The prelates and barons of both realms advised also that Charles, eldest son of the king of Navarre, should marry a daughter of king Henry. This was concluded; and don Henry, king of Castille, was to use his influence with the king of France, under whose guardianship Charles was, that he should be permitted to return to Navarre. This he performed; and the king of France complied with his request.

The king of Navarre, on account of these marriages, was willing to surrender, for ten years, to the king of Spain, as a security for his good faith, the towns and castles of Estella, of Tudela, and of la Guardia. King Henry consented to give up to the English sir Peter Courtenay and the lord de l'Esparre, a Gascon, who were his prisoners. All these different treaties were sealed, and sworn to be faithfully observed for ever by the two kings; and it was agreed that whoever should any way infringe them should submit himself to the judgment of the pope.

Whilst these negotiations were going forwards, the king of Navarre, who was indebted to the English twenty thousand francs, sent the viscount de Chastillon to Arragon to borrow this sum from the king of Arragon, who readily lent it to him, but took for his security the good towns of Pampeluna, Miranda, Borgo la Reyna, Corella and St. Jean du Pied des Ports. By these means, the English were paid their demands: they left the king of Navarre, well satisfied with their conduct, returned to Bordeaux, and from thence to England.

The marriage was concluded between Charles of Navarre and the daughter of king Henry: she was called Jane, and was very handsome. In this year the king of Castille died, and his eldest son, don John, succeeded him. He was crowned with the consent of all the prelates and barons of Spain, king of Castille, Seville, Gallicia and Cordova; and they swore to him, for ever, fealty and homage. About this time, war commenced between the kings of Portugal and Castille, which lasted a considerable time, as you will hear related in this history. But we must now return to the affairs of France.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—THE LORD DE MUCIDENT TURNS TO THE ENGLISH.—THE LORD DE LANGURANT IS MORTALLY WOUNDED.—THE GOVERNOR OF BOUTEVILLE IS DEFEATED, AND THE CASTLE SURRENDERS TO THE FRENCH.

You have before heard that the lord de Mucident had turned to the French party. He had remained at Paris for upwards of a year, until he was tired; for he had expected more from the king of France than he had received, which made him repent having changed his side. He said he had been forced so to do, and that it was not of his own free will.

He had therefore resolved to quit Paris privately, where he had too long resided, return to his own country, and then surrender himself to the English; for he preferred serving the king of England to the king of France. He acted upon this plan, and gave all his acquaintance to understand, except those of his council, that he was disgusted. One evening he mounted his horse incognito, only two persons with him, set out from Paris, and rode to his own country, where his people followed him. He continued his journey until he came to Bordeaux, where he found the lord Neville, to whom he related his adventures.

He attached himself to the English, and declared he would rather betray his troth to the king of France than to his natural lord the king of England. The lord de Mucident remained steady to the English ever after as long as he lived.

The duke of Anjou was much enraged when he heard of this, and swore, that if ever he could lay hands upon him, he would make his head fly from his shoulders. This was told to the lord de Mucident, who in consequence took every precaution in his power. The lord de Langurant remained steadfast to the French. He was an able and active knight, and harassed much the vassals of those who had turned to the English possessing lands adjoining to his own; such as the lords de Rosem, de Duras, de Mucident; which made these three barons very angry, and excited them to attempt all means to slay him; for he was their bitter enemy.

The lord de Langurant, being a knight eager for battle, was riding out one day attended by about forty lances: he advanced near to an English garrison called Cadillac *, which belonged to the captal de Buch and his brothers. He posted his men in ambush in a wood, telling them that he would ride alone to the castle to see if any one would sally forth against him. His men obeyed: when, riding to the barriers of Cadillac, he spoke to the guards, asking, "Where is Bernard Courant, your captain? Tell him that the lord de Langurant wishes to tilt with him; and, since he is so valiant a man at arms, he will not refuse my request for the love of his lady. If he should not consent, it will turn to his shame, and I will publish everywhere that he had refused to break a lance with me through cowardice." One of the valets of Bernard, at that time at the barriers, replied, "Lord de Langurant, I have perfectly heard what you have said: I will go and inform my master; for cowardice shall never be a reproach to him, if you will be so good as to wait." "By my faith," answered the lord de Langurant, "that I will." The valet went to his master, whom he found in his chamber, and told him what you have heard.

When Bernard heard this, his heart swelled within him, and he fiercely exclaimed, "Give me my arms, and saddle my steed, for he shall never return with a refusal." His orders were promptly obeyed: being armed, he mounted on horseback with his lance and buckler, and, having the gates and barriers thrown open, advanced into the plain. The lord de Langurant was much pleased when he saw him: lowering his spear, he placed himself in the position of a good knight, as did his squire. They were both well mounted; and, spurring their horses, their lances struck with such force on their shields as shivered them to pieces. At the second pass, Bernard Courant gave such a deadly blow on the shoulder of the lord de Langurant as to drive him out of his saddle, and fell him to the ground. When Bernard saw him fall, he was rejoiced, and turning his horse upon him, as the lord de Langurant was raising himself up, Bernard, who had great strength, caught him with both hands by the helmet, tore it off his head, and flung it under his horse.

The troops of the lord de Langurant who were in ambush, noticing all this, began to advance to rescue their lord. Bernard Courant perceived them, and, drawing his dagger, said to the lord de Langurant, "Surrender yourself my prisoner, lord de Langurant, rescued or not, or you are a dead man." The lord de Langurant, who trusted to his people for assistance, was shy, and made no answer. When Bernard saw that he would not make any reply, he was inflamed with passion, and, fearing lest he might suffer from delay, struck him with his dagger on the head, which was bare, and drove it into him: then, drawing it back, he put spurs to his horse, galloped within the barriers, where he dismounted, and put himself in a posture of defence, if there should be a necessity for it. The lord de Langurant's people, on coming to him, found him mortally wounded: they were very much enraged at it, and, having bandaged his wound as well as they could, carried him back to his castle, where he, on the morrow, expired. Such was the end of the lord de Langurant in Gascony.

At this period, a deed of arms was performed, in the Rochellois, against Heliot de Plaisac, a very amiable squire and gallant man at arms, governor of Bouteville †, an English garrison, wherein there were about six score lances, English and Gascons, who, pillaging the whole country, advanced almost daily as far as the towns of La Rochelle or St. Jean d'Angely.

* "Cadillac,"—a village in Guienne, seven leagues from Bordeaux.

† "Bouteville,"—near Cognac.

They kept these towns in such dread that none dared to venture out but very privately, which angered greatly the knights and squires of that country. They considered well this business, and resolved either to apply such a remedy as would put a stop to it, or to lose their lives or liberties in the attempt. They collected, in the town of La Rochelle, about two hundred spears, on whom they could depend; for it was towards this town that Heliot de Plaisac made his excursions. There were now in it, from Poitou and Saintonge, the lords de Touars, de Puissances, sir James de Surgeres, sir Perceval de Coulogne, sir Reginald de Gomers, sir Hugh de Vivonne, and several other knights and squires, all well inclined to meet and combat their enemies. These lords had had information that Heliot de Plaisac was on his march towards La Rochelle, in search of prey. They gave their orders accordingly, and sallied out in the evening well armed and mounted. On their departure, they directed that the cattle should, on the morrow, be driven out to the fields to take their chance; which was obeyed.

When the morrow came, Heliot de Plaisac and his troop arrived before La Rochelle, whilst their foragers collected the cattle, and had them driven away by the peasants of the country. They had not gone more than a league before the French (who were upwards of two hundred lances) fell upon their wing, quite unexpectedly, and charged them vigorously; so that, at this first onset, several were unhorsed. Heliot de Plaisac cried out, "On foot, on foot! let no man fly, but send away the horses; for, if the day be ours, we shall have horses enow, and, if we lose it, we shall not want any." The English and Gascons, of Heliot's party, drew up on foot, and in good order. The French did the same, for they were afraid of their horses being wounded by the spears and swords of the enemy.

The battle then commenced. It was severe, and of long continuance; for they fought hand to hand, pushing their spears up to their guards at every thrust. Many gallant deeds were done; there was many a capture, and many a rescue. However, the Poitevins and Saintongers won the field, and their enemies were either slain or made prisoners, for very few escaped: the forage was re-captured, and Heliot de Plaisac taken and carried to La Rochelle.

Shortly afterward, these lords marched to the castle of Bouteville, which was soon and easily taken, for scarcely any one was within it. Thus was Bouteville gained by the French, to the great joy of all the country round about. Heliot de Plaisac remained in prison for a long time.

CHAPTER XXIX.—SIR THOMAS TRIVET RETURNS TO ENGLAND WITH HIS COMPANIONS.—HIS HERALD RELATES TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER THE PARTICULARS OF THE DEATH OF KING HENRY OF CASTILLE, AND THE CORONATION OF HIS ELDEST SON DON JOHN.

At this time, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmen, and the other knights who had been in Spain to the assistance of the king of Navarre, returned to England. They immediately waited on the king, who at that time resided at Chertsey: his two uncles, the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge, were with him. These knights were graciously received by the king and his lords; and many questions were asked concerning the news of the countries they came from: they told all they knew; how the war had been carried on in Spain and Navarre, and how those two kings had concluded a peace, relating exactly the articles of the treaties, and also that the king of Navarre had married his eldest son to a daughter of king Henry.

The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Cambridge were very pensive on hearing this intelligence, for they had considered themselves as heirs to all Spain in right of their wives: they inquired at what time king Henry had died, and if the Spaniards had crowned his son king. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmen answered: "My dear lords, when king Henry the bastard died, we were not at the coronation of his son; for at that time we had retreated into Navarre; but we have a herald who was present, and you may, if you please, learn from him every particular concerning it."

The herald was called in, and the duke desired he would relate how everything passed. He answered: "My lords, I will comply with your request, and tell you all. While these knights were at Pampeluna, waiting the conclusion of the treaties, I remained by their permission with the king of Navarre, and was much respected by him and by his people. I left Pampeluna, and accompanied him to St. Domingo, where, on his approach king Henry came out to meet him with a numerous train, as a proof of his affection. The king of Navarre and his people were treated with much honour: in the evening he was entertained with a very handsome supper. While at table, news was brought that a wild boar was discovered in the adjoining moors; a hunting party was directly formed for the morrow. The two kings and their huntsmen were present; the boar was taken; and they returned to St. Domingo in the most friendly manner.

"The next day, king Henry set out for Pierreferrade*, to keep an appointment he had made with his people. He was there seized with an illness, of which he died. The king of Navarre was told of it as he was on his road to visit him: he returned back much vexed thereat. I then took my leave of him, and went to Castille to learn what was going forward. King Henry died on Whitsunday. Shortly after, on the 25th day of July, the feast of St. James and St. Christopher, John, eldest son of the late king Henry, was crowned king of Castille, in the cathedral church of the city of Burgos. All the barons and prelates of Spain, Galicia, Cordova, and Seville were present, and swore, on the holy Evangelists, their homages to him as king. He created that day two hundred and ten knights, and made several magnificent presents. On the morrow after his coronation, he went, attended by great numbers of his nobles, to a convent of nuns, out of Burgos, which is called les Oruches, where he heard mass and dined. After dinner, there was a grand tournament; at which the viscount de Roquebertin, from Arragon, won the prize. When this was over, the king returned to Burgos, where the feasts lasted for fifteen days."

The duke of Lancaster asked if the king of Portugal had been invited thither: the herald said, "He had been invited, but did not come; and I was informed he told the envoy who carried the invitation, that he would never attend the coronation of the son of a bastard." "On my faith," replied the duke, "he did well to send such an answer, and I thank him for it. Things shall not long remain as they now are. It shall soon be otherwise, for my brother and myself will call upon don John for that inheritance of which he now styles himself king." Here the conversation ended, when they called for wine and refreshments. We will now leave this matter, and return to what was passing in France.

CHAPTER XXX.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS STOPS THE PROGRESS OF AN AMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF FRANCE TO SCOTLAND: THIS CAUSES GREAT DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THEM.

King Charles, who at this time governed France, was very sagacious and subtle, as his conduct showed; for, though he never quitted his closet or his amusements, he re-conquered all that his predecessors had lost in the field at the head of their armies, for which he was greatly to be commended. Now, because the king of France knew that king Robert of Scotland, and that whole kingdom, bore a mortal hatred to the English (for never can these two kingdoms love each other), that a better understanding between him and the Scots might be continued, he determined to send one of his knights, and a secretary to his council, to king Robert and the Scots, to treat with them; to examine the state of that country,

* "Pierre-ferrade." Q. I cannot find anything like this name in the map near to St. Domingo. There is Ponferrada on the western borders of Leon, but that appears to be too distant.

Denys Sauvage does not seem to understand this passage.

Moreri says, Henry died at St. Domingo.

Ferreras, in his History of Spain, says, the vulgar report was, that Henry was poisoned by means of a handsome pair of buskins, which Mahomet king of Granada sent him as a present, lest, when having made peace with the king of Navarre, he might turn his arms against him. Ferreras himself seems to doubt it. He died at Saint Domingo la Calçada, 29th May, 1374. The infant John was instantly proclaimed king, and left St. Domingo for Burgos, carrying with him the body of his father, which he deposited there, in order for its being transported to Toledo.

and see whether they were in a condition to carry on any effectual war: for Evan of Wales had during his life-time informed him, that the most certain way of disturbing England was through Scotland.

The king of France, having well considered this matter, had various ideas on the subject; and, having fixed his plan, he called to him one of his knights, a prudent man, named sir Peter lord de Bournezel, and said: "You will carry this message to Scotland, and salute the king and barons, with the assurance that we and our realm are willing to enter into treaties with them on the footing of good friends, in order that, when the season shall be favourable, we may send over troops, to be there admitted in the like manner as the practice has been with our predecessors in former times: and in your journeys thither and back again, as well as during your residence, you will take care to keep such state as shall become an ambassador from the king; for such is our will; and every expense shall be repaid you." The knight answered, "Sire, your orders shall be obeyed."

He did not delay his journey long after this; but, when his preparations were ready, he took leave of the king, and set out from Paris, continuing his route until he came to Sluys in Flanders. He waited there for a wind, which being unfavourable, detained him fifteen days. During this time he lived magnificently; and gold and silver plate were in such profusion in the apartments as if he had been a prince. He had also music to announce his dinner, and caused to be carried before him a sword in a scabbard, richly blazoned with his arms in gold and silver. His servants paid well for everything. Many of the townspeople were much astonished at the great state this knight lived in at home, which he also maintained when he went abroad. The bailiff of the town, who was an officer under the earl of Flanders, had noticed this conduct, and could not remain silent on the subject, for which he was to blame, but went and informed the earl of it, who at the time resided at Bruges, and his cousin the duke of Brittany with him. The earl of Flanders having considered a while, with the advice of the duke of Brittany, ordered the ambassador to be brought thither. The bailiff returned to Sluys, and came very uncourteously to the king's knight; for he laid his hand on him, and arrested him in the name of the earl.

The knight was exceedingly surprised at this proceeding: he told the bailiff, that he was ambassador and commissioner from the king of France. The bailiff said, "that might be; but he must speak with the earl, who had ordered him to be conducted into his presence." The knight could not by any means excuse himself from being carried to Bruges with all his attendants. When he was brought into the apartments of the earl, he and the duke of Brittany were leaning on a window which looked into the gardens. The knight cast himself on his knees before the earl, and said, "My lord, I am your prisoner." At which words, the earl was mightily enraged, and replied with passion, "How, rascal, do you dare to call yourself my prisoner when I have only sent to speak with you? The subjects of my lord may very freely come and speak with me; but thou hast ill acquitted thyself by remaining so long at Sluys without coming to visit me, when thou knewest I was so near; but, I suppose, thou disdainedst it." "My lord," answered the knight, "saving your displeasure"—He was interrupted by the duke of Brittany, who said, "It is by such tattlers and jesters of the parliament of Paris, and of the king's chamber, as you, that the kingdom is governed; and you manage the king as you please, to do good or evil according to your wills: there is not a prince of the blood, however great he may be, if he incur your hatred, who will be listened to: but such fellows shall yet be hanged, until the gibbets be full of them."

The knight, who was still on his knees, was much mortified by these words: he saw that it was better for him to be silent than to make any reply: he did not therefore answer, but quitted the presence of the earl and his lords, when he found an opportunity. Some worthy people who were with the earl made way for him, and carried him to refresh himself. The knight afterwards mounted his horse, and returned to his hotel in Sluys, where I will tell you what happened to him. Although all his stores were embarked, and there was a favourable wind for Scotland, he would not sail and risk the dangers of the sea; for he was warned that he was watched by the English who resided in Sluys, and that, if he should sail, he would be taken, and carried to England. Through fear of this happening, he gave up his intended voyage, quitted Sluys, and returned to the king at Paris.

You may easily imagine, that the lord de Bournezel was not long before he told the king all that had befallen him in Flanders: he related every thing exactly as it had happened. It was necessary he should do so by way of excusing himself for not having obeyed his orders, as the king was very much surprised at his return. When sir Peter was relating the events of this journey, there were present several knights of the king's chamber: in particular, sir John de Guistelles of Hainault, a cousin to the earl of Flanders, who mutteringly repeated the words of sir Peter; so that, thinking the knight had spoken too freely of the earl of Flanders, he could not contain himself, but said: "I cannot thus hear my dear cousin the earl of Flanders so slightingly spoken of; and if, sir knight, you mean to affirm for truth all you have said, and assert that he by his act prevented you from fulfilling your orders, I challenge you to the field, and here is my glove"

The lord de Bournezel was not slow to reply: "Sir John, I say that I was thus arrested and conducted by the bailiff of Sluys, and brought before the earl of Flanders; and that every word which I have spoken as from that earl and the duke of Brittany were said by them; and if you wish to say anything to the contrary, and that it was not so, I will take up your glove." "I do say so," replied the lord de Guistelles. At these words, the king looked very grave, and said, "Come, come; we will hear no more of this." He then retired into his closet, attended by his chamberlains, very well pleased that sir Peter had so frankly spoken, and had so well answered sir John de Guistelles. He said to them smiling, "He has kept his ground well: I would not for twenty thousand francs it had not so happened." Sir John de Guistelles, who was one of the king's chamberlains, was afterwards so ill at court, and received with so much coldness, that he noticed it, and wished not to abide the consequences: he therefore took leave of the king, and went to Brabant to duke Winceslaus, who retained him in his service. With regard to the king of France, he was much angered with the earl of Flanders; for it appeared to several of the kingdom, that he had prevented the lord de Bournezel from continuing his journey to Scotland. He had also entertained his cousin the duke of Brittany, who was greatly out of favour with the king of France. Those who were near the person of the king easily saw that the earl of Flanders was not in his good graces. Shortly after this event, the king of France wrote very sharp letters to his cousin the earl of Flanders, which contained also menaces, for that he had supported and kept with him the duke of Brittany, whom he considered as his enemy.

The earl wrote back again, and made the best excuses he could. These were, however, of no avail; for the king of France sent him sharper letters, in which he declared, that if he did not send away his enemy the duke of Brittany, he would look upon him in the same light. When the earl of Flanders saw the manner in which the king took it, and that he would follow it up, he considered with himself (for he had a quick imagination), and resolved to show these menaces to his principal towns, more especially to Ghent, to know what answer they would wish him to send. He dispatched copies to Bruges, Ypres and Courtray; and he set out with the duke of Brittany for Ghent, where they were lodged at the postern gate. He was received by the citizens with very great joy, for at that time they were much pleased to have him among them. When the deputies from the other towns were arrived, according to their orders, the count had them assembled; and John de la Faucille harangued them, in his name, on the cause of his meeting them: he read to them the letters which had been received within the last two months from the king of France. After these letters had been read, the earl spoke as follows: "My children, and good people of Flanders, through God's grace, I have been for a long time your lord: I have governed you in peace as much as was in my power; and you have never seen any thing in me but a desire to maintain you in prosperity, as a good lord should act in regard to his subjects. It must be very displeasing to me, and to you also who are my faithful subjects, that I should incur the hatred of my lord the king, because I keep with me my cousin-german the duke of Brittany, who at this time is not in favour with the court of France; nor, in truth, can he place any dependence on his vassals of Brittany, through the hatred of five or six of his barons. The king insists that I banish him my house and territories, which would be very extraordinary. I do not say but that if I should assist my cousin in opposition to France, the king might have cause to complain: but I have neither done so, nor have I any such

inclinations. It is for this cause I have assembled you, to explain to you the dangers that might happen if you should be desirous for him to remain with me." They answered unanimously, "My lord, we do wish him to remain with you: and we know not that prince, however great he may be, who should resolve to make war upon you, but who would find in your earldom of Flanders two hundred thousand men completely armed."

This reply was very agreeable to the earl of Flanders, who said, "My good children, I thank you." The assembly now broke up; and the earl was so well pleased that he gave them permission to return to their own homes in peace. The earl, at a proper time, returned to Bruges in company with the duke of Brittany. Things remained in this situation. The earl was very popular with his subjects, and the country continued in peace and prosperity: this, however, did not last long, through extraordinary wickedness, which brought on great tribulation, as you will hear related in this history.

CHAPTER XXXI.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETIRES FROM FLANDERS TO ENGLAND.—THE YOUNG COUNT DE ST. POL, WHILE A PRISONER IN ENGLAND, MARRIES.

The king of France was punctually informed of every thing that had passed, and the speech which the earl of Flanders had made. He did not love him the better for this: but, as he could not remedy it, he thought it more prudent to overlook it: he declared, however, that the earl was the proudest prince alive. From the king's manner, it was visible he was the lord he would most willingly have humbled, both for his pride and for his opposition to his desires. The earl of Flanders, notwithstanding the king of France had written to say he was very much displeased at his keeping the duke of Brittany with him, did not send him away, but entertained him as long as he wished to stay, and gave him a handsome establishment. At last, the duke was advised to visit England, which he likewise wished to see: he took leave of the earl his cousin, and went to Gravelines, where he was met by the earl of Salisbury, with five hundred men at arms and a thousand archers, for fear of the French garrisons, and conducted to Calais: sir Hugh Calverley, the governor, received him with all respect.

When the duke had staid at Calais five days, having a favourable wind, he embarked with the earl of Salisbury, and landed at Dover, and from thence went to the young king Richard, who received them with much joy; as did also the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, and the great barons of England.

You have before heard how sir Valeran de Luxembourg, the young count de St. Pol, had been made prisoner in a battle between Ardres and Calais, and had been carried to England under the king's pleasure, who had purchased him of the lord de Gommegines: for the lord de Gommegines had set on foot this expedition, in which the count had been made a prisoner by a squire, a good man at arms, from the country of Gueldres. The young count de St. Pol remained a long time a prisoner in England, without being ransomed: true it is, that the king of England, during the lifetime of the captal de Buch, offered him several times to the king of France and to his allies in exchange for the captal; but neither the king of France nor his council would listen to it, nor give up the captal in exchange, to the great dissatisfaction of the king of England.

Things remained for some time in this situation. The count de St. Pol had an agreeable prison in the beautiful castle of Windsor, and was allowed the liberty of amusing himself with hawking wherever he pleased in the environs of Westminster and Windsor: he was thus trusted on the faith of his word. The princess, mother of king Richard, resided at that time at Windsor, with her daughter, the lady Maude, the most beautiful woman in England. The young count de St. Pol and this lady fell loyally in love with each other: they frequently met at dancings, carollings, and at other amusements; so that it was suspected the young lady tenderly loved the count, and she discovered the whole to her mother. A treaty of marriage was then entered into between the count de St. Pol and the lady Maude Holland: the count was ransomed for six score thousand francs; of which one half was to be remitted on his marriage, the remainder he was to pay. When the treaty had been concluded between

the young people, the king of England granted permission for the count to cross the sea, in order to procure his ransom, on his promise to return within the year. The count went to France to see his friends, the king and his cousins of France, the earl of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, and also duke Albert.

In this year, a cruel charge was laid against the count de St. Pol: he was accused of an intention to deliver up to the English the strong castle of Bouchain. The king ordered him to be arrested and closely guarded, declaring that the count in fact meant to have entered into treaties inimical towards him; from which charge the count could never clear himself. On this occasion also, the lord canon de Robesart, the lord de Vertaing, sir James du Sart and Gerard d'Obies, were imprisoned in the castle of Mons in Hainault. This charge at length came to nothing; for, the king of France not being able to prove anything against them, they were set at liberty. The young count returned to England, to acquit himself of his engagement to the king, and to marry his bride. He paid the sixty thousand francs according to his obligation, and re-crossed the sea, but did not enter France, for the king disliked him much.

The count and countess went therefore to reside at the castle of Han-sur-Heure, which the lord de Moraine, who had married his sister, lent them; and there they remained during the life of the king of France; for the count could never regain his love. We will now leave these things, and return to the affairs of France.

CHAPTER XXXII.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAKES WAR ON BRITTANY.—SIR WILLIAM DES BORDES IS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE GARRISON OF CHERBOURG.

At this period, all Brittany was armed, as well against the duke as against the French. Several of the principal towns had a good understanding with the duke, and wondered he was not sent for back: there were also many knights and squires of Brittany of the same opinion; and, by means of a treaty, the countess de Penthievre, mother to the children of Charles de Blois, was not averse to his return. But sir Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, the lords de Clisson, de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, and the lord de Rochefort, kept the country in a state of warfare with the force sent them from France. At Pontorson, St. Malo, and in that neighbourhood, were great numbers of men at arms from France, Normandy, Auvergne, and Burgundy, who committed very great devastations.

The duke of Brittany, who was in England, received full information of all this, and that the duke of Anjou, who resided at Angers, was carrying the war into his country: he heard also that the principal towns had armed themselves against the French, as well as several knights and squires, in his name, for which he felt himself much obliged. But, notwithstanding all these favourable symptoms, he was afraid to return to Brittany with full confidence in them, for he was always suspicious of some treason: neither did his own council, the king of England, nor duke of Lancaster advise him to go thither.

Sir William des Bordes maintained the garrisons in Normandy and Valognes of which he was captain: he had with him the deputy séneschal of Eu, sir William Marcel, sir Braque de Braquemont, the lord de Torcy, sir Percival d'Ayneval, the bègue d'Yury, sir Lancelot de Lorris, with many other knights and squires, who, day and night, employed their thoughts in devising how they could damage Cherbourg, of which sir John Harlestone was governor. The garrison of Cherbourg made as frequent sallies as they pleased; for they could do so without any one knowing of it, through the extensive forest with which they were surrounded. They had made a road through the wood in such a manner that they could overrun part of Normandy without danger from the French.

It fell out that both garrisons made an excursion the same day without the knowledge of each other, and by accident met at a place called Pastoy-ès-Bois. When they met, like knights and squires desirous of fighting, they all dismounted except sir Lancelot de Lorris, who remained on horseback, his lance in its rest, and his target on his neck, requesting a tilt in honour of his lady. Several heard his demand; for there were also among the English some knights and squires who had bound themselves in like manner by vows of love to their

ladies. I believe it was sir John Copeland, a hardy knight, who accepted his challenge. Then, spurring their horses, they charged each other very gallantly, and gave dreadful blows on their targets. Sir Lancelot was, however, so severely struck by the English knight that his shield and other armour were pierced through, and himself mortally wounded. It was a great pity, for he was an expert knight, young, handsome, and much in love. He was there and elsewhere sincerely lamented.

The French and English then attacked each other, fighting hand to hand. On the part of the French, sir William des Bordes, the deputy séneschal of Eu, sir William Marcel, sir Braque de Braquemont, and the others, showed themselves good knights, and fought manfully. Sir John Harlestone, sir Philip Picourde, sir John Burley, sir John Copeland, and the rest of the English behaved as well; and, from their superior fighting, they at last won the day. The French knights and squires were either taken or slain: in particular, a squire from Hainault, called William de Beaulieu, and sir William des Bordes were made prisoners. They were conducted to Cherbourg, where they met sir Oliver du Guesclin, who was a prisoner also.

Thus ended the business, as I was informed.

CHAPTER XXXIII.—GEOFFRY TETE-NOIRE AND AIMERIGOT MARCEL, CAPTAINS ATTACHED TO ENGLAND, TAKE SEVERAL STRONG PLACES IN AUVERGNE AND LIMOUSIN FROM THE FRENCH.

THERE happened daily in Auvergne and Limousin feats of arms, and wonderful enterprises; more especially in the neighbourhood of the castle of Ventadour, in Auvergne, which is one of the strongest places in all that country. It was sold or betrayed to the most cruel of all Bretons, called Geoffry Tête-noire. I will relate how this happened.

The count de Ventadour de Montpensier was an ancient knight and honourable man, who no longer took part in the wars, but remained peaceably in his castle: this knight had a squire or varlet, called Ponce du Bois, who had served him for a length of time without having profited much by his service: seeing that henceforward he should have no opportunities of gaining riches, he determined, by bad advice, to enrich himself, and in consequence entered into a secret treaty with Geoffry Tête-noire, who resided in Limousin, to deliver up the castle of Ventadour to him for the sum of six thousand francs. This was agreed to; but he had inserted among the conditions that no harm should be done to his master, the count de Ventadour, and that he should be put out of his castle in a courteous manner, and that everything of his should be restored to him. This was complied with, for the Bretons and English who entered the castle did not in the smallest degree hurt the count nor his people, and only retained the stores and artillery, of which there were great plenty.

The count de Ventadour went to reside at Montpensier *, with his wife and children, beyond Aigueperse in Auvergne. Geoffry Tête-noire and his troops kept possession of Ventadour; from whence they ravaged the country, and took many strong castles in Auvergne, Rouergue, Limousin, Quercy, Gevaudan, Bigorre, and in the Agenois, one after the other.

With this Geoffry Tête-noire, there were other captains, who performed many excellent deeds of arms, as Aimerigot Marcel, a Limousin squire attached to the English party, who took the strong castle of Cassuriel, situated in the bishopric of Clermont in Auvergne; from whence the above-mentioned Aimerigot and his companions overran the country at their pleasure. Captains of other castles were also in his company, such as the bourg Calart, the bourg Anglois, the bourg de Champagne, Raymond de Force, a Gascon, and Peter de Béarn, a Béarnois.

Aimerigot made one day an excursion, with only twelve companions, to seek adventures: they took the road towards Aloise, near St. Flour, which has a handsome castle, in the bishopric of Clermont: they knew the castle was only guarded by the porter. As they

* "Montpensier,"—a town in Auvergne, diocese of Clermont, near Aigueperse.

were riding silently towards Aloise, Aimerigot spies the porter sitting on the trunk of a tree withoutside of the castle: a Breton, who shot extraordinarily well with a cross-bow, says to him, "Would you like to have that porter killed at a shot?" "Yes," replied Aimerigot; "and I beg you will do so." The cross-bowman shoots a bolt, which he drives into the porter's head, and knocks him down: the porter, feeling himself mortally wounded, regains the gate, which he attempts to shut, but cannot, and falls down dead. Aimerigot and his companions hasten to the castle, which they enter by the wicket, and see the porter lying dead and his wife distracted beside him: they do her no harm, but enquire where the constable of the castle is: she replies that he is at Clermont. They promise to spare her life, if she will give them the keys of the castle and of the dungeon; which when she had done, for she could not any way defend herself, they shut her out, having given her what belonged to her, and indeed as much as she could carry away. She went to St. Flour, which is but a league off: the inhabitants were much frightened, as well as all the adjoining country, when they heard that Aloise was become English.

Soon after this, Aimerigot Marcel re-captured the strong castle of Balon by surprise; the governor was asleep in the great tower, when he scaled the walls, for the place was not easy to be taken by force; but, by means of this tower, the castle might be gained. Aimerigot, therefore, thought of a subtle trick: having possession of the father and mother of the governor, he ordered them to be led in sight of the tower, making every preparation to behead them, if the son did not surrender himself. These good people thought they were instantly to be murdered, and cried out to their son to take compassion on them, bewailing most lamentably their unfortunate lot.

The governor was much affected: he could not suffer his parents to be put to death: he therefore surrendered the tower, when the whole family were thrust out of the castle. Thus did Balon belong to the English, a circumstance which, in its consequences, much harassed the country; for all sorts of people who wished to do evil retired thither, or to Cassuriel, two leagues from Limoges, to Carlat, to Aloise, to Ventadour, or to some other such castles. When these garrisons were all collected in a body, they might amount to five or six hundred lances: they overran the whole country, and the territories of the count dauphin d'Auvergne, situated at no great distance from their garrison; for none ventured to oppose them when thus collected together. It is true, the lord de Chupier was a great enemy to them; as were the lord de Forterel and the bastard de Forterel, his brother, and a squire from the Bourbonnois called Gordomes. This Gordomes, one day meeting Aimerigot Marcel, by a gallant exploit, took him prisoner, and ransomed him for five thousand francs: so much did he gain for him. Thus was the war carried on in Auvergne, Limousin, and the adjoining countries.

CHAPTER XXXIV.—A SCHISM IN THE CHURCH.—THE CAUSE OF IT.—THE BRETONS MAKE WAR ON THE ROMANS.—THE QUEEN OF NAPLES GIVES UP HER TERRITORIES TO POPE CLEMENT VII.

I HAVE been a long while silent on the affairs of the church: I now return to them, for it is become necessary. You have before heard how the cardinals, to appease the Roman populace, who were very much enraged against them, had chosen for pope the archbishop of Bari, whose name, before his elevation, was Bartholomew Prignano: he afterwards assumed that of Urban VI. and gave indulgences according to the usual custom. The cardinals intended, on a proper opportunity, to make another election: for this pope, being choleric and obstinate, was neither profitable to them nor to the church; so that when he found himself invested with the powers of papacy, in consequence of which many princes of Christendom had written to him to acknowledge their obedience, he became very haughty, and desirous of retrenching the powers of the cardinals, and depriving them of several of their rights and accustomed prerogatives.

This conduct was highly displeasing to them: they held a meeting, and declared that he would never do them any service, and was beside unfit to govern the Christian world. Several proposed to elect another, more wise and prudent, and better able to govern the church. The whole body were eager for this, more especially that cardinal who was afterwards elected pope. During the whole summer, the affair continued in suspense; for those who wished a new election dared not publicly declare their intentions for fear of the Romans. About the time of the vacations, many cardinals left Rome to amuse themselves in different places in the neighbourhood. Urban went to a city called Tivoli, where he remained a considerable time. During these vacations or terms, (that lasted not long, for there were many clergy from different parts of the world at Rome, waiting for graces which had been promised, some of whom had been collated to churches,) the refractory cardinals assembled to elect a pope, and their unanimous choice fell on sir Robert de Geneva, son to the count of Geneva, whose first promotion had been to the bishopric of Terouenne, then to the archbishopric of Cambray, and at last cardinal of Geneva. The greater number of cardinals attended this election. The new pope took the name of Clement.

At this period, Silvester Budes, a valiant knight from Brittany, was in the country near Rome, and had under him upwards of two thousand Bretons, who in the late years had done much against the Florentines, whom pope Gregory had made war upon and excommunicated for their rebellion; but, through the intercession of Silvester Budes, they had been pardoned. Pope Clement and the cardinals of his party, sent secretly for him and his troops. He marched directly into the strong castle of St. Angelo, in the village of St. Peter, the better to check the Romans.

Pope Urban, and the cardinals attached to him, were afraid to quit Tivoli, though they very much wished it, on account of these Bretons; for they were determined men, who murdered all whom they met in opposition to them. The Romans, on finding how dangerously they were situated, sent for other soldiers, Germans and Lombards, who daily skirmished with the Bretons. Clement granted indulgences to all the clergy who wished for them, and published his election throughout the world.

When king Charles of France was informed of this, he was much astonished: he summoned his brothers and all the great barons, the prelates, the rector and principal doctors of the university of Paris, to know which of the two popes, the first or the last, he ought to pay obedience to. This matter was not soon determined, for the clergy were of divided opinions: but, in the end, all the prelates in France inclined to Clement, as did the king's brothers and the majority of the university of Paris. The king received so much instruction and information at this assembly from the most learned of the clergy, that he put himself under the obedience of Clement, whom he held for the true and loyal pope. He then published an edict throughout his realm for every person to consider Clement as pope, and to obey him as a god upon earth. The king of Spain was of the same opinion; as were the earl of Savoy, the duke of Milan and the queen of Naples.

Clement having gained the king of France, his cause acquired great credit; for the kingdom of France is the fountain of faith and of excellence, from the grand churches which are established there and the noble prelatures. Charles of Bohemia, king of Germany and emperor of Rome, was still living: he resided at Prague in Bohemia, where he had heard of all these things to his great astonishment. However, his empire of Germany, excepting the bishopric of Trect *, was so strongly inclined in their faith to Urban, that they would not hear mention made of another. The emperor dissembled as long as he lived, and replied so courteously, whenever any conversation passed on this subject, that his barons and prelates were quite satisfied. Notwithstanding this, the churches in the empire obeyed Urban; but the whole of Scotland acknowledged Clement.

Earl Lewis of Flanders oppressed very much the Clementists in Brabant, Hainault and Liege; for he was a determined Urbanist, and said that this pope had been scandalously treated. The earl was so much believed and loved in the parts where he resided that, on his sole account, the churches and landholders followed his opinion. But those of Hainault,

* "Trect." Q. Trent.

with the churches and their appendages, as well as their sovereign, called Albert, remained neuter, and obeyed neither one nor other of the popes; for which reason the archbishop of Cambray at that time, called John, lost his temporalities in Hainault.

Pope Clement, about this time, sent the cardinal de Poitiers, a very prudent and wise man, to France, Hainault, Flanders and Brabant, to preach and to instruct the people; for he had been present at the first conclave, and could well explain that through fear they had elected the archbishop of Bari to the papacy. The king of France, his brothers and the prelates of that realm, received him very graciously, and listened attentively to his words and doctrines, which seemed to carry truth with them, and to be of a nature to engage their whole faith. On leaving France, he went to Hainault, where he was received with joy. He was also received in the same manner by the duke and duchess of Brabant, but gained nothing more. He thought of calling at Liege on his return, but was advised to the contrary, and therefore returned to Tournay, intending to visit Flanders from thence, and converse with the earl: however, he did not; for it was signified to him from the earl, that he would have nothing to say to him, considering Urban as pope, and in that opinion would live and die.

The cardinal went from Tournay to Valenciennes, and from thence to Cambray, where he staid a long time in hopes of receiving good news. Thus was the christian world divided, and the churches differed in regard to which was the legal pope. Urban had the larger number; but the most profitable in revenue and obedience fell to Clement.

Clement, by the advice of his cardinals, sent to have the palace at Avignon prepared for him; for it was his intention to retire thither as soon as he was able. In the interim, he resided at Fondi, where he granted his indulgences to all such clergy as were desirous of having them. Large bodies of soldiers occupied the plains and villages near Rome, and made war upon that city and the village of St. Peter, which they attacked day and night; whilst those who were in the castle of St. Angelo gave much disturbance to the Romans. The inhabitants, having strengthened themselves by many German soldiers, collected together, and in one day conquered the village of St. Peter: such Bretons as were able, secured themselves in the castle of St. Angelo; but they were so much harassed, as to surrender the castle on having their lives spared, and retreat towards Fondi, and to the flat country thereabouts. The Romans dismantled the castle of St. Angelo, and burnt the village of St. Peter.

When sir Silvester Budes, who was still in that country, heard that his people had lost the village of St. Peter and the castle of St. Angelo, he was much vexed, and thought how he could revenge himself on the Romans. He learnt from his spies, that the principal persons from the city were to meet in council at the capitol; upon which he planned an enterprise of men at arms, whom he had retained near him, and rode that day through bye-roads to Rome, which he entered by the gate leading to Naples. On his arrival, he made directly for the capitol, and came there so opportunely that the council had just left their hall, and were in the square. These Bretons, couching their spears and spurring their horses, charged the Romans full gallop, and slew and wounded numbers of the principal persons of the city. Among those that lay dead in the square were seven banners and two hundred other rich men: a great many more were wounded. When the Bretons had performed this exploit they retreated, as it was evening: they were not pursued, on account of the night, and because the Romans were so frightened that they could only attend on their friends. They passed the night in great anguish of heart, burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded.

The next morning, they bethought themselves of an act of cruelty, which they put into execution: they attacked the poor clergy who resided in Rome, and who had not been guilty of the smallest fault, slew and wounded upwards of three hundred, but in particular, they showed no mercy to any Bretons who fell into their hands. In this miserable situation was Rome and its neighbourhood, on account of two popes; and those who had not been any way concerned in the business paid dearly for it.

Pope Clement and his cardinals resided at Fondi, where the queen of Naples came to visit and encourage him; for she and her subjects were attached to him as pope, and anxious

to support him as such. The queen of Naples* had entertained an idea for a considerable time of surrendering the kingdom of Sicily and county of Provence, which were dependencies on her crown, into the hands of the pope, for him to give according to his will, as an inheritance, to any prince of high birth in France, but who must have the means of defending her against those of the house of Hungary, whom she mortally hated.

On the queen's arrival at Fondi, she humbled herself before the pope, and, having confessed herself to him, related all her affairs without disguise, adding: "Holy father, I possess several great and noble inheritances; the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria, and the county of Provence. In truth, king Lewis of Sicily, duke of la Puglia and Calabria, my father, during his life-time, acknowledged holding these territories from the church, and, taking my hand on his death-bed, said to me: My good child, you are heiress of a very extensive and rich country; and I believe that many princes will endeavour to obtain you for a wife on account of the handsome territories you will possess. Now, I would recommend you to follow my advice, which is, to unite yourself with a powerful prince, who will be able to keep your kingdoms in peace; and should it so happen that, through God's will, you have not any heirs, yield to whoever may be at the time pope all your territories; for king Robert, my father, so charged me on his death-bed, which is the reason, my dear daughter, I order you so to do, and discharge myself from it. Holy father, I promised to comply with his wishes, and pledged my faith, in the presence of all who were in the chamber, to fulfil his last request. In truth, holy father, after his decease, with the consent of the nobles of Sicily and Naples, I wedded Andrew of Hungary, brother to Lewis king of Hungary, by whom I had not any children; for he died a young man, at Aix in Provence†. After his death, they married me to Charles prince of Taranto, by whom I had a daughter. The king of Hungary, being angry that his brother died, made war on my husband, the lord Charles, and took from him la Puglia and Calabria: he also made him prisoner in battle, carried him to Hungary, where he died during his confinement.

"After this, with the consent of my nobility, I was united to James king of Majorca, who went to France for the lord Louis de Navarre to come and marry my daughter, but he died on the road. The king of Majorca left me with the intention to re-conquer his kingdom of Majorca, which the king of Arragon kept from him by force; for he had put his father to death in prison, and disinherited the son. I told the king, my husband, that I was sufficiently rich to maintain him in as pompous a style as he should please; but he insisted so much, and gave such plausible reasons for recovering his inheritance, that I consented, with a half-willing mind, for him to act as he pleased; but, on his departure, I particularly enjoined him to go to king Charles of France, and explain to him his business, and to follow what he should advise: this, however, he totally neglected to do, and ill consequences resulted from it; for he went to the prince of Wales, in whom he had greater confidence than in the king of France, who is my relation, and who promised to assist him in his undertaking. However, during the time he was on this expedition, I wrote and sent ambassadors to the king of France, to desire he would send me a nobleman of the blood royal, to whom I might give my daughter, that our territories should not be without heirs. The king of France attended to my proposals, for which I thank him, and sent me his cousin Robert d'Artois, whom I married to my daughter.

"Holy father, my husband, the king of Majorca, died during his expedition: I then married the lord Otho of Brunswick. The lord Charles Durazzo, seeing that the lord Otho would enjoy my inheritance during my life, made war upon us, and took us prisoners in the Castle del Ovo, when the sea was so high that it seemed to cover us. We were all so much frightened that we surrendered ourselves, on our lives being spared. The lord Charles detained in prison my husband, myself, my daughter, and her husband, so long that the two last died. We gained our liberty afterwards by a treaty, which gave up to him la Puglia and Calabria; and he now looks to inherit Naples, Sicily, and Provence; for which reason

* "The queen of Naples,"—the celebrated Joan.—Her history is differently related from Froissart's account.

† She had him murdered, and thrown out of a window at Aversa, where he lay for several days, and was at last interred secretly by his nurse, who was very fond of him, and a canon of St. Januarius, in the cathedral of Naples. The whole tale which she relates is very incorrect.

he seeks alliances everywhere, and will set aside the rights of the church as soon as I shall be dead, or at least he will do everything in his power to accomplish it.

"Wherefore, holy father, as I wish to acquit myself towards God, you, and the souls of my predecessors, I now place in your hands all the territories which belong to me, of Sicily, Naples, la Puglia, Calabria, and Provence, and give them up to you to dispose of to whomsoever shall be to you the most agreeable, and who shall be able to conquer them from our enemy Charles Durazzo."

Queen of Naples surrendering her Territories to pope Clement VII. From a MS. of the 15th century.

Pope Clement heard this speech with pleasure, and received the gift in great reverence, replying, "My daughter of Naples, we will take such measures that your territories shall have an heir of your noble and powerful blood, and who shall be fully able to resist all who may wish to oppose him." Public and authentic acts were drawn up of all these gifts, so that they might in future establish the right, and make everything clear to those who in times to come may hear of them *.

CHAPTER XXXV.—POPE CLEMENT GOES TO AVIGNON.—HE MAKES THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS.—SIR SILVESTER BUDES AND HIS COMPANIONS ARE BEHEADED.

When the queen of Naples and the lord Otho of Brunswick had concluded with the pope the object of their journey to Fondi, and had remained there to amuse themselves as long as they chose, they took leave, and returned to Naples. Pope Clement thought it would not be for his advantage to remain longer so near Rome. Having learnt that Urban and the Romans were labouring hard to gain the love of the Neapolitans and the lord Charles Durazzo, he was alarmed lest the roads to Avignon should be so blocked up by sea and land that he would not get thither, which he was very desirous to accomplish. What made him the more eager to arrive at Avignon was his wish to present as a gift, without

* For further accounts of her life, see Bayle's Dictionary.

prejudice or violation, those rights which the queen of Naples had given him over the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to the duke of Anjou, and which had been legally signed and sealed.

He therefore prudently arranged his affairs in secret, and embarked on board the galleys which had been sent from Arragon, attended by his cardinals and their families: having favourable winds, they arrived, without accident, at Marseilles, to the great joy of the people in those parts: thence the pope went to Avignon, and sent information of his arrival to the king of France and his brothers, who were much pleased thereat. The duke of Anjou, who at that time resided at Toulouse, waited on him. The pope, immediately on his arrival, presented him with all those powers with which the queen of Naples had invested him. The duke of Anjou, who was ever ambitious to be possessed of honours and large possessions, received these gifts most gratefully, and accepted them for himself and his heirs, telling his holiness, that as soon as he was able, he would visit those countries with such a force as should enable him to resist all the enemies of the queen of Naples. The duke remained with the pope about fifteen days, and then returned to Toulouse to the duchess and his children. The pope gave the command of his men at arms to sir Bernard de la Salle and to Florimond Guerrier.

At this period, there was in Tuscany a right valiant English knight, called sir John Hawkwood*, who had there performed many most gallant deeds of arms; he had left France at the conclusion of the peace of Bretigny, and was at that time a poor knight, who thought it would not be of any advantage to him to return home; but when he saw, that by the treaties, all men at arms would be forced to leave France, he put himself at the head of those free companions called late-comers, and marched into Burgundy. Several such companions, composed of English, Gascons, Bretons, Germans, and of men from every nation, were collected there. Hawkwood was one of the principal leaders, with Bricquet and Carnelle, by whom the battle of Brignais was fought, and who aided Bernard de la Salle to take the Pont du St. Esprit.

When they had harassed the country for some time, the marquis de Montferrat made a treaty with them to assist him in his war with the lords of Milan. This marquis led them over the Alps, after he had paid them sixty thousand francs, of which Hawkwood received, for himself and his troops, ten thousand. When they had finished the war for the marquis, the greater part of them returned to France; for sir Bertrand du Guesclin, the lords de la Marche, de Beaujeau, and sir Arnold d'Andreghen marshal of France, wished to lead them into Spain, to don Henry de Trastamare, against don Pedro king of Spain.

Sir John Hawkwood and his companions remained in Italy, and were employed by pope Urban as long as he lived in his wars in the Milanese. Pope Gregory, successor to Urban, engaged him in the same manner. Sir John had also a profitable employment, under the lord de Coucy, against the count de Vertus and his barons; in which, some say, the lord de Coucy would have been slain, if sir John Hawkwood had not come to his assistance with five hundred combatants, which he was solely induced to do because the lord de Coucy had married one of the king of England's daughters. This sir John Hawkwood was a knight much inured to war, which he had long followed, and had gained great renown in Italy from his gallantry.

The Romans, therefore, and Urban, who called himself pope, resolved, on Clement leaving Italy, to send for Hawkwood, and appoint him commander-in-chief of all their forces: they made him large offers of retaining him and his whole troop at a handsome subsidy, which he accepted, and acquitted himself loyally for it. In company with the Romans, he defeated a large body of Bretons under the command of Silvester Budes; the greater part of whom were either slain or taken: Silvester Budes was carried prisoner to Rome, where he was in great danger of being beheaded. To say the truth, it would have been more for his honour, and for that of his friend, had he been so the day he was brought there; for he and another squire of Brittany, called William Boileau, were afterwards beheaded in the city of Mascon by order of pope Clement. They were suspected of treachery, on account of having escaped

* "Sir John Hawkwood." For an account of him, see vol. vi. of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, where there is a life of him, his engraved portrait and tomb. See also Mr. Shepherd's life of Poggio Bracciolini.

from the prisons in Rome, no one knew how, and had come to Avignon, where they were arrested.

The cardinal of Amiens was the author of their arrest; for he hated them ever since the wars in Italy, when they had killed some of his baggage-horses, and seized a large quantity of money and gold and silver plate, which Silvester had distributed among his followers, by way of pay, being unable otherwise to satisfy them. The cardinal was much enraged at this conduct, and secretly charged them with treason. On their arrival at Avignon, they were seized, and accused of treacherously intending to betray the pope: they were then sent to Mascon, where both were instantly beheaded.

In this state were affairs in those distant countries. Sir Bertrand du Guesclin was indignant against the pope and cardinals on account of the death of his cousin Silvester Budes; and, if he had lived a little longer, he would have shown, or have caused it to have been shown, them, that it was very displeasing to him. We will, for the present, leave these matters, and speak of the war in Flanders, which began about this time. The people were very murderous and cruel, and multitudes were slain or driven out of the country. The country itself was so much ruined, that it was said a hundred years would not restore it to the situation it was in before the war.

CHAPTER XXXVI.—THE STATE OF FLANDERS BEFORE THE WAR.—THE CAUSES OF THE DISPUTES BETWEEN THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE FLEMINGS.—JOHN LYON INTRODUCES THE DISTINCTION OF WHITE HOODS.

Before the commencement of these wars in Flanders, the country was so fertile, and everything in such abundance, that it was marvellous to see; and the inhabitants of the principal towns lived in very grand state. You must know, that this war originated in the pride and hatred that several of the chief towns bore to each other: those of Ghent against those of Bruges, and others, in like manner, vying with each other through envy. However, this could not have created a war without the consent of their lord the earl of Flanders, who was so much loved and feared that no one dared to anger him.

The earl, being wise and prudent, carefully avoided encouraging a war between his vassals; for he foresaw, that if any difference should arise between him and them, he would be much weakened and less formidable to his neighbours. He carefully avoided war for another reason, considering it as destructive to all possessions, although at last he was forced to it: he had hitherto reigned in great prosperity and peace, and had as many pleasures and enjoyments as any earthly lord can have. The wars which ensued were caused by so trifling an event, that if the earl had possessed any prudence, it ought not to have produced that effect; and those who read this book, or who may have it read to them, will say, that it was the work of the devil. You know wise men think the devil, who is subtle and full of artifice, labours night and day to cause warfare wherever he finds peace and harmony, and seeks by distant means, and by degrees, how to accomplish his ends. And thus it fell out in Flanders, as you will clearly see and learn from the different treaties and ordinances which follow relative to these matters.

During the time that earl Lewis of Flanders was in his greatest prosperity, there was a citizen of Ghent called John Lyon; he was wise, subtle, and bold, but cruel, enterprising and cool in business, and very much in favour with the earl, as it should seem; for he employed him to assassinate, in a secret way, a man of Ghent that was disagreeable to him, and who acted contrary to the wishes of the earl. John Lyon sought a quarrel with him, and killed him. This man was greatly lamented by all; and, for grief of what he had done, John Lyon went and resided at Douay, where he lived for three years, keeping a handsome state, for which the earl paid.

John Lyon, on account of this murder, was instantly deprived of everything he had in the city of Ghent, and banished from it for four years. The earl managed so as to make up the matter and recover for him the freedom he had lost of Ghent, which was a circumstance not before heard of, and several in Ghent and Flanders were much astonished at it, but so it

happened. In addition to this, the earl, that he might enrich himself and live well, made him deacon of the pilots: this office might be worth to him a thousand francs a-year, doing honestly his duty. Thus was John Lyon so much in the good graces of the earl that no one was equal to him.

At this time, there was a family in Ghent called the Matthews: they were seven brothers, and the most considerable of all the pilots. Among these seven brothers was one named Gilbert Matthew, who was rich, wise, subtle, and more enterprising than any of his family. This Gilbert bore in secret a great hatred to John Lyon, because he saw him so much in favour with the earl; and he occupied his thoughts, day and night, how he could supplant him. He sometimes inclined to have him slain by his brothers, but gave it up for fear of the earl. He thought so much on this subject that at last he hit upon a plan to accomplish it: however, I will first tell you the real cause why they hated each other, that you may the more fully understand it. There existed formerly, in the town of Deynse, a mortal hatred between two pilots and their families: one was called Peter Guillon, and the other John Barbé. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers were connected by blood to one of these families, and John Lyon, by similar ties, to the other. This hatred was for a long time nourished in secret, though they sometimes spoke, and even ate and drank with each other; and Gilbert made more of this connexion than John Lyon did. Gilbert, without striking a blow, bethought himself of a cunning contrivance.

The earl of Flanders resided sometimes at Ghent: Gilbert, during these residences, got acquainted with one of the earl's chamberlains, who was attached to his person, and said to him: "If my lord of Flanders pleased, he might gain, every year, a handsome revenue from the pilots, who now pay nothing: it might be levied on the foreign trade, provided John Lyon, who is deacon of the pilots, would acquit himself honestly." The chamberlain said he would inform the earl of it, which he did. The earl (like other great lords, who naturally wish for gain, and who do not foresee the consequences, but only seek to get the money into their hands) told his chamberlain to bring Gilbert Matthew to him, and he would hear what he had to say.

Gilbert was introduced, and, in conversation, made use of such arguments as appeared reasonable to the earl, who replied, "It is well: let it be so." John Lyon was immediately called into the apartment, in presence of Gilbert Matthew, quite ignorant of what had passed, when the earl opened the business to him, and added, "John, if you choose, we may gain much wealth by this scheme." John was indeed loyal in his employment, but saw this was not a reasonable demand: being unwilling to speak to the contrary, he replied, "My lord, what you have required, which it seems Gilbert has proposed, I cannot execute myself, for it will be too heavy upon the mariners." "John," answered the earl, "if you will exert yourself, the business will be done." "My lord," replied John, "I will then do every thing in my power."

The conference broke up, when Gilbert Matthew (whose only aim was to ruin John Lyon in the mind of the earl, to deprive him of his office, so that, being turned out, it might profit him) went to his six brothers, and said to them; "It is now time to assist me, which I hope you will do, like good friends and brothers, for it is your cause I am fighting. I will discomfit John Lyon without striking a blow, and so ruin him in the opinion of the earl that he shall be more disliked by the earl than he had before been liked. Now, notwithstanding all I may say or argue at the meeting to be holden, you must refuse to comply: I will dissemble, and argue that if John Lyon would faithfully acquit himself, this ordinance would be obeyed. I know so well our lord, that sooner than give up his point, John Lyon will lose his favour, as well as his office, which will be given to me; and, when I am in the possession of it you will comply with the demand. We are very powerful with the mariners of this town, so that none of them will dare oppose us. I will afterwards so manage that John Lyon shall be slain, and we have our revenge without appearing in the matter."

All his brethren complied with this request. The meeting was held of the mariners, when John Lyon and Gilbert Matthew explained the will of the earl, who proposed, by a new statute, to lay a tax on the navigation of the Lys and the Scheld. It appeared very burdensome, and too great a stretch of power, particularly to the six brothers of Gilbert, who

were more firm and unanimous in their opposition to it than all the rest. John Lyon, their deacon, was secretly rejoiced at this; for he was desirous of maintaining all their ancient rights and privileges, and flattered himself that the brothers were in his favour, while they were acting just the contrary. John Lyon reported to the earl the answer of the mariners, adding, "My lord, it is a thing which cannot be done: much evil may result from it: let things remain as they are, and do not attempt to introduce any novelties." This answer was not very pleasing to the earl, for he perceived that if the impost were laid, and collected in the manner he had been told, he should have received every year from six to seven thousand florins of revenue: he therefore made no reply, but did not think less upon it, and had those mariners whom John Lyon found rebellious sued by actions and otherwise.

On the other hand, Gilbert Matthew came to the earl and his council, to say that John Lyon did not act well in this business; that if he had his office, he would so manage the mariners that the earl of Flanders should have this revenue hereditarily.

The earl did not see clear, for this revenue, with his avarice, blinded him; and, without asking for advice, he deprived John Lyon of his office, which he gave to Gilbert. When Gilbert thus saw himself deacon of the pilots, he turned his brothers according to his will, and gave the earl satisfaction in regard to this impost, for which he was not the more beloved by the majority of the mariners; but they were forced to submit, for the seven brothers, assisted by the earl, were too many for them, and it behoved them to do so in silence.

Thus did Gilbert Matthew, by this wary method carry his point, and obtain the favour of the earl of Flanders. Gilbert made very handsome presents to the officers and chamberlains of the earl; by which means he blinded them, and gained their friendship. All these fine gifts were paid for by the mariners, which dissatisfied many, but they dared not complain. John Lyon, by the above mentioned means and intrigues of Gilbert, entirely lost the good graces of the earl: he lived quietly on his fortune, suffering patiently whatever was done to him. Gilbert, being now deacon, and secretly hating John Lyon, took away from him a third or fourth of the profits which were his due from the navigation. John Lyon did not say one word, but, prudently dissembling, and with an apparent good will, took whatever they gave him; for, he said, there were times when it was better to be silent than to talk.

Gilbert Matthew had a brother named Stephen, a cunning fellow, who had watched all the actions of John Lyon: he said to his brothers (for he prophesied to them all that was to happen); "Certainly, gentlemen, John Lyon suffers at this moment, and keeps his head very low; but he acts with good sense, and will contrive to throw us as low as we are now high. I will give you one piece of advice, which is, to kill him while we continue in the favour of my lord the earl: I can very easily do it, if you charge me with this business, by which we shall escape all the danger, and can easily get acquitted for his death." His brothers refused to consent to this, saying he had not done them any wrong, and that no man ought to lose his life but by the sentence of a judge.

Things remained in this situation for some time, when the devil, who never sleeps, put it into the heads of the people of Bruges to make a canal from the river Lys: the earl agreed in their plans, and sent a number of pioneers, with a body of men at arms to guard them. They had in former times attempted to do this, but the citizens of Ghent had by force made them desist. News was brought to Ghent, that the inhabitants of Bruges were now intending to carry by force their old scheme of making a canal to obtain the waters of the Lys, which would be very prejudicial to them; so that great murmurs arose in Ghent, more particularly among the mariners, who were much affected by it. They said, that the people of Bruges should not thus make a canal to draw off the course of the river, as it would be the ruin of the town. Some others said, in an underhand manner, "Now God save John Lyon! had he been our deacon, such an attempt would not have been made, nor the people of Bruges have had the courage to have undertaken this business."

John Lyon was duly informed of all these things: he began to awaken, saying, "I have for some time slept; but it seems that this trifling affair in appearance has roused me, and shall create such troubles between this town and the earl as will cost a hundred thousand lives." Intelligence of these diggers was brought, with great additions, that much inflamed men's minds; for it chanced, that a woman on her return from a pilgrimage to our Lady of

Boulogne, being weary, seated herself in the market-place, where there were crowds of people. They asked her, where she came from: she said, "From Boulogne; and I have seen in my road the greatest curse that can ever befal the town of Ghent: for there are upwards of five hundred diggers, who are labouring day and night to open a course for the Lys; and, if they be not immediately prevented, they will turn to their town the current of that river."

This speech of the woman was heard, and repeated in different parts of the town. The townsmen rose, and said, such things were not to be suffered nor borne quietly. Many of them went to John Lyon to ask advice in the matter, and how they should act. When John Lyon saw himself thus appealed to by those whose love and favour he wished to gain, he was much rejoiced, but took care not to show any signs of it; for it would not be a fit opportunity until the business should be more fully ascertained: he therefore made them greatly entreat him before he would speak, or give any opinion on the subject. When he was prevailed on to speak, he said: "Gentlemen, if you wish to risk this business, and put an end to it, you must renew an ancient custom that formerly subsisted in the town of Ghent: I mean, you must first put on white hoods, and choose a leader, to whom every one may look, and rally at his signal."

This harangue was eagerly listened to, and they all cried out, "We will have it so, we will have it so! now let us put on white hoods." White hoods were directly made, and given out to those among them who loved war better than peace, and had nothing to lose. John Lyon was elected chief of the white hoods. He very willingly accepted of this office, to revenge himself on his enemies, to embroil the towns of Ghent and Bruges with each other, and with the earl their lord. He was ordered, as their chief, to march against the pioneers and diggers from Bruges, and had with him two hundred such people as preferred rioting to quiet.

When Gilbert Matthew and his brothers saw the numbers of these white hoods, they were not too well pleased: Stephen said to his brothers, "Did not I well forewarn you, that this John Lyon would discomfit us? It would have been better if I had been believed, and had been allowed to have killed him, than to have seen him in the situation he is in, or will be, through these white hoods which he has re-established." "No, no," replied Gilbert, "let me but speak with my lord, and they shall be put down. I am willing they should accomplish their enterprise against the pioneers from Bruges, for the good of our town; for, in truth, it will be completely ruined, if they be suffered to proceed."

John Lyon and his rout, when they had all their white hoods, marched from Ghent, with the intention of killing the diggers and those who guarded them. News was soon carried to the pioneers, that a large force from Ghent was coming against them: they were so much afraid of the consequences they left their work, and retired to Bruges; and none were bold enough to return to their digging. John and his white hoods, not seeing any one, returned to Ghent: but they did not remain quiet, for they went up and down the town, looking at and examining every thing. John Lyon kept them in this state, and told some of them in private to make themselves comfortable, to eat and drink, and not to mind expense; for those should pay their score at a future time who would not now give them a farthing.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—BY THE EXHORTATIONS OF JOHN LYON, THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT SEND SOME OF THEIR PRINCIPAL CITIZENS TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS, TO DEMAND THE PRESERVATION OF THEIR LIBERTIES AND FRANCHISES.—THE EARL REQUESTS THESE CITIZENS TO ABOLISH THE WHITE HOODS.

DURING the time of these white hoods, and in the same week that they had marched, under the conduct of John Lyon, to Deynse, in search of the pioneers from Bruges, another cause of distrust originated at Ghent, by some who were alarmed for its franchises: they complained to those who, by the constitution, were their magistrates, that at Erclo * (a dependency on Ghent) one of their burgesses was confined in the prisons of the earl, and that they

* Probably Eccloo.

had summoned the bailiff of the earl to surrender him up, but he had refused, which was directly contrary to their privileges, and thus by little and little they were encroached upon. In former times, they were held so high and of such consequence, and were then so well defended, that the noblest knight of Flanders thought himself honoured by being a burgess of Ghent. The magistrates replied, "We will cheerfully write to the bailiff of Ghent on the part of the burgess whom he detains in prison, for him to send him to us; for, in truth, the powers of his office do not extend so far as to confine one of our burgesses in the prisons of the earl."

They acted accordingly, and wrote to the bailiff for the burgess who was prisoner at Erclo. The bailiff, Roger d'Auterme, was advised to send the following answer: "Ha! what a noise is this about a mariner? Were my prisoner ten times as rich as the one I have, I would never let him out of my prison without orders from the earl. I have powers to arrest, but none to set free." This speech was carried back, which gave much displeasure: they said, he had proudly answered. By such replies, and such unlucky accidents as the pioneers from Bruges wanting to dig on the lands of Ghent, and the encroachments on the privileges of Ghent, were that cursed crew called White Hoods introduced, and they became by degrees more feared and renowned. It behoveth such a set to have among them madmen and firebrands, to work upon the more peaceable.

This story of the burgess of Ghent being detained in the earl's prison at Erclo, and of the bailiff having refused to give him his liberty, was soon spread through the town of Ghent. Many began to murmur, and to say it ought not to be suffered; and that, from being too quiet about it, all the franchises of Ghent, which were so noble, would be lost. John Lyon, who only aimed at the embroiling the town of Ghent in such a manner with its lord that it would be impossible to settle it without loss, was not sorry when he heard these words, and wished they had been still stronger: he continued to spread secret rumours in different parts of the town, "that never could the jurisdictions or privileges of any town be properly maintained when once offices are put to sale." He intended this in allusion to Gilbert Matthew, meaning to say that he had bought the deaconship: he had also added a new debt to the navigation, which was greatly against the franchises of Ghent and their ancient privileges.

The earl now received, every year, three or four thousand francs, besides what he had from ancient custom, which caused many complaints from merchants as well as from the mariners; insomuch that those of Valenciennes, Douay, Lille, Bethune, and Tournay, began to think of giving up their commerce with Ghent, by which greater ruin would be brought upon the town, and very soon their franchises would be so neglected as to be worth nothing, if no one stood forward in the support of them. Gilbert Matthew and the deacon of the small craft, who was his relation, had such speeches daily rung in their ears: they knew they came from John Lyon, but they dared not attempt to remedy it; for John had posted white hoods in various parts of the town, and had inlisted among them the boldest and most outrageous, so that they were afraid to attack them: besides, John Lyon never went abroad alone, for when he quitted his house he was surrounded by two or three hundred white hoods, and never went down the town but in cases of absolute necessity. He always made himself be much entreated before he would give any advice on events which happened, at home or abroad, against the privileges of the town.

Whenever he did give advice or harangue the people, he spoke so well, and with so much art, that his auditors were highly pleased with his language: they commonly were unanimous in believing all he spoke as truth. John Lyon, with much art, thus harangued: "I do not say that we should in any way weaken or diminish the inheritance of my lord of Flanders; for, if we wished it, we are not able to do it: reason and justice forbid it. I am, therefore, of opinion, that we should be cautious how by any event we may incur his displeasure; for every subject ought to be on good terms with his lord. The earl of Flanders is our good lord, much feared and renowned: he has always maintained us in full peace and prosperity, which we should ever acknowledge, and endure the more (as we are bounden to do) than if he had harassed us, and made it difficult for us to keep our own. True it is, that at this present moment, he is wickedly advised against us and the franchises of the good town of

Ghent: that we of Ghent are no more in his good graces is apparent by the diggers (he residing in Bruges), who came to break in on our inheritance, and carry away our river, by which measure our good town would have been quite ruined. In addition to this, he intends to build a castle at Deynse in opposition to us and to harass us; and we know that the people of Bruges have promised him, for some time past, that they would pay him from ten to twelve thousand francs a-year, if they could have the advantage of the river Lys. I would therefore advise, that the good town of Ghent should send to him some learned men, well informed of our affairs, who would remonstrate wisely and boldly with him on all these matters, and also respecting the burgess who is in prison at Erclo, whom his bailiff will not give up, at which the town is not pleased, as well as on other affairs respecting our town. After having remonstrated with him on these things, let them inform him, that neither himself nor advisers must imagine that we are so disheartened, that, if there should be occasion, we are not able and determined to resist; and that, after the town shall have had his answers, the good men of Ghent will take proper measures to punish those who shall act with hostility towards them." When John Lyon had concluded this oration in the square of the market-place, each man said, "He has well spoken; he has well spoken;" and then they all retired to their own homes.

Gilbert Matthew was not present at this harangue of John Lyon; for he already was afraid of the white hoods: but his brother, Stephen, had been there, who was ever foretelling what was to happen: he said on his return, "I have told you truly, and I have always so said, that, by God, John Lyon will be the ruin of us all. Cursed be the hour when you would not consent to my proposal; for, had you suffered me to have killed him, I could then have easily done it; but now he is out of our reach, and we dare not attempt even to hurt him, for he has more power in this town than the earl himself." Gilbert, replying, said: "Hold thy tongue, fool; whenever I please, with the assistance of my lord, I can put down these white hoods; and some of them who now wear them will not, in a short time, have heads to put them on."

Several of the most discreet men of the town were ordered to wait on the earl as ambassadors; and I believe that Gilbert Matthew, the deacon of the pilots, was one of those chosen to go thither. John Lyon was the cause of this, because, if they should bring back any harsh answer, he would share the disgrace of it. They departed, and found the earl at Male* and managed the business so well that at last the earl assented to all their demands, as well in regard to the prisoner detained at Erclo, as in his intentions to preserve inviolate all their franchises, and also in forbidding the people of Bruges ever again to dig on the territories belonging to Ghent. All this he promised; and, the more to please the citizens of Ghent, he engaged to command the canal which the men of Bruges had dug to be completely filled up again. They quitted the earl very amicably, and returned to Ghent; when they related all that had passed with their lord, and how willing he was to maintain all their franchises; but he requested, as a proof of their friendship, that the white hoods should be laid aside. As these words were speaking, the officers of the earl brought in their prisoner from Erclo, and surrendered him up, by way of re-establishing peace according to the orders they had received, which caused great joy in the town of Ghent.

John Lyon, the chief of the white hoods, was present when the above answer was received, attended by ten or twelve of the principal of his rout. When they heard the earl's request for the white hoods to be laid aside, they were silent; but John Lyon addressed the meeting, and said, "My good people, you know and see clearly at present the value of these white hoods: have they not preserved for you, and do they not guard better your franchises, than those of red and black, or hoods of any other colour? Many are they who are afraid of them; but be assured, and remember I tell you so, that as soon as the white hoods shall be laid aside, according to the ordinance which my lord wishes to have issued against them, I will not give three farthings for all your privileges." This speech so deceived the people that they separated, and the greater part returned to their homes, saying, "Let him manage the

* It would seem from Bleau's grand atlas, that the domain and park of Male had been drowned by the sea since this time. The earl of Flanders was born there, and thence called Louis de Male.

business; for he speaks truth, and we have never seen anything in him but what was for the advantage and honour of the town."

Things remained in this state, and John Lyon in greater danger of his life than before: upon which he formed a plan, which he afterwards executed; for he clearly saw that Gilbert Matthew had, in this embassy to the earl, instigated some mischief against him and his companions, notwithstanding the friendly answers which the earl had sent. He therefore resolved to counterwork his enemies, and gave secret orders to the leaders of the white hoods, and to those who commanded the companies of hundreds and of fifties, to keep their men day and night on their guard well armed, and, on the first appearance of any movement, to march to him; for it would be better to kill than to be killed, since affairs were brought to such a pass. These orders were punctually observed, and they were exact in keeping themselves in readiness.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—THE WHITE HOODS MURDER THE BAILIFF OF GHENT IN THE MIDST OF THE MARKET.—THE HOUSES AND GOODS OF THE FAMILY OF THE MATTHEWS ARE DESTROYED.—A GRAND CONFUSION IN GHENT.

Not long afterwards, the bailiff of Ghent, Roger d'Auterme, came to town with full two hundred horse, in order to execute what had been planned between the earl, Gilbert Matthew, and his brothers. The bailiff, with his two hundred men, galloped up the streets, with the banner of the earl in his hand, unto the market-place, where he halted, and posted his banner before him. Gilbert Matthew, his brothers, and the deacon of the small craft, immediately went thither. It had been determined that these men at arms should march instantly to the house of John Lyon, and arrest him as chief of the white hoods, with six or seven others, the most culpable, carry them to the castle of Ghent, and immediately cut their heads off.

John Lyon suspected some such thing; for he had received secret intelligence from his spies, scattered over different parts of the town. He knew of the arrival of the bailiff, and saw it was a thing determined upon. The other white hoods were informed that this day had been fixed on to arrest them, and were therefore ready prepared and assembled near the house of John Lyon, who was waiting for them: they came in bands of ten and twenty, and, as they marched up, they formed in the street: when they were all assembled, they were full four hundred. John Lyon marched off as fierce as a lion, saying, "Let us advance against these traitors, who wish to ruin the town of Ghent. I thought all those fine speeches which Gilbert Matthew brought back the other day were only meant for our destruction, and to lull us asleep; but we will make him pay dearly for them." He and his rout advanced hastily: they increased very much by the way; for there were those who joined him that had not as yet put on the white hoods, who cried out, "Treason! treason!"

They marched, by a roundabout way and a narrow street, to the corn market, where the bailiff, who represented the earl, had posted himself. Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, the moment they saw John Lyon and the white hoods enter the market-place, left the bailiff, and ran away as fast as they could; and neither order nor array was observed, except by the men at arms whom the bailiff had brought thither. Immediately on the arrival of John Lyon in the market-place, with the white hoods, a large body of them advanced towards the bailiff; and, without saying a word, he was seized, thrown on the ground and slain. The banner of the earl was then dragged through the dirt, and torn to pieces; but not one man, except the bailiff, was touched. They then collected round John Lyon. When the earl's men at arms saw the bailiff dead, and their banner torn to pieces, they were thunderstruck, and, like men defeated, took to flight, and left the town.

You may easily imagine that Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who were known to be the enemies of John Lyon and the white hoods, did not think themselves very safe in their houses: they therefore set out as speedily as they could, and quitted the town through bye streets, leaving their wives, children, and goods behind them. They made what haste they could to the earl of Flanders, to whom they related all that had happened, and the death of

his bailiff. The earl was sorely afflicted at this intelligence, as well he might, for they had treated him with great contempt: he was much enraged, and swore that he would have ample revenge before he ever returned to Ghent, and before they should have peace from him, so that all other towns should take an example from it. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers remained with the earl.

John Lyon and the white hoods persevered in their outrages: after the death of the bailiff, and the flight of the men at arms, as no one offered to revenge this murder, John, who wished to ruin the Matthews (for he bore them deadly hatred), said, "Come, let us go after those wicked traitors who this day intended to have destroyed the town of Ghent." They hastened down the streets to the residence of the Matthews, but found none, for they had all gone off. They were sought for in every room throughout the houses of the adjoining streets; and, when they were convinced they were gone, John Lyon was much vexed. He gave up to his companions all their goods, when the houses were completely pillaged and razed to the ground, so that no vestige remained, as if they had been traitors to the whole body of the town.

When they had done this deed, they retired to their homes; nor was there a sheriff, or any other officer belonging to the earl or to the town, who said they had acted wrong: indeed, at that time all were afraid to say a word against them: for the white hoods were so numerous that none dared to provoke them, and they paraded the streets in large bodies without any opposition. It was said, both within and without the town, that they were connected with some of the sheriffs and rich men in Ghent, which was not unlikely; for such a ruffianly crew would never have dared to slay so noble a man as Roger d'Auterme, bailiff of Ghent, holding the banner of the earl in his hand at the time, if they had not depended on some good and able supporters in their wicked acts. They afterwards increased so much as to want no foreign aid, and became so powerful that none were bold enough to oppose any thing they thought proper to undertake. Roger d'Auterme was carried away by the Friar Minors to their church, where he was by them buried.

After this event, several of the wisest and richest citizens in Ghent began to murmur, and were much vexed: they said among themselves, that a great outrage had been committed when the earl's bailiff had thus been murdered in the execution of his office; and that their lord would be justly offended, and never grant them peace: that these wicked people had put the town to the hazard of being totally destroyed, if God did not speedily afford a remedy. Notwithstanding all these words, there was not one among them who had courage personally to correct or reprove the authors of these atrocities. John de Faucille, who at that time was a man much renowned for his wisdom in Ghent, on finding things carried to such lengths as the murdering of the earl's bailiff, thought it must end badly: that he might not be suspected by the earl, he left the town privately, and went to a handsome country-house which he had near Ghent, and there remained, having given orders to tell every one he was very unwell and melancholy, and could see none but his own people. Every day, however, he had news from Ghent; for he had left there the greater part of his family, his wife, his children and his friends; and thus he dissembled for a considerable time.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—TWELVE CITIZENS OF GHENT ARE DEPUTED TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—THE WHITE HOODS PILLAGE AND BURN THE CASTLE OF ANDREGHIEN *, OF WHICH THE EARL WAS VERY FOND.

The good people of Ghent who were rich and industrious, and had wives, families and fortunes in the town and neighbourhood, wishing as they did to live in an honourable way, were not well pleased to see things in this situation, and were very sensible how ill they had acted towards their lord: they therefore consulted among themselves how they could best remedy this ill deed, and throw themselves on his mercy, for it was better to do so soon than late. They called a council, in which it was debated what most profitable means they

* Q. if not Adeghem, which is near Eccloo.

could use to save their own honours, and to promote the advantage of the town. John Lyon and the other leaders of the white hoods were invited to this council; otherwise they would not have dared to have holden it. Many proposals were made, and long debates ensued; but at last they determined unanimously to elect twelve of the most respectable of the inhabitants, who should solicit mercy and pardon for the murder of the bailiff: and if by this they could obtain peace, it would be a good thing; but every person must be included in this peace, and nothing moved in the business hereafter.

This resolution was acted upon, and twelve citizens elected to wait on the earl. John Lyon kept always saying, that it was right to be on good terms with their lord; but his wishes were just the contrary, for he thought and said internally, "Things are not yet in the situation I wish to put them in." The determination of the council soon became public: the twelve deputies set off, and journeyed on until they came to Male, where they found the earl, who on their approach was wondrous angry, and in a cruel passion against the inhabitants of Ghent. The twelve deputies acted well their parts by appearing contrite, and, with uplifted hands, entreated him to have pity on them. They pleaded their excuse for the death of his bailiff, adding, "Dear lord, have mercy on us, so that we may carry peace back to the town of Ghent, which loves you so much; and we engage, that for the time to come, this outrage shall be amply atoned for by those who have done it or excited it, so that you shall be satisfied, and that all large towns shall take example from it." They so long and affectionately solicited the earl, that he restrained his anger; and, by other good arguments which they urged, the affair was arranged and articles of peace drawn up. The earl was on the point of pardoning all the outrages committed against him by those of Ghent, on their making the reparation agreed on, when other intelligence arrived that I will now relate.

John Lyon, who had remained at Ghent, thought directly the reverse of what he had said in the council, that it was proper to be on good terms with their lord. He knew for a certainty he had already so much irritated the earl, that he would never forgive him, and if his pardon were promised, it would be through dissimulation, which would end in his being put to death. He therefore chose rather to throw aside all shame, since he had entered so far in the business, than to continue daily in the fear of his life; and thus he acted. During the time the deputation was gone to the earl to solicit peace, he collected all the white hoods under his command, and the different handicrafts in the town the most inclined to his way of thinking, and gained his end by great artifice; for, when they were assembled, he said to them, "Gentlemen, you well know how much we have angered my lord of Flanders, and upon what grounds we have sent a deputation to him. We do not know what answer they will bring back; whether peace or war; for he is not of a temper easily appeased, and he has near his person Gilbert Matthew and his brethren, who will not fail to excite his anger. It is, therefore, a hundred to one that we have peace. It behoves us, if we should have war, to look to ourselves, and see from whom we may get assistance, and by whom we may be supported. You, deacons of the different trades, do you draw out into the fields to-morrow your men; and we will see what appearance they make; for it is proper we take measures against a surprise. This will not cost us any thing, and will make us more feared." They all answered, that he had well spoken. This measure was followed; and, on the morrow, they marched out of the gate leading to Bruges, and drew up in a handsome plain without Ghent, called Andreghien. When they were all arrived, John Lyon looked at them with great pleasure; for they were full ten thousand, well armed; and said, "Here is indeed a handsome company." When he had examined them for a short space, and had been all round them, he added, "I would propose that we visit my lord's house, since we are so near to it. I have been told that he has laid therein many stores and provisions, which may be of great prejudice to the town of Ghent."

This was agreed to; and they marched to Andreghien, which at the time was without guards or defence. They entered the house, and began to search it every where. The white hoods and their ribald crew which had entered, very soon despoiled it, taking away whatever they could lay their hands on. There were many rich jewels and clothes, for the earl kept there his wardrobe. John Lyon affected to be in a violent passion at this conduct,

but was not so in reality, as it afterwards appeared; for, after they had left the castle and marched into the plain, on looking behind them, they saw the mansion in flames in twenty different places; and, if they had entertained the inclination, it was not in their power to extinguish it. John Lyon, who pretended to be much surprised, cried out, "How has this fire happened in my lord's house?" They answered, "By accident." "Well," replied he, "it cannot now be helped; and it is still better that accident should have burnt it, than that we should. Every thing considered, it was but a dangerous neighbour; and my lord might have established a garrison therein, which would have annoyed us much." They all answered, "What you say is true."

They then returned to Ghent, and did nothing more that day; but what they had done was mischief enough, for it cost afterwards two hundred thousand lives, and was one of the principal causes which enraged the earl of Flanders the most. John Lyon had done it, because he wished not for peace: he well knew, that whatever treaty was entered into, it would be sealed with his blood. This castle of Andreghien had cost the earl of Flanders, in building and ornamenting, two hundred thousand francs; and he loved it in preference to all his other residences. The well-intentioned inhabitants of Ghent, who were desirous of peace, were exceedingly hurt at this business; but help it they could not, nor did they dare to show any symptoms of anger, for the white hoods said the castle had been burnt accidentally.

News of this was brought to the earl at Male: those who came said, "My lord, you do not know that your beautiful house of Andreghien, which has cost you such sums to build, and of which you are so fond, is burnt to the ground." "Burnt?" replied the earl, who was much enraged at this intelligence. "Yes; help me, God, if it be not true." "And by what means?" "By an accidental fire, as they say." "Ha, ha," answered the earl, "now it is all over: there shall never be peace in Flanders as long as John Lyon lives; he has had this house burnt in an underhand manner, but he shall dearly pay for it." He then ordered the deputation from Ghent to come to him, and said, "Ah, wretches! you supplicate my favour with sword in hand. I had acceded to every proposal you had made, according to your wish; and your people have set fire to and burnt the house I loved in preference to all my others. Do you think there had not been sufficient contempt shown me when they murdered my bailiff, while he was executing my orders, tore my banner, and trod it under foot? Know, that if my own honour were not concerned, and if you had not already obtained passports from me, I would now have you all beheaded. Quit my presence, and tell those wicked and outrageous men of Ghent, that they shall never have peace, nor will I listen to any negotiation, until I shall have given up to me all those whom I shall point out, and whom I will have beheaded without mercy."

These citizens were exceedingly hurt at the news they heard, and, like people who were perfectly innocent, endeavoured to excuse themselves; but in vain, for the earl was so much enraged he would not hear them: he made them leave his presence, when they mounted their horses and returned to Ghent, and there related what they had done, and how well they had managed the business; that they had succeeded in obtaining an amicable settlement with the earl, when the unfortunate event of the castle being burnt came to his ears. After this, the earl threatened them greatly, and declared he would never consent to any peace until such of the townsmen as he should choose were given up to him. The well-meaning inhabitants saw things were taking a bad turn, and that the white hoods had ruined all; but there were none bold enough to speak out.

The earl of Flanders set off with his attendants from Male, and came to his hôtel at Lille, whither he summoned all the knights of Flanders, and every gentleman dependent on him, to have their advice how he should act on this occasion, and by what means he should revenge himself on the inhabitants of Ghent for the contempt they had shown. All the gentlemen of Flanders swore to be true and loyal to him, as every one ought to be towards their lord. The earl was much pleased at this, and sent reinforcements to the garrisons in all his castles at Dendremonde, Russelmonde, Alost, at Courtray and Oudenarde.

CHAPTER XL.—THE DEATH OF JOHN LYON.—THE MEN OF GHENT CHOOSE CAPTAINS TO COMMAND THEM.—SEVERAL TOWNS IN FLANDERS ALLY THEMSELVES WITH GHENT.

JOHN LYON was rejoiced when he found the earl of Flanders in earnest, and so much enraged against Ghent that he would not grant them peace; and that, by his manœuvres, he had pushed matters so forward that the town would be obliged to make war whether it would or not. He said publicly: "You hear, gentlemen, how our lord, the earl of Flanders, is making preparations against you, and will not listen to any terms of peace: I therefore would advise, for greater security, that before we shall be more oppressed, we know what towns of Flanders will give us their support. I will answer for those of Gramont not being against us, but on the contrary they will assist us, as well as those of Courtray, which is in our castlewick, and within our jurisdiction. But as for those of Bruges, they are proud and haughty, and it has been by their means all this mischief has been fomented: it therefore becomes us to march against them, in such force, that through fair or foul means, they unite themselves with us." All present answered, that his advice was good.

In course of time, every one that was to go on this expedition made himself ready. When they were all duly prepared, in a manner becoming them, they marched from Ghent, in number from nine to ten thousand men, carrying with them a large train of stores and provision. The first day, they halted at Deynse: on the morrow, they advanced within a short league of Bruges, when they drew up in order of battle, in the plain, with their baggage in the rear. John Lyon ordered the deacons of the trades to go into Bruges, and know their intentions. They advanced thither, but found the gates shut and well guarded. When they therefore informed them what their business was, the guards said, they would cheerfully go and tell it to the burgomasters and sheriffs, who had posted them there. They did so, and the burgomasters and jurats told them to return and say, that they would call a council to consider of it. When they came back with this answer, John Lyon cried out: "Advance, advance! let us attack Bruges; for, if we wait until they shall have held their council, we shall find great difficulty to gain an entrance: it is better we attack them before they consult together, and the suddenness of our attack will surprise them."

This plan was followed; and the men of Ghent advanced to the barriers and ditches of Bruges, John Lyon marching at their head on a black horse. He quickly dismounted, and took an axe in his hand. When the guard, who were not in sufficient strength, saw the men of Ghent were so determined to attack them, they were frightened, and ran away down the streets as far as the market-place, crying out, "Here are the men of Ghent! Quickly to your posts; for they are before your walls, and at your gates."

Those of Bruges who were assembling for the council were thunderstruck, and had not time to assemble nor to give any orders upon the occasion, whilst the majority of the people were desirous that the gates should immediately be thrown open. It behoved them to agree in this with the commonalty; otherwise it would have turned out badly for the rich inhabitants. The burgomaster and sheriffs, with many of the townsmen, came to the gate where the men of Ghent were with a good inclination to attack it. The burgomaster and magistrates of Bruges, who for that day had the government of the town, advanced to open the wicket to parley with John Lyon. By treaty, they opened the barriers and gate, at which they held their conference, and were good friends. All now entered the town. John Lyon rode by the side of the burgomaster, and showed himself a bold and valiant man: his men marched in his rear in bright armour. It was a handsome sight to see them thus enter Bruges until they came to the market-place, where, as they arrived, they formed themselves in array in the square. John Lyon held a white truncheon in his hand.

A formal alliance was then entered into between the townsmen of Ghent and Bruges, which they mutually swore to keep, and to remain for ever as good friends and neighbours: those of Ghent were allowed to summon them, and to lead them with them wherever they pleased. Soon after they had been thus drawn up in the market-place, John Lyon and some of his captains went to the hall, whence they issued a proclamation for all the men of Ghent to retire peaceably to their quarters, and there to disarm themselves without noise, or any

tumult, under pain of death; which was quickly obeyed. They were also forbidden to dislodge any one, or to engage in any quarrels, or to take anything from their hosts without instantly paying for it, under the same penalty.

This proclamation being issued, another was published on the part of the town, for each householder to receive as friends the good men of Ghent, and to afford them all sorts of provision at the market prices; and that no undue advantages should be taken, nor any quarrels nor contentions stirred up, under pain of death. All persons now retired to their houses or quarters; and the inhabitants of the two towns thus remained amicably together for two days, and strengthened their alliance and friendship mutually. Their treaties being drawn out and sealed, on the third day the men of Ghent departed, and marched to the town of Damme, which instantly opened its gates, and received them most courteously: they remained there two days. John Lyon, during his short stay, was seized with a sudden sickness that swelled his body exceedingly: the night he was taken ill, he had supped in great revelry with the ladies of the town; for which reason, several said and maintained that he had been poisoned. Of this I know nothing, therefore shall not insist on it; but I do know that on the morrow he was placed on a litter, for he was taken ill in the night, and carried to Ardenbourg; but death prevented him going further, to the great sorrow of the men of Ghent, who were thrown into confusion by the event. All his enemies were as much rejoiced thereat as his friends were cast down. His body was conveyed to Ghent; and, on account of his death, the whole army returned thither. When the news of his decease was known in that town, it caused much sorrow; for he was greatly beloved by all, excepting the party of the earl. The clergy went out to meet the body, and conducted it into the town with as much solemnity as if he had been earl of Flanders. He was interred in the church of St. Nicholas, where his obsequies were performed, and where he lies.

Notwithstanding the death of John Lyon, the alliance between Ghent and Bruges was not broken; for they had carried sufficient hostages with them to Ghent, for the due performance of all its articles. The earl was exceedingly rejoiced at the death of John Lyon; as were Gilbert Matthew, his brothers, the deacon of the small craft, and all the party of the earl, who sent greater reinforcements than before to all his towns and castles, and ordered a sufficient number of good knights and squires of the castlewicks of Lille and Douay into the town of Ypres, declaring he would make Ghent repent of its conduct.

Soon after the death of John Lyon, those of Ghent considered they could not long remain without leaders. The deacons of the trades and the guards of the gates selected, according to their opinion, four of the most courageous and enterprising for their commanders, whose names were, John Pruniaux, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle, and Peter du Bois. They swore to pay these commanders the most exact obedience, under pain of death; and these four swore also to preserve and defend the honour and franchises of the town of Ghent. The four commanders excited those of Ghent to march against Ypres and the franc de Bruges, in order to obtain their union or put them to death. They therefore set off from Ghent, in grand array, to the amount of at least twelve thousand, all clad in bright armour. They took the road to Courtray. The inhabitants of Courtray allowed them to enter their town without fear, for they were within the jurisdiction of Ghent: they there refreshed themselves at their ease for two days. On the third day, they marched towards Ypres, carrying with them two hundred well-armed men from among the cross-bows of Courtray. They followed the road to Thorout, where on their arrival they halted; and the commanders held a council, in which they resolved to send three or four thousand of their men, under the command of the captain of the white hoods, to treat with the inhabitants of Ypres, and the main body to follow to reinforce them, if there should be occasion. These orders were executed, and they came before Ypres.

The commonalty of Ypres and the small handicrafts, hearing of the arrival of the army from Ghent, instantly armed themselves, and drew up in the market-place, to the amount of full five thousand. The rich inhabitants had not any power in the town. The knights placed there in garrison by the earl advanced, in handsome order, to the gate leading to Thorout, where the Ghent men had halted withoutside the barriers, requesting they would allow them to enter. The knights and their men were drawn up before the gate, and showed

such an appearance that the men of Ghent could never have gained admittance but by force. However, the ancient trades of the town were resolved they should enter, in spite of the knights: they left, therefore, the market-place, and came to the gate which the knights were guarding, and said: "Open the gate to our good friends and neighbours from Ghent: we will have them enter our town." The knights replied, "they would do no such thing; for they had been ordered thither by the earl of Flanders to defend the town, which they would do to the utmost of their power; and it was not possible for the force of those of Ghent to enter otherwise than by treason."

Words multiplied so fast between the gentlemen and the deacons of small handicrafts, that the last shouted out, "Kill them, kill them! they shall not be masters of our town." They were immediately attacked, and, after a long contest, were roughly driven down the streets, as numbers were against them; and five knights were slain, among whom were sir Robert and sir Thomas de la Hourdrie, which was a great pity. Sir Henry d'Antoing was in imminent danger of his life, and with great difficulty could some of the principal inhabitants save him: at last, they did succeed in it, and many of the others were saved also. The gate was opened, so that the men of Ghent entered the town, and became the masters of it, without doing any damage. When they had remained there for two days, and had taken hostages from the inhabitants, who entered into a similar treaty with those of Bruges, Courtray, Gramont, and Damme, they set out from Ypres in a most courteous manner, and returned to Ghent.

CHAPTER XLI.—THE MEN OF GHENT BESIEGE THE TOWN OF OUDENARDE ON ALL SIDES.—THEY MAKE A GRAND ASSAULT ON THE EARL OF FLANDERS IN DENDREMONDE.

The earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, heard how the inhabitants of Ypres had turned against him, and what the small handicrafts had done; he was sorely vexed, as well for the loss of those knights who had there been slain as for other causes. He, however, comforted himself by saying, "Well, if we have this time lost Ypres, we shall another time regain it to their curse; for I will strike off such numbers of heads, all others shall be astonished at it." The earl intended particularly to provide the town of Oudenarde most amply with all sorts of stores, provision, and men at arms; for he thought that the men of Ghent would soon come to besiege it; and, if they succeeded, the loss would be great to him, for they would then have the whole navigation of the fine river Scheld at their command. He sent thither numbers of knights and squires from Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, who assembled their people in the town whether the inhabitants would or not.

The commanders in Ghent were informed what great preparations the earl had made in Oudenarde: they determined to attack it, declaring they would not return until they had gained it, had slain all within, and razed the walls to the ground. Orders were given in Ghent for every one to provide himself in a manner becoming his rank, and to be ready to march whithersoever he might be led. None dared to disobey this order: tents and pavilions were packed up, with all other stores: having marched out of Ghent, they encamped before Oudenarde, in the beautiful meadows on the banks of the Scheld. Three days after, the men from Bruges arrived, for they had been summoned, and took up their quarters on the side near to their town, bringing with them great quantities of baggage and provision. Next came those from Ypres in great array: then the men of Poperingue, Messines, and Gramont. The Flemings thus drawn up before Oudenarde were upwards of one hundred thousand: they made bridges of boats and hurdles by which they crossed over the Scheld to each other.

The earl, who resided at Lille, thinking they would attack Dendremonde first, had sent to Germany, Gueldres, and Brabant, to ask the succour of a number of knights. The duke of Mons, his cousin, had come to serve him with a large body of knights, and had entered Dendremonde, where they met the earl of Flanders, who was already arrived there by his frontiers of Hainault and Brabant, and was truly glad of their company. The Flemings maintained the siege of Oudenarde for a long time; during which, there were daily many

grand attacks and skirmishes, and several gallant deeds of arms, both before the town and at the barriers, where numbers were killed and wounded, for the Flemings acted madly and foolishly in hazarding their persons in these skirmishes, often to their great loss.

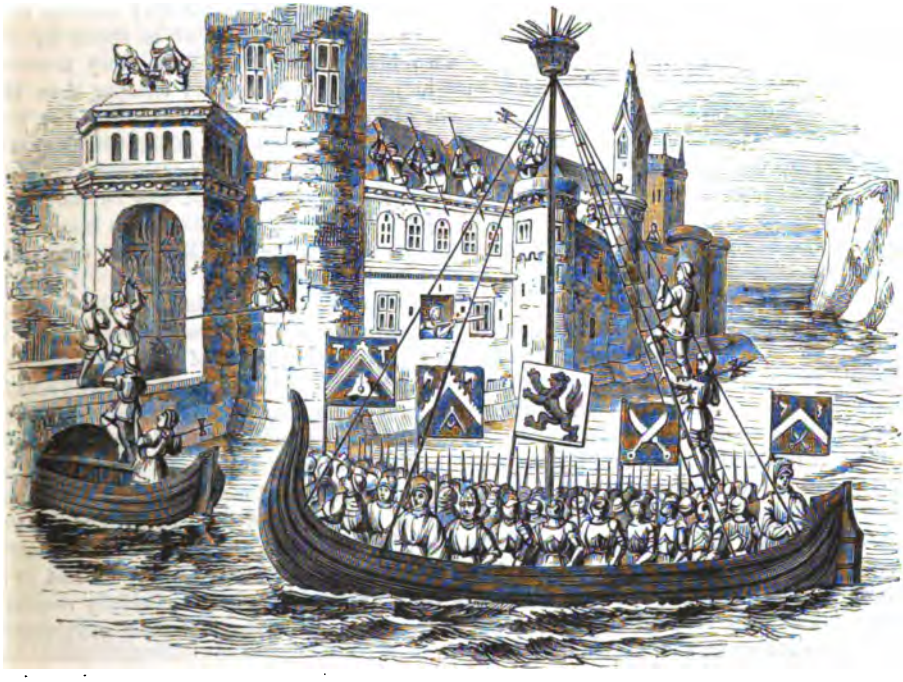
There were full eight hundred lances, knights and squires, in the town of Oudenarde, all valiant men: among whom were several barons, such as the lords de Guistelle, de Villiers, de Hullut, and de Cornais, Flemings: from Hainault were, the lords d'Anghien, d'Antoing, de Bosnel, de Taux, de Gommegines, and his three brothers, sir John, sir Daniel, and sir Joseph, the lords de Stainbourg, de Carue, sir Gerard de Marqueillies, the lord de Cohen, sir Rasse de Montigny, sir Henry de la Hamede, sir John de Gres, and other knights, amounting to about one hundred and five in number. They kept up a regular and numerous guard; for they had not any confidence in the inhabitants, and they made the women and children retire into the monasteries. The citizens and townsmen kept within their houses; and, in order to prevent the bad effects of the cannon and the perpetual fire which the Flemings kept up against the town, they had the houses covered with earth, to hinder them from taking fire.

During the siege of Oudenarde, the commanders of the Flemings were informed that the earl was at Dendremonde, and had with him his cousin the duke de Mons and numbers of other knights. They determined to send six thousand of their army thither, to examine its appearance, and to make an assault upon it. This resolution was executed. The detachment which had been ordered, under the command of Rasse de Harzelle, continued their march until they came to a small village on the river Teure, a short league from Dendremonde, where they took up their quarters. These Flemings had provided themselves with a number of boats, which they had had sent down the river, that they might embark on board of them, and attack the place by land and water. A little after midnight, they arose, armed themselves, and made every preparation to begin the attack the instant they should be arrived there; for they wished to surprise the knights in their beds. They began their march; but some of the country people, who had heard of this intention of the Flemings, informed the guards of it, saying, "Be sure you keep a strict and good guard; for a large body of the men of Ghent, who have been benighted, are lying hard by here, and we know what they intend to do." The guard at the gate related this to their captain, who was a knight from Holland, called sir Thierry de Bredoro: on receiving which intelligence, he strengthened his guard, and sent information of it to all the knights lodged in the castle and in the different houses.

Immediately on the break of day, the Flemings advanced by land and in their boats, well prepared for an instant attack. When those in the castle and town saw them approach, they sounded their trumpets to alarm every one, the greater part of the knights and squires being already armed. The earl of Flanders, who slept in the castle, heard of the march of the Flemings, and that they had commenced the attack; on which he instantly rose, armed himself, and sallied forth from the castle, his banner displayed before him. At this time, there were in the town, sir Gossuin de Wrle great bailiff of Flanders, the lord de Gau, sir Gerard de Rasenghien, sir Philip de Mamines, sir Philip de Rungi, a Burgundian, and others. All these knights advanced to meet the banner of the earl, and then they marched under it to the assault, which was already begun in a severe and horrible manner; for these Flemings had brought in their boats cannons and cross-bows, which shot such large and heavy bolts that when any one was struck by them there was no escape from death. Against these bolts they were strongly shielded; and the earl had with him some excellent cross-bows, who by their shooting gave the Flemings enough to do.

The duke de Mons was in another part with his troops drawn up, his banner before him; and there were in his company the lord de Brederode, sir Joseph and sir Thierry Lavare, sir Vivant de Chuperois, and several more, who each performed well their duty. In another quarter of the town, posted at a gate, were sir Robert Dale, sir John Villain, the lord de Vindescot, and sir Robert Mareschal. The attack here was very sharp, for the Flemings made vigorous assaults by land and water, in which many were killed and wounded on each side; but more on the side of the Flemings than on that of the gentlemen, as the Flemings adventured themselves fool-hardily. This attack lasted, without ceasing, from the break of

day until full noon. A knight of the earl's party was slain, called sir Hugh de Rony, a Burgundian: he was much lamented, for he lost his life by too much boldness, and for want of prudence. Rasse de Harzelle, the commander of the detachment, fought valiantly, and by his words and actions greatly encouraged the men of Ghent.



Men of Ghent attacking the earl of Flanders in Dendremonde. From a MS. of the 15th century.

The assault ceased in the afternoon, for Rasse found he was labouring in vain, and that in Dendremonde there were such brave men that it could not easily be taken: his troops also began to be fatigued. He therefore sounded a retreat, when the men retired in a handsome manner along the river side, bringing off their fleet of boats; and on the morrow they returned to their army before Oudenarde.

CHAPTER XLII.—SEVERAL ASSAULTS ARE MADE ON OUDENARDE.—PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE FLEMINGS AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS, BY MEANS OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

The siege of Oudenarde continued for a long time; and the Flemings before it were masters of the river and of the adjoining country, so that no provision could be introduced without great danger, and on the side towards Hainault. Sometimes victuallers, in hopes of gain, ventured, whilst the army was asleep, to come close to the barriers with provision; which by that means were brought into Oudenarde. Among the many attacks made on the town, there was one which was very vigorous: it lasted the whole day. Upon this occasion, some new knights were created from Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, who wished to distinguish themselves. These new knights advanced to the barriers, where several skirmishes took place with the men of Ghent, in which many were killed and wounded; but they paid little attention to this, and being regardless of death, they advanced so boldly that when those in the front were slain or disabled, the rear dragged them out, took their

places, and kept a handsome countenance. This attack lasted until the evening, when those of Oudenarde returned into the town, and shut the gates and barriers: they then buried their dead, and took great care of their wounded.

The Flemings thought they should certainly conquer the town by assault or by famine; for they well knew they had so closely surrounded it by land and water that nothing could enter it; and their remaining before it would not be of any detriment to them, for they were in their own country, and near their own homes. They had also every necessary article for their support, with all other things in great abundance and cheaper than they would have had them at Bruges or Ghent. The earl of Flanders, being aware of the great number of men at arms that were in the town, suspected the intentions of the Flemings, that by keeping up the blockade, they would in the end starve them to a surrender: he would therefore willingly have listened to any overture for a negotiation that was honourable for him. To say the truth, this war against his subjects was highly disagreeable to him, and he had undertaken it contrary to his own opinion. His mother, the lady Margaret, countess of Artois, blamed him much, and took great pains to put an end to it.

The countess resided in the city of Arras, whence she wrote to the duke of Burgundy, to whom the heritage of Flanders would fall by his marriage with her grand-daughter, on the death of the earl. The duke, who had before received information of this affair, for news was daily brought to him on the subject, came to Arras, attended by his council, and sir Guy de la Trimouille, sir John de Vienne admiral of France, sir Guy de Pontalliers, and several others. The countess received him with great joy, discussed with much wisdom the subject of this war between her son and his subjects; how unbecoming and very displeasing it was not only to her but to all reasonable persons. She told him, that many valiant men, barons, knights, and squires, were honourably shut up in the town of Oudenarde, and in very imminent danger; and she begged, for God's sake, he would think of and provide a remedy. The duke replied, that he was bound to do so, and would exert himself to the utmost of his power. Shortly after he left Arras, and went to Tournay, where he was joyfully received; for the inhabitants of Tournay wished much for peace on account of their merchandize, which was shut up on the Scheld.

The duke of Burgundy sent the abbot de St. Martin to the army before Oudenarde to sound the leaders of the men from Ghent, if they would enter into a negotiation. The abbot brought the duke for answer, that out of respect to him, they would enter into a treaty: the duke granted passports, and received the same from the Flemings, for the negotiators to meet at Pont de Rosne, where the first conference lasted from morning until night. The duke himself went thither to parley with the Flemings; and, after the conference, he returned to Tournay in company with the earl, whom he brought back with him. These conferences continued for fifteen days. It was difficult to satisfy the Flemings, as they insisted on having Oudenarde demolished, to which the duke and his ministers would not consent. The Flemings kept up a grand and haughty appearance, making no account of peace; for they maintained, that as those within Oudenarde could not leave it without great danger to themselves, they considered the town as conquered.

The duke of Burgundy, seeing these Flemings so proud and presumptuous, and so indifferent to conclude a treaty, could not conceive their meaning; he therefore requested a passport for his marshal to visit the knights in Oudenarde, which was instantly granted him. The marshal of Burgundy went into the town, and found the knights well provided, excepting some articles of which they were greatly in want; they, however, boldly said to the marshal: "Tell my lord of Burgundy from us, not to enter into any dishonourable treaty on our account; for, through God's mercy, we are in good health, and care not for our enemies." This answer pleased the duke much, who at the time was at Pont de Rosne: however, he did not neglect to push forwards his negotiations. To say the truth, those of Ypres and Bruges were tired of the war, as well as those from the Franc, who saw winter approaching: they therefore argued in council, that since the duke of Burgundy, to accommodate the business, had come thither in person, and had engaged to have everything pardoned; since also the earl would return in an amicable manner to Ghent, there to reside, and, let what would happen, would never remember the past; all these considerations ought

to be attended to; and they considered themselves bound to acknowledge their lord with respect, and not attempt to tear his inheritance from him.

These words greatly softened the men of Ghent, and they agreed to accept the treaty. The duke gave a most magnificent dinner to the principal persons from Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Courtray. On that day, it was settled that the siege should be raised, and a solid peace concluded between the earl and his subjects: that the earl should grant a general pardon to all, without any reservation, dissembling or exception whatever: that he should reside at Ghent, and that within a year the citizens of Ghent should rebuild the castle of Andreghien, which report said they had burnt. For the fuller confirmation of all this, John Pruniaux was to accompany the duke of Burgundy to Tournay, where it was to be properly drawn up and sealed. After this, the duke returned to Tournay, and John Pruniaux and John Boule remained with the army. On the morrow, peace was proclaimed between the two parties, the siege was raised, and every man returned to his home. The earl disbanded his soldiers, and greatly thanked the foreigners for the gallant services they had done him: he then went to Lille, to execute the treaties which his son-in-law the duke of Burgundy had concluded for him.

Some of the neighbouring countries said, that this was a double-faced peace; that there would be another rebellion; and that the earl had only consented to it, in order to extricate such a number of noble knights and squires from the danger they ran in Oudenarde. John Pruniaux, after the breaking up of the siege, went to Tournay, where the duke of Burgundy entertained him handsomely. The articles of the treaty were there completed, and sealed by the duke and the earl of Flanders. John Pruniaux afterwards returned to Ghent, and showed what he had done. The duke of Burgundy had so well managed the men of Ghent, by kind words, that Oudenarde was saved from destruction; for, when the siege was raised in conformity to the treaty, they would have demolished the gates and walls of the town, that it might remain open and ready for them to retire to. The earl of Flanders having resided some time at Lille, after the duke of Burgundy had returned to France, went to Bruges, where he made a long stay: during which, he secretly showed great displeasure to some of the citizens of Bruges, without, however, doing any thing more, nor seeming desirous of otherwise punishing them, for their having so readily deserted his party, and placing themselves under the command of Ghent. These citizens excused themselves by saying, what was indeed true, that it had not been through any fault of theirs, but was solely owing to the small handicrafts of the town, who would ally themselves with those of Ghent when John Lyon came before Bruges. The earl passed over their misconduct with as fair looks as he could, but he did not the less remember it. We will now leave him and the Flemings, and return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAPTER XLIII.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY RETURNS FROM ENGLAND, AT THE ENTREATY OF HIS SUBJECTS.—THE ENGLISH ARE DESIROUS OF MARRYING THEIR YOUNG KING.—THE KNIGHTS OF ENGLAND SENT TO THE AID OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MEET WITH GREAT TEMPESTS AT SEA.

You have before heard that the duke of Brittany resided in England with king Richard and his uncles, who entertained him handsomely, and that his country was in great trouble; for the king of France had ordered thither his constable with a large body of men at arms, who had fixed their quarters at Pontorson, and near St. Michael's Mount, whence they made war on all the adjacent country. The inhabitants of the cities and principal towns kept themselves well inclosed, and were very anxious for the return of their lord, to whom they had already sent letters and messengers: but he was fearful of trusting to them, until the prelates and barons of Brittany and the great towns began to murmur, and say; "We send every week letters of invitation to the duke; but, instead of coming, he only returns us excuses." "In God's name," said some of them, "there must be a reason for this: we send to him in too simple a manner. We ought to send him a knight or two of rank, in whom he may trust, and who will fully explain to him the true state of the country."

This proposal was agreed to; and two valiant knights, sir Geoffry de Querimel and sir Eustace de la Houssaye, were entreated to go to England, at the joint solicitations of the prelates, barons and principal towns in Brittany *. These two knights made preparations for their voyage to England, and, embarking on board a vessel at Cano†, had weather and wind according to their wish. They made sail for Southampton, and there disembarked: continuing their journey to London, they found the duke and duchess of Brittany and sir Robert Knolles, who received them with great joy, and handsomely entertained them.

The knights then related to the duke the state and disposition of his country, and how very ardently his return was wished for; to confirm which, they gave to the duke their credential letters from the prelates, barons and principal towns of Brittany. The duke gave full credence to the knights and their letters, and said he would show them to the king and his uncles, which he did. When the king and his uncles heard all these things, and how the whole of Brittany, the prelates, barons and principal towns, excepting Guesclin, Laval, Clisson, Rohan and Rochefort, had sent to the duke their lord, supplicating him to return to his own country, the king said to him, "You must go over to Brittany, since they send for you, and maintain your rights: we will shortly send to your assistance a sufficient force of men at arms to defend your frontiers; but you will leave the lady-duchess with my mother and her brothers, whilst you go to carry on this war."

The duke heard these words with great joy, and made his preparations accordingly: he was not long in having every thing ready at Southampton. When taking leave of the king, the princess of Wales, and of his duchess, he made a strict treaty of alliance with the king of England, and swore on his faith, that if he should speedily be succoured by the English, he would always remain steadily attached to them, and do all in his power to make his country join with him; and that England should always find his ports open, whenever her fleets should come thither. After this, he set out from London, accompanied by sir Robert Knolles and the two knights who were sent to him, with about one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers. There was a short delay at Southampton, waiting for a favourable wind, where they embarked. They landed at Guerrande‡, and rode on to Vannes. The inhabitants of that city received the duke with great demonstrations of joy, as indeed did the whole country when they heard of his arrival. The duke refreshed himself for five days, or thereabouts, in Vannes, and then went to Nantes: there he was waited on by barons, prelates, knights, ladies and damsels, who all offered their services, and put themselves under his obedience. They greatly complained of the French, and of the constable, who had quartered himself in the country near Rennes. The duke said, "My friends, I shall shortly have aid from England; for without the assistance of the English, I shall not be able to defend myself against the French; otherwise they will be too strong for us, seeing that we are not all in this country of one mind. But when the forces which the king of England has promised shall be arrived, if they have done you wrongs, we will return them the compliment." This speech greatly pleased those of the duke's party who were present.

In this year, about St. Andrew's day, died the lord Charles, king of Germany and emperor of Rome. King Charles had done so well by money and by his great connections, that the electors of the empire had given it under their oaths and seals, they would elect, after his decease, his son emperor, and exert their whole power to maintain the siege before Aix, and to defend him against all opposers: so that, after the death of Charles, his son Winceslaus, who before was king of the Romans, signed himself emperor of Rome, king of Germany and Bohemia.

About this same season, there were many councils held in England, by the uncles of the king, the prelates and barons, relative to marrying the young king Richard. The English would have preferred a princess of Hainault, out of love for that good lady queen Philippa, who had been so virtuous, liberal and honourable, and who had come from Hainault; but duke Albert, at that time, had not any daughters marriageable. The duke of Lancaster

* The Histoire de la Bretagne mentions three other persons as deputies, and cites the public acts for authority. Geoffry de Querimel was a favourite of the duke.

† "Cano." Q. Concarneau.

‡ "Guerrande,"—a town in Brittany, between the rivers Vilaine and Loire, diocese of Nantes.

would willingly have seen the king, his nephew, married to his daughter, whom he had had by the lady Blanch of Lancaster, but the people would not have consented to this for two reasons; that the lady was his cousin-german, and too nearly related; and that they wished the king to choose a queen from beyond sea, in order to gain stronger alliances. The sister of the king of Bohemia and of Germany, daughter of the lately deceased emperor, was then proposed, and the whole council assented to it.

Sir Simon Burley, a sage and valiant knight, who had been the king's tutor, and much beloved by the prince his father, was nominated to go to Germany, to treat of this marriage, as a wise and able negotiator. Every necessary preparation was ordered, as well for his expenses as otherwise. He set out from England magnificently equipped, and arrived at Calais; from thence he went to Gravelines, and continued his journey until he came to Brussels, where he met the duke Wenceslaus of Brabant, the duke Albert, the count de Blois, the count de St. Pol, sir William de Maulny, and numbers of knights from Brabant, Hainault, and other parts, partaking of a grand feast of tilts and tournaments; and it was on this occasion all these lords were there assembled. The duke and duchess of Brabant, from the love they bore the king of England, received his knight most courteously. They were much rejoiced on hearing the cause of his journey into Germany, and said it would be a good match between the king of England and their niece. They gave to sir Simon Burley, on his departure, special letters to the emperor, to assure him they approved very much of this marriage. The knight set out from Brussels, and took the road through Louvain to Cologne.

About this time, the king of England and his council ordered two hundred men at arms and four hundred archers to Brittany, under the command of sir John Arundel: sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Banaster, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Walter Pole, sir John Bourchier, the lord Ferrers and the lord Basset were appointed to this expedition. These knights made all the preparation they wanted, and went to Southampton, where they embarked on board their vessels. When they had a favourable wind, they set sail. The first day, it was fair; but, towards evening, it veered about, and became quite contrary, which drove them, whether they would or not, on the coasts of Cornwall. The wind was so strong and impetuous, they were afraid to cast anchor. On the morrow, the storm continued as fierce as ever, and forced them into the Irish sea; when it became so violent, three of their ships sunk, on board of which were sir John Arundel, sir Thomas Banaster, and sir Hugh Calverley. Upwards of eighty perished of their complement of men at arms, and in the number the commander-in-chief, sir John Arundel, which was great pity, for he was a valiant and enterprising knight. Sir Thomas Banaster and sir Walter Pole, two brave knights, were drowned, and many others.

Sir Hugh Calverley never before experienced greater peril; for all those who were in his vessel were drowned, except himself and seven sailors; but sir Hugh and the sailors took to the masts and cables to save themselves, and, as the wind was strong, they were blown on the shore: but, having swallowed much sea-water, they were long sick and uncomfortable. Sir Thomas Trivet, sir John Bourchier, the lords Ferrers and Basset escaped this danger, with others: however, they were much driven and tumbled about. When the tempest ceased, they returned as well as they could to Southampton, and waited on the king and his uncles; to whom they related their misfortunes, including sir Hugh Calverley among the drowned: but it was not so, as it afterwards appeared when he came to London.

This expedition was put an end to; and the duke of Brittany did not receive any assistance from the English, which was very much against him; for all that season and the ensuing winter the French carried on a destructive war. The Bretons, that is to say, sir Oliver de Clisson and his men, took the town of Dinant, by means of vessels and boats, which they pillaged, and kept afterwards, for a long time, against the duke and the country. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders.

CHAPTER XLIV.—THE TOWN OF GHENT SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS TO ENTREAT HIM TO COME THITHER.

When peace was concluded between the earl of Flanders and the men of Ghent, by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, which gained him great popularity throughout the country, the men of Ghent were very desirous that the earl should come and fix his residence in their town. The provost of Haerlabeke had strongly advised the earl to improve the affection between him and Ghent, in which he was seconded by all the earl's relations. The earl, however, continued to reside at Bruges, and never went near Ghent, which surprised every one; but, in particular the well-intentioned and principal inhabitants, who were anxious for peace. As for the white hoods and pillagers, who only sought disturbance, they dreaded his return: for they suspected, that if he did come, they would be privately corrected for the evils they had done.

Notwithstanding these doubts of the magistracy and town-council, the rich men were particularly impatient for his arrival, and wished they would send to request it; for they did not look upon the peace as stable until he should have resided in Ghent. Twenty-four deputies were selected to go to Bruges, to declare to the earl the great love the town of Ghent had for him, and their wishes for his residence among them. They set off in a magnificent manner, as those should who wait on their lord; but they were told on leaving the town, "Never think of returning to Ghent, unless you bring back the earl with you; otherwise you will find the gates shut." Thus did the citizens of Ghent set out, taking the road towards Bruges. When they were between Deynse and Bruges, they learnt that the earl was coming, which gave them great pleasure; and, after they had rode on about a league, they perceived the earl in the plain. On seeing him, they advanced in two divisions, making a lane, through which the earl and his knights passed.

The citizens made low reverences, and showed every mark of respect to the earl and to his attendants: but he scarcely looked at them, only touched a little his hat; and, during the whole time, he never noticed them. Thus they all rode on; the earl on one side, the deputation from Ghent on another, until they came to Deynse, where they stopped, for the earl was to dine there. The deputation took some houses for themselves, and dined also. After dinner, they waited on the earl; and, having knelt down before him (for the earl was seated,) they presented to him the humble affection of the citizens of Ghent, and remonstrated with him, that from their great love to him, and their earnest desire for him to reside among them, they had been deputed, adding; "On our departure, my lord, the townsmen said, that we must not think of returning unless we brought you with us." The earl, who had well heard these words, was for a time silent; when he said calmly,—"I willingly believe all you say, and that many in Ghent wish me to come thither: but I am surprised they do not recollect, nor seem inclined to remember former times, when I was so desirous of complying with all their requests, and how I expelled from the country such of my gentlemen as they complained of, in compliance with their laws. I have too often opened my prisons, to surrender up mine and their own burgesses, whenever they solicited it. I have loved and esteemed them more than any other of my subjects; and they have behaved to me quite the contrary, slain my bailiff, destroyed the houses of my people, driven away my officers, burnt the house in the world which I loved the most, forced my towns to side with them, murdered my knights in the town of Ypres: in short, they have acted so wickedly towards me and my rights that I am tired of mentioning them, and wish never to remember them; but, whether I will or not, I cannot help doing so."

"Ah, my lord," replied the deputies, "do not think more of what has passed: you have pardoned us for all those evil deeds." "That is true," answered the earl, "and I do not mean, by what I have just said, that in time to come you shall fare the worse for it. I only point out to you the great cruelties and wickedness which I have suffered from the town of Ghent." The earl was then softened: rising up, he made them rise also, and, calling to the lord de Ruiseliers who was near him, said, "Let them bring wine." The deputation drank of it, and then retired to their lodgings, where they remained all night, for the earl staid there. On the morrow, they all rode together towards Ghent.

CHAPTER XLV.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS ENTERS THE TOWN OF GHENT, AND SECRETLY DEPARTS FROM IT.—THE WALLS OF OUDENARDE ARE RAZED BY THE WHITE HOODS, THEIR ALLIES AND ACCOMPLICES.

WHEN the inhabitants of Ghent heard the earl was on the road thither, they were much rejoiced, and went out to meet him on horseback and on foot: they bowed very lowly when they met him, and showed him all the reverence in their power; but he passed on without saying a word, only just bowed his head to them. He rode to his hôtel, called La Pôterne, where he dined. Great presents were made him by the town, and the magistrates waited on him, who humbled themselves greatly in his presence, as was but right. The earl addressed them, saying, "that when there was a stable peace, everything ought to have a peaceable appearance: I would, therefore, that these white hoods be laid aside, and some amends made for the death of my bailiff, for his family are very importunate with me on the subject."

"My lord," replied the magistrates, "that is fully our intention; and we beseech your highness, that you would have the goodness to come to-morrow to the square, and explain to your subjects, in an amicable manner, what your wishes are: they will be so much rejoiced on seeing you again that they will comply with all your desires." The earl agreed to their request. In the evening, it was known to numbers, that the earl was, on the morrow, to harangue the people at eight o'clock in the morning, in the market-place. Good men were much pleased thereat; but the mad and outrageous thought little of it, and said they had had enough of harangues, and knew well what they were to do. John Pruniaux, John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle, and Peter du Bois, leaders of the white hoods, were fearful that everything would be laid to their charge, and, having discoursed together, sent for some of their men, making choice of those that were the worst and most violent of their companions, and said to them, "Be sure you remain all this night and to-morrow armed; and whatever may be said to you, do not put off your white hoods; but be all of you in the market-place to-morrow by eight o'clock, and make not any riot unless it be first begun on you. You will either give these orders to your companies or send them by a safe hand." They answered they would punctually comply, which they did.

The next morning, at eight o'clock, they all went to the market-place, but not in a body: they separated in different parties, for their leaders were then among them. The earl came on horseback to the market-place, attended by his knights, squires, and magistrates of the town. John de Faucille was with him, and upwards of forty of the richest and most respectable inhabitants. The earl, as he was passing up the market-place, cast his eyes on the white hoods, which made him melancholy: he dismounted, as did his attendants, and went to a window, from whence he leaned out, on a crimson cloth, which had there been spread for him.

The earl began to address the people in a very discreet speech, in which he showed what love and affection he had borne them before they had angered him. He remonstrated, that a prince and sovereign lord ought to be loved, feared, obeyed, and honoured by his subjects, and explained how very contrary they had acted. He also noticed how well he had always defended them against their enemies, and had kept them in peace and prosperity: that he had opened to them communications by sea, which before his joyful accession had been shut against them. He displayed much argument and good sense, which were understood by the wise, and acknowledged for truth. He was well listened to by several, but by others not at all, for they were desirous of confusion. When he had spoken an hour, he concluded by saying, "that after having so fully explained everything, he was willing to continue their good lord, in the same manner as he had formerly been: that he forgave all the injuries and contempt they had shown him; and that he would never more recollect the evil deeds which had passed, but would preserve to them their rights and franchises, as he had done. He entreated therefore, that no novelties might be introduced, and that those white hoods should be laid aside."

During the first part of his speech, all were silent, as if there had not been any one

present; but, the moment he touched on the white hoods, murmurs were heard on all sides, which showed it was on that account. The people were then entreated to retire to their houses in a peaceable manner. The earl left the market-place with his attendants, and the rest went to their homes. But I must say, that the white hoods came the first to the market-place, and were the last to quit it; and, when the earl passed through them, they looked ill-humoured at him, disdaining to pull off their caps, which affected him much; for he said afterwards to his knights, when retired to La Pôterne, "I shall never gain my wish with these white hoods: they are an accursed wicked people. My mind tells me, things will not remain long as they now are: if I may judge from appearances, there is much evil intended; and, were I to lose all, I will not suffer such pride and wickedness."

The earl remained four or five days at Ghent, and then he departed in such a manner as showed he never again intended returning thither. He went to Lille, where he made his preparations for passing the winter. He scarcely took leave of any one when he quitted Ghent, and set out much out of humour, for which several of the town were displeased, and said he would never do them any good again; that they would no more love him than he did them: he had now left them as he had done before; and that Gilbert and his brothers had so advised, seeing that he had so suddenly, and without affection, departed from Ghent. John Pruniaux, Rasse de Harzelle, John Boule and Peter du Bois, with the other wicked captains, were much pleased at all this, and spread rumours over the town, that the earl would return in the summer with sufficient force to break the peace; that it behoved every one to be on his guard, and to lay in good store of corn, oats, meat, salt, and all sorts of provision, for that no dependance could be placed on the earl.

The townsmen, therefore, laid in very great stores of all things necessary for them: when it was told the earl, he was mightily surprised, and could not guess why they were so very suspicious. To say the truth, when all which I have related is duly considered, one cannot but wonder how the men of Ghent dissembled, and had done so from the beginning. The rich and principal men of the town could not excuse themselves for their conduct at the commencement of these commotions; for certainly if they had been willing, when John Lyon first introduced the wearing of white hoods, they could easily have prevented it: they might have sent against the canal-diggers of Bruges other men who would have done as well as the white hoods: but they permitted them, because they did not choose to have it thought they were against the franchises of the town. They therefore consented to every thing, for which the richest and most discreet men paid very dearly afterwards. They were no longer masters in the town, and dared neither speak nor act but as the white hoods pleased. They said, that neither for John Lyon nor for Gilbert Matthew, nor for their wars and hatreds would they take part; but they were united in one point, the preserving and defending the franchises of the citizens of Ghent, which they afterwards demonstrated, for they made a war which lasted for seven years; and, during that time, there were no quarrels in the town, which was their great cause of defence both at home and abroad. They were so much united together that there were not any distractions among them, but each subscribed his money and jewels to the general fund; and those among them who had the greatest abundance gave it to this stock, as you shall hear related.

Not long after the earl of Flanders' departure from Ghent, and fixing his residence at Lille, Oliver d'Auterme, cousin-german to Roger d'Auterme, whom the men of Ghent murdered, sent his defiance to that town, in revenge for his death. Sir Philip de Mamines did the same, as well as several others. After these challenges had been delivered, they met about fifty boats, with their crews, descending the Scheld, laden with corn for Ghent, on whom they retaliated for the death of their cousin: having seized the mariners, they put out their eyes, and in this maimed and miserable state they sent them to Ghent. The citizens of Ghent looked on this act as a personal injury done to them: when complaints of it were brought before the magistrates, they were much enraged, and knew not what to say. There were great murmurings throughout the town; and the majority of the inhabitants said the earl of Flanders had done it, so that scarcely any one that was a respectable character could offer any thing in his defence.

The instant John Pruniaux, who was at the time the principal leader and master of the

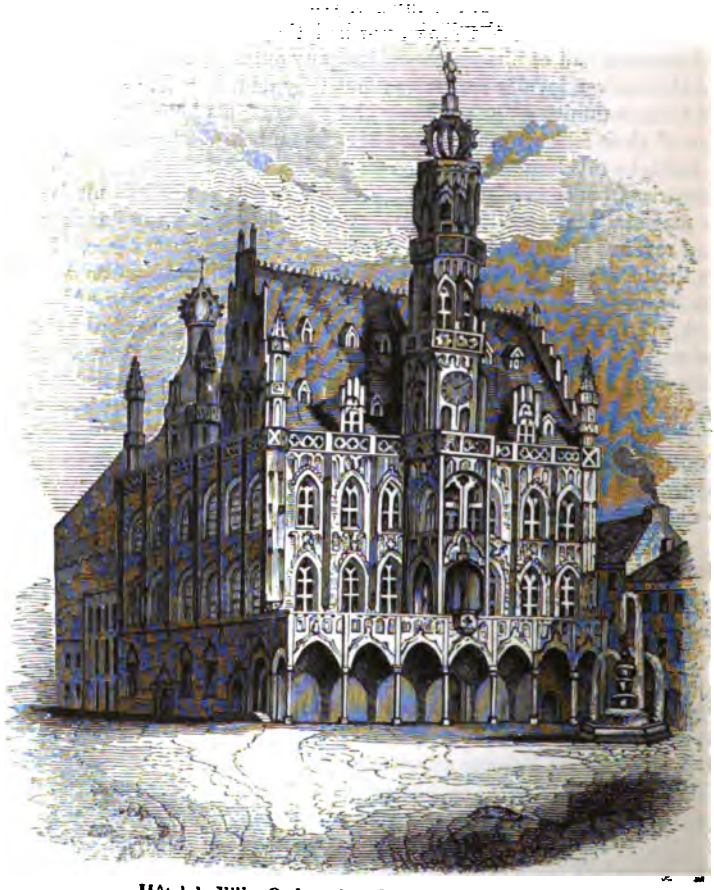
white hoods, heard this news, without saying a word to the magistrates of the town, (I know not if he mentioned his plan to the other captains, his companions, but I should suppose he did,) assembled the greater part of the white hoods, and others equally inclined to do evil, and marched out of Ghent, taking the road to Oudenarde. When he came thither there was not any guard nor sentinel, for they suspected nothing: he seized the gate, and entered the town with his men, who amounted to more than five thousand. When morning came, he set labourers to work, with carpenters and masons whom he had brought with him; and they never ceased working until they had destroyed the two gates, the towers and the walls, which they flung into the ditch on the side towards Ghent. Now, how could those excuse themselves who had consented to this wicked deed? for they remained in Oudenarde upwards of a month, destroying the gates and walls. If they had remanded their people as soon as it was known what they were doing, one might have excused them; but they did no such thing: on the contrary, they winked at it, and suffered them to proceed, until news was carried to the earl, who resided at Lille, how John Pruniaux had stolen into Oudenarde, and was destroying two of the gates and walls of it, as well as the towers.

The earl was in great choler on hearing this; indeed, he had good cause for it; and said, "Ha, these accursed people! the devil possesses them: I shall never have peace so long as these Ghent men have such power." He then sent some of his council to the magistrates of Ghent, to remonstrate with them on the violent outrage they had committed, and to declare they were people with whom no terms could be kept, since the peace which the duke of Burgundy had with great difficulty procured for them, had been already broken and infringed. The mayor and jurats of the town of Ghent excused themselves by saying, "that they never thought of breaking the peace, nor had they any such wish or inclination; and that, if John Pruniaux had of himself committed any outrage, the town would not avow it." They excused themselves loyally and fully; but they added, "that the earl had permitted great excesses to be committed against them, by those of his household, who had wounded and slain some of their fellow-citizens; and this was much felt by the whole town. What say you, my lords, to this?"

The commissaries from the earl replied, "they had well revenged themselves." "Oh no," answered the magistrates: "we do not say that what John Pruniaux has done at Oudenarde was by way of revenge; for we can clearly prove by the treaty of peace, if we choose, and we appeal to the testimony of the duke of Burgundy, that Oudenarde was to have been dismantled by us, or put in the state it is now in: but, at the entreaty of the duke, we did not then insist upon it." The commissaries replied; "It appears then, by what you have said, that you ordered it to be done, and you cannot now excuse yourselves from this charge: since you knew that John Pruniaux was gone to Oudenarde, (whither he had marched with a large army, and had surprised it under shadow of the peace,) and that he was destroying the fortifications and throwing the walls into the ditch, you ought to have gone thither and forbidden him to commit such outrages, until you should have laid your complaints before the earl. Of the wounding and assaulting your citizens, you should have addressed yourselves to the duke of Burgundy, who had made the peace, and remonstrated with him on the business. By this means, your quarrels would have been made up; but you have not done so. My lord of Flanders therefore informs you, that since you have thus contemptuously behaved yourselves towards him, and then petition him with swords in your hands, he will one day take such cruel revenge on you that all the world shall ever afterwards speak of it." They then left the mayor and jurats of Ghent, and, after they had dined, set out on their return through Courtray to Lille; when they related to the earl what they had done, and what excuses the town of Ghent had made.

CHAPTER XLVI.— THE MEN OF GHENT SURRENDER OUDENARDE.— THEY DESTROY THE HOUSES OF THE NOBLES.—A CRUEL AND PITILESS WAR RENEWED BETWEEN THE MEN OF GHENT AND THE NOBILITY.

One may well be surprised to hear the matter of this treaty so diversely spoken of, and such astonishing accounts told of it, which every one who reads may understand. Some said, the men of Ghent were in the right to make this war, which was so cruel and of such long continuance in Flanders, adding, they had a just cause for so doing; but it does not so appear to me from what I have seen, nor can I learn or understand but that the earl always preferred peace to war, excepting where his honour and dignity were concerned. Did he not give up the citizen who was confined in his prison at Erclo? Yes, he did; and they murdered his bailiff. In order to preserve peace, he again pardoned them this outrage; when they in one day caused an insurrection throughout all Flanders against him, and slew, even in the town of Ypres, five of his knights. They afterwards attacked Oudenarde, and besieged it, doing every thing in their power to take and destroy it. After this, peace was concluded; but they refused to make any atonement for the death of Roger d'Auterme, though his family had frequently demanded it; for which that family had revenged themselves on some mariners, by whom all these disturbances were originally created: and was this a sufficient reason for the total destruction of Oudenarde? I think not; and this opinion is confirmed by many others agreeing in it. They said in reply, that the earl had other things to settle with Ghent; and insisted on having reparation made for what had been done to the mariners, before they would surrender Oudenarde.



Hôtel-de-Ville, Oudenarde. From a Flemish Drawing.

The earl was exceedingly enraged, as well as his council, that the Ghent men should keep possession of Oudenarde. He knew not how to expel them from it, which made him sorely repent, that notwithstanding the peace he had entered into with Ghent, he had not more strongly guarded it. He frequently wrote and sent to them to surrender it to him; otherwise he would wage so severe a war that they should for ever remember it. The citizens of Ghent were unwilling to avow this act; for, if they had, the peace would have been broken. At last, some of the principal inhabitants, who wished for peace and tranquillity, such as John de Faucille, Guisebert de Guise, sir Simon Bete and many others, undertook the business; and, after twelve days negotiating, those from Ghent who were in Oudenarde returned home, and the town was surrendered to the earl's men. In order further to appease the earl, John Pruniaux was banished from Ghent and from Flanders for ever: his sentence stated it as the reason, that he had gone and taken possession of Oudenarde without the knowledge of the magistrates of Ghent. Sir Philip de Mamines, sir Oliver d'Auterme, le Galois de Mannes, le bastard de Widringues, and all those who had been actors or abettors in the maiming the mariners of Ghent, were also banished the country. These banishments appeased both parties.

Pruniaux quitted Flanders, and went to Ath in Brabant. Sir Philip de Mamines went to Valenciennes in Hainault; but, when those of Ghent heard it, they worked upon the provost and jurats of Valenciennes, so that the provost, John Paris, prevailed on the knight quietly to leave the town: he departed of his own free will, and resided at Warlain, near Douay, until he heard better news. The other knights and squires went from Flanders to Brabant, where they remained until more agreeable intelligence made them quit it. As soon as the earl of Flanders had regained possession of Oudenarde, he sent thither numbers of workmen to repair the gates, towers and walls, which he made stronger than before: the ditches also were deepened.

All this was known at Ghent; but they took no notice of it, lest they should be reprimanded for having infringed the peace. The discontented, however, said among themselves; "Let them work as long as they please in repairing Oudenarde, for, were it now of steel, it could not resist us, whenever we may choose to take it."

Although there was peace in Flanders, the earl had constant suspicions of Ghent; for every day some tales were brought him respecting it: and similar ones were told of him to the townsmen of Ghent. John de Faucille went to reside at Nazareth, a very handsome and strong house of his a good league distant from Ghent. He dissembled there as long as he was able, and would not be of the town-council, in order to avoid being marked by the earl. He also absented himself very much from his attendance on the earl, to preserve his popularity in Ghent, and thus, as it were, swimming between two streams, kept himself as much neuter as he could.

During the time the earl was repairing Oudenarde, and had just finished it, he was earnest, by letters and messages to his cousin the duke of Brabant, to get possession of John Pruniaux, who resided at Ath. He managed the matter so well that he was delivered up, and brought to Lille, where he was beheaded, and his body placed on a wheel as a traitor. Such was the end of John Pruniaux. At this same time, the earl came to Ypres, and held there several courts of justice, by whose judgments many wicked people were beheaded; such as fullers and weavers, who had opened the gates to the men of Ghent, and slain the earl's knights that others might from them take warning. All this was told in Ghent, which made them more suspicious than before, especially the leaders of the expeditions to Oudenarde. They said among themselves; "Certainly the earl will, if he can, destroy all of us. He loves us so well, he only wants our lives. Has he not put to death John Pruniaux? In truth, we must own that we acted very wrong in regard to John Pruniaux, when we suffered him to be banished: we are guilty of his death; and, if they can catch us, such an end as his awaits us. Let us be on our guard."

Peter du Bois added; "If you will be advised by me, there shall not a gentleman's house of any strength remain in the country about Ghent; for by such houses we may all be destroyed, if we do not take care and provide a remedy." The others answered, "You say well; come quick, let us down with them all." Upon this, the captains, Peter du Bois,

John Boule, Rasse de Harzelle, John de Launoy, and several others, made preparations for setting out from Ghent, which they did, and burnt and destroyed all the houses of the gentlemen: whatever they found therein, they divided among themselves as fair booty. After this, they returned to Ghent; and none were bold enough to say to them, You have done ill.

The gentlemen, knights and squires, who resided at Lille with the earl, on hearing this, were much enraged, and with reason: they told the earl, that this outrage ought to be punished, and the pride of the Ghent men humbled. The earl gave to these knights and squires permission to make war on Ghent, and revenge themselves for the injuries they had suffered. They made alliances with many knights and squires of Flanders, and entreated their friends in Hainault to assist them, and chose for their commander le Hasle de Flandres, the eldest bastard son of the earl, a right valiant knight.

This Hasle de Flandres and his companions sometimes fixed their quarters in Oudenarde, at others at Gavres, Alost or Dendremonde, and had frequent skirmishes with the Ghent men. They advanced up to the barriers of the town, and destroyed almost all the windmills which were around it, committing other injuries on Ghent. They had with them a young knight from Hainault, well inclined to serve them, whose name was sir James de Verchin, séneschal of Hainault. He performed many gallant deeds, and adventured himself sometimes too rashly, in tilting close to the barriers, and twice or thrice won from them their helmets and cross-bows. This sir James de Verchin was very fond of arms, and would have greatly excelled if he had lived longer; but he died young, and in his bed, at the castle of Ombre, near Mortaigne, which was a great loss.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE NOBLES MAKE WAR UPON THE FLEMINGS.

The men of Ghent had been very free in their jokes and mockeries of the noblemen and gentry of Flanders, but were afterwards sorry for it, and had once intentions of sending to duke Albert of Hainault, to request he would recal his knights who were making war against them; but, on reconsidering the business, they thought it would only be lost labour, for the duke would not interfere in it. They were unwilling also to anger him more, for they should fare ill without his country; and if Hainault, Holland and Zealand were shut against them, they might consider themselves as ruined. They therefore gave up this, and followed other council, which was to send to those knights and squires of Hainault who held possessions within Ghent or its dependency, to come and serve them under pain of losing their estates: they, however, paid no attention to their summons. To this effect, they sent to sir Hervé, lord d'Antoing, who had an estate in Ghent, and was also constable of the castle, to assist them, or he would lose the rights of his castlewick; and, because he would not obey their summons, they razed his house of Vienne to the ground.

The lord d'Antoing sent them word, he would cheerfully serve them at their expense, and to their ruin; that they were not to place any dependance on him, for he would always be their enemy, and oppose them in every instance; that he would not hold any thing of them, but from his lord the earl of Flanders, to whom he owed service and obedience. This lord kept well the promise he had made them; for he waged a mortal war against Ghent, and did them many injuries. He reinforced the castle with men and stores, by which means those in Ghent were much annoyed. On the other hand, the lord d'Anghien, whose name was Walter, though a young squire, but well inclined, did them much mischief. The war was thus sharply carried on during the whole season. The Ghent men dared not venture out of their town but in large troops; for whenever they met their enemies, if in superior numbers, they were all slain without mercy.

Thus was the war embittered between the earl of Flanders and Ghent, which afterwards cost a hundred thousand lives twice told; and with great difficulty could any end be put to it and peace re-established, for the leaders in Ghent knew they had done such evil deeds against the earl of Flanders and the duke of Burgundy that they were persuaded no treaty could be made or sworn to, whatever the outward appearance of it might be, but that their

lives would be sacrificed. This made them firm in their resolutions, and resolved to keep up the division and war against the earl and gentlemen of Flanders: it also gave them the courage to fight desperately, which, however, sometimes ill befel them in their enterprizes, as you will hear related.

The earl of Flanders, who had fixed his residence at Lille, received daily information of the ill deeds of the men of Ghent, how they were destroying and burning the houses of his nobles: he was sore vexed, and said he would take so great a revenge on Ghent, that he would put it in fire and flames, with all the inhabitants within it. In order to be more powerful, the earl summoned all the barons of Flanders and gave up to them the whole country, the better to resist the white hoods. He appointed two leaders, Galois de Mamines and Peter d'Estrevilles. These two, with their company, bore the banner of the earl, and remained about three weeks between Oudenarde and Courtray, upon the Lys, where they did much damage. When Rasse de Harzelle was informed of this, he marched out of Ghent with the white hoods, to Deynse, where he thought to meet the army of the earl: but, when they knew that the Ghent men were on their march, they retreated to Tournay, and strengthened the town. They continued there, and in the neighbourhood of Damme, Orchies and Vorlam a considerable time, so that the merchants dared not go from Tournay to Douay for fear of them. It was reported, the Ghent men intended besieging Lille and the earl within it; and for this purpose they would have formed an alliance with Bruges and Ypres. They had gained over Gramont and Courtray; but those of Bruges and Ypres were irresolute. They had disagreed with the handicraft trades, declaring it would be a great folly to go so far to lay siege to Lille; for the earl, their lord, might form an alliance with the king of France, as he had formerly done, and receive from him much assistance.

These doubts kept the principal towns of Flanders at this time from entering into the war, so that no siege was formed. To prevent the earl from entering into any treaty with his son-in-law the duke of Burgundy, they sent ambassadors, with most amicable letters, to the king of France, to supplicate him, for the love of God, not to take any part to their disadvantage; for their only wish was love, peace, obedience and service; and that their lord had very wrongfully and wickedly oppressed and harassed them: that what they were now doing was only for the preservation of their franchises, which their lord wanted to destroy. The king was somewhat inclined in their favour, though he showed not any appearance of it in public. The duke of Anjou, his brother, did the same; for, although the earl of Flanders was their cousin, he was not in their good graces, on account of having entertained the duke of Brittany for a long time much against their wills. They therefore troubled not themselves about his affairs: neither did pope Clement, who said, that God had sent him this rod because he was his enemy and would not acknowledge him as pope.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE DEATH OF SIR BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE.

THE good constable of France, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, had remained in Auvergne with many able men at arms. He had laid siege to Chateau-neuf de Randon *, three leagues from the city of Mende †, and four from the town of Puy in Auvergne, in the castle of which he had shut up several English and Gascons, who had come from the country of Limousin, where there were plenty of fortresses. The constable made many severe attacks on the castle during the siege, and swore that he would never depart until he was the master of it. When there, he was seized with so great a sickness that he kept his bed: this, however, did not prevent the siege from being continued: indeed, it was carried on by his army with greater eagerness. Sir Bertrand's malady was so deadly that he fell a victim to it, which was a severe loss to his friends and to the kingdom of France. His body was carried to the church of the Cordeliers of Puy in Auvergne, where it remained one night; and on the morrow it was embalmed, conveyed to St. Denis in France, and buried in a tomb very near that of king Charles of France, which the king had caused to be made in his lifetime. By his order, the body of sir

* "Chateau-neuf de Randon,"—a village in Lower Languedoc.
† "Mende,"—an ancient city in Lower Languedoc, twenty-eight leagues from Alby.

Bertrand, his constable, was placed at his feet; and his obsequies were performed with the same honours as if he had been his own son: the king's brothers, as well as great numbers of the nobility, attended.

By the death of sir Bertrand, the office of constable became vacant; on which many councils were held to nominate a successor. Several great barons of France were thought of: in particular, the lords de Clisson and de Coucy. The king of France appointed the lord de Coucy governor of all Picardy, and also gave him the domain of Mortaigne, which is a handsome heritage, situated between Tournay and Valenciennes. Sir James de Verchin, the young sénéschal of Hainault, was turned out of it: he held it in succession from his father, who had been lord of it for a long time. I say, therefore, the lord de Coucy was greatly in favour with the king of France, who was desirous to nominate him constable: but the gallant knight excused himself with many reasons, and refused to undertake so weighty a charge as that of constable, adding that sir Oliver de Clisson was the fittest person of any, for he was a valiant, enterprising, and prudent knight, well known to and beloved by the Bretons.

Things remained thus for some time, when the men at arms of sir Bertrand returned to France; for the castle had surrendered the same day the constable had died, and the garrison of it had gone to that of Ventadour. When the king of France saw the men at arms of the constable he turned aside for grief at the loss of him whom he had so much loved: he gave to each of them a handsome present suitably to their ranks. We will now leave this subject, and relate how the earl of Buckingham, youngest son of Edward III. of England, having assembled a large army of men at arms and archers, crossed the sea, and marched his army through France to Brittany.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY REQUESTS SUCCOUR FROM THE KING OF ENGLAND.—THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM, YOUNGEST SON TO THE LATE KING, IS APPOINTED COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION.

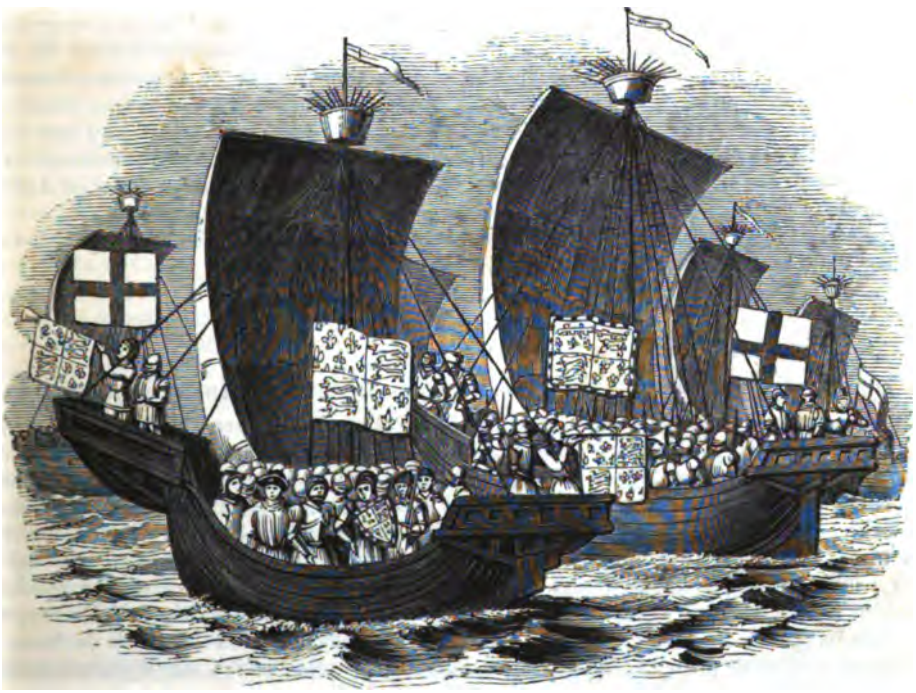
You have before heard, that when the duke of Brittany left England, king Richard and his uncles promised him aid of men at arms and archers, which they performed with ill success; for this was the expedition under the command of sir John Arundel, who with two hundred men at arms were shipwrecked, he himself drowned, with fourscore men at arms and as many archers, and from which sir Hugh Calverley and sir Thomas Trivet most narrowly escaped. This unfortunate event put an end to the expedition, which not being known to the duke of Brittany, he and his council were exceedingly surprised, and could not conceive what was become of the English; for they were very anxious to profit by their assistance, in the sharp war which was carrying on against the duke by sir Oliver de Clisson, sir Guy de Laval, sir Oliver du Guesclin, the count de Longueville, the lord de Rochefort, and the French on the frontiers of his duchy.

The duke was advised to send some able men to England, to know why the reinforcements were not sent according to promise, and to hasten them over, for they were in great need of them. The lord de Beaumanoir and sir Eustace de la Houssaye were entreated by the duke and his nobility to make this journey to England: they answered, they would willingly comply. Letters were given to them by the duke and the nobles of the country; when having departed, they embarked at Vannes, with a favourable wind, and arrived at Southampton. They there disembarked, and, having mounted their horses, went to London. It was about Whitsuntide, in the year of grace 1380.

The arrival of these two lords was soon notified to the king and to his three uncles. The Whitsun feast being arrived, the king went to Windsor to celebrate it, attended by his uncles and great numbers of the barons and knights of England. The two ambassadors went thither also, and were graciously received by the king and the barons, when they presented their letters to his majesty and his uncles. After they had perused them, they knew the great need the duke of Brittany had for assistance, from the earnest entreaties he and the country made for it.

The ambassadors then first heard of the death of sir John Arundel and his companions, who had perished at sea on their voyage to Brittany. The duke of Lancaster made excuses, saying, it was not owing to any fault of the king or his ministers, but ill fortune at sea, against which none can make head when God wills it so. The ambassadors, therefore, fully acquitted the king, and greatly lamented the deaths of those knights and squires who had perished. When the feasts of Whitsuntide were over, a parliament was holden at Westminster, to which were summoned all the members of the council.

While these things were passing, sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, departed this life in the city of London. He was buried in the church of the Austin-friars *. The king ordered his obsequies to be most honourably performed, and they were attended by a great number of the prelates and barons of England: the bishop of London sung mass. Soon after the parliament was opened, the lord Thomas, youngest son of the late king of England, and many barons, knights, and squires of the realm, were ordered to cross the sea to Calais; and, if God should permit, they were to march through France, with three thousand men at arms



Earl of Buckingham, with his Army, on their Voyage to Calais, to assist the duke of Brittany. From a MS. of the Fifteenth Century.

and as many archers, so that the lord Thomas might arrive in Brittany, attended by earls, barons, and knights, suitably to the dignity of a king's son. He undertook a bold task to pass through the kingdom of France, which is so extensive and noble, and which has such gallant chivalry and valiant men at arms.

When everything relative to this expedition had been discussed and finally arranged, the king of England and his uncles wrote letters to the duke of Brittany and to the nobles of the country, informing them in part of their will, what had been determined on by the parliament, and that for a certainty the earl of Buckingham would this season cross the sea to march to their aid. The king of England showed the ambassadors many honours, and gave them very rich presents, as also did his uncles, when they set out on their departure for Brittany. They presented their letters to the duke, who, having opened and read them,

* "Austin-friars." See *Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.*

showed them to the states of his country, who were satisfied with their contents. The king of England and his uncles did not delay this expedition, but sent summons to all those who had been selected to attend the earl of Buckingham; the barons to assemble in one place, and the knights in another. They had their wages paid them at Dover for three months, which were to commence as soon as they should land at Calais, as well for the men at arms as the archers, and their passage over was given to them. They crossed in small parties to Calais, and were upwards of fifteen days before the whole had there landed.

Those of Boulogne having noticed such large bodies of men at arms continually crossing from Dover to Calais, gave notice of it to all the country and the different garrisons, that they might not be surprised. When this intelligence was known in the Boulonnois, the Terouennois, and in the county of Guines, all the knights and squires of those countries placed their wealth in different strong towns, to avoid losing it. The governors of Boulogne, Ardres, de la Montoire, d'Esperleck, de Tournehem, de Nordt, de Liques, and of other castles on the frontiers, exerted themselves greatly in strengthening and victualling their garrisons; for they knew, that since the English had crossed over with so large a fleet they would be attacked.

News of this armament was carried to the king of France, who resided at Paris. He sent immediate orders to the lord de Coucy, who at that time was at St. Quentin, to provide himself with men at arms, and to march to Picardy, to reinforce all the towns, cities, and castles in that province. The lord de Coucy duly obeyed the king's orders, and issued his summons at Peronne in the Vermandois, for the instant assembling all knights and squires of Artois, Vermandois, and Picardy. The lord de Saimpi was at that time governor of Ardres, and sir John de Bouillé of Boulogne.

The earl of Buckingham arrived at Calais with his army three days before Magdalen-day, in the month of July 1380.

CHAPTER L.—THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM MARCHES WITH HIS ARMY FROM CALAIS.

The garrison in Calais were much rejoiced at the arrival of the earl of Buckingham, for they well knew it would not be long before they began their march. The earl having refreshed himself for two days at Calais, on the third departed, and took the field, following the road towards Marquignes *. It is proper I should name to you the banners and pennons under the earl's command: first, the earl himself, and the earl of Stafford who had married his niece, a daughter of the lord de Coucy, rode with displayed banners; the earl of Devonshire, the lord Despencer, who was constable of the army, the lord Fitzwalter, marshal, the lord Basset, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrars, the lord Morley, the lord Darcey, sir William Windsor, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Hugh Hastings, and sir Hugh de la Sente †, advanced with their pennons; lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Clinton, sir Evan de Fitzwarren, sir Hugh Tyrrel, the lord de la Warr, sir Eustace and sir John de Harbeston, sir William Farrington, the lord de Braose, sir William Fabre, sir John and sir Nicholas d'Ambreticourt, sir John Macé, sir Thomas Camois, sir Ralph, son to the lord Neville, sir Henry, bastard of Ferrars, sir Hugh Broc, sir Geoffry Worseley, sir Thomas West, the lord de Saincte More, David Holgrave, Huguelin de Calverley, bastard, Bernard de Coderieres, and several more.

These men at arms rode on in handsome array, but did not march farther the day they had left Calais than to Marquise, where they halted, to attend to their affairs, and to hold a council which road they should take to accomplish their expedition; for there were several among them who had never been in France before: in particular, the king's son, and many barons and knights. It was therefore but reasonable, that those who were acquainted with the kingdom of France, and having formerly passed through, and had several engagements in it, should have such weight given to their advice and opinions as redounded to their

* "Marquignes,"—I suppose must be Marquise, a town in the Boulonnois, between Calais and Boulogne, five leagues from Calais.

† "De la Sente." Q.

honour. True it is, that in former times, when the English invaded France, they had made a regulation, for the leaders to swear, in the presence of the king and his council, to observe two things; that to no one, except to themselves, would they reveal the secrets of their councils, their intended march, nor what might be their intentions; and secondly, that they would never agree to any treaty with the enemy without the knowledge and consent of the king and his council.

When these barons, knights, and squires, with their men, had remained for three days at Marquise, and their whole force had joined them from Calais, the captains, having well considered their line of march, departed, and took the road to Ardres. They halted before the castle of Ardres, to show themselves to the garrison within; when the earl of Buckingham having created the earl of Devonshire and the lord Morley knights, these two lords first displayed their banners. The earl of Buckingham created also the following knights: the son of the lord Fitzwalter, sir Roger Strange, sir John d'Ypre, sir John Cole, sir James Tyrrel, sir Thomas Ramestone, sir John Neville, sir Thomas Roselie. The whole army took up their quarters at Hosque*, when the above knights were made. The vanguard then marched to a strong house called Folant†, situated upon a river. There was a squire within it of the name of Robert, to whom the house belonged. He was a good man at arms, and had well garrisoned it with stores and hardy soldiers, whom he had picked up in the neighbourhood, to the amount of forty, who showed every intention to defend themselves well.

These barons and knights, eager to do honour to their new knighthood, surrounded the tower of Folant, and immediately began the attack; but it was well defended by those within. Many a gallant deed was performed; and those in the fort shot well and continually, by which many of the assailants were killed and wounded who ventured too near. There were in the fort some good cross-bowmen, whom the governor of St. Omer had sent thither at the squire's request; for he had imagined the English would pass near his house, and was resolved to defend it the utmost of his power, which he did, for he behaved gallantly. The earl of Devonshire, while he was on the ditch, his banner displayed before him, spoke out bravely, which greatly encouraged his men, saying, "What, my lords! shall we so much disgrace our new honours as to remain all the day before this pigeon-house? The strong places and castles in France may well hold out against us, when such a place as this stops us. Advance, advance! let us prove our knighthoods." Those who heard him took proper notice of what he said, and, sparing themselves less than before, leaped into the ditches, and made for the walls, the archers shooting so briskly that scarcely any dared show themselves on the parapets.

Several were killed and wounded, and the lower court taken and burnt. At length, the whole garrison were made prisoners; but, though they had defended themselves well, none were mortally wounded. Thus was the house of Folant gained, and Robert Folant with his garrison made prisoners, by the earl of Devonshire and his men. The whole division took up their quarters on the banks of the river of Hosque, to wait for sir William Windsor, who commanded the rear-guard. He came thither in the evening. On the morrow, they marched off together, and advanced as far as Esperleck, where they lodged themselves.

The governor of St. Omer, finding the enemy so near, doubled his guards, and ordered two thousand men to be in readiness the whole night, that the enemy might not surprise the town. The next day, the English decamped, about six o'clock, and advanced in battle-array before St. Omer. The inhabitants, hearing of their march, armed themselves, according to the orders they had received, and drew up in the market-place, from whence they went to the gates, towers, and battlements, with a determined resolution to resist, for they had heard that the English would attack the town; but they had no such intentions, for, as it was very strong, they might lose more than they could gain.

The earl of Buckingham, however, who had never before been in France, wished to see St. Omer, because it appeared from its gates, walls, towers, and steeples, to be a handsome place. He drew up and halted his army on a hill about half a league from it, where he

* "Hosque." Q. † "Folant." Q.

remained for three hours. While there, some of the young knights and squires, mounting their coursers, spurred them up to the barriers, and demanded to tilt with the knights in the town; but, no answers being made to them, they returned back to the army. The day the earl came before St. Omer, he made more knights; among whom were sir Ralph Neville, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas d'Angleere, sir Ralph Patipas, sir Lewis St. Aubin, and sir John Paulet. These new knights, in the first vigour of chivalry, mounted their horses, and galloped up to the gates, calling on the knights within to tilt with them; but they experienced the same neglect as the others had done.

When the army saw that the French lords in St. Omer made not any attempt to come out to meet them, they continued their march, and came that day to Esquilles, between St. Omer and Terouenne, where they took up their quarters for the night. On the morrow, they departed, and made for Terouenne. The French garrisons in the counties of Boulogne, Artois, and Guines, having observed the dispositions of the English, that they continued their march without stopping at any place, mutually informed each other of their intentions to follow them, since much might be gained by it: they therefore assembled, under the pennons of the lord de Fransures and the lord de Saimpi, to the number of more than two hundred lances. They pursued the English army; but, though they kept close to them, the English marched in such compact order, they were not put into the least disorder, and their enemies could not attack them, without the risk of suffering a total defeat. These French knights and squires, however, at times fell upon the English foragers, so that they dared not forage but in large companies.

The English passed Terouenne without attempting anything, for the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures were within it. They marched on towards Bethune, where they halted for a day; and I will tell you the reason. You have before heard how king Richard, by the advice of his uncles and council, had sent into Germany sir Simon Burley, to the emperor*, to demand his sister in marriage. This knight so well managed the business that the emperor, by advice of his council and the great lords of his court, complied with the request, but he had sent, with sir Simon Burley, the duke of Saxony, first to Luxembourg and then to England, to observe that kingdom, in order that his sister might have a just account of it, so that, if agreeable, the marriage might be concluded.

The cardinal of Ravenna was at that time in England, and, being an Urbanist, was converting the English to the same way of thinking: he was waiting also the arrival of the above-mentioned duke. At the entreaties of the emperor and the duke of Brabant, he and all his company obtained liberty to pass through France to Calais. They therefore travelled by way of Tournay, Lille, and Bethune, from whence they came to visit the earl of Buckingham and his barons, who received the duke of Saxony and his suite most honourably. The Germans continued their journey through Aire and St. Omer, and from thence to Calais.

The earl of Buckingham marched his army before Liques, and encamped that same day at Bouhain les Bouissieres; but they were constantly followed by the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures with their forces. In the morning, they advanced nearer to Bethune. There were in that town a numerous garrison of men at arms, knights and squires, whom the lord de Coucy had sent thither; such as the lord de Hangest, sir John and sir Tristan de Roye, sir Geoffry de Charny, sir Guy de Harcourt, and many more. The army passed by Bethune without making any attempt to attack it, and lay at Doncheres†.

In the evening the lords de Saimpi and de Fransures entered Bethune, and the next day went to Arras, where they met the lord de Coucy, who received them very politely, inquiring news from them, and which road the English had taken. They replied, they had lodged the preceding night at Doncheres; that they marched with very great prudence, for they constantly kept in close order. "It is then clear," answered the lord de Coucy, "that they wish for battle; which they shall have, if the king our lord will trust us, before they have finished their march." The earl marched by Arras, in order of battle, continuing his route

* Winceslaus VI. emperor.

† Q. if not Donchy, a village near Arras.

without doing anything: he took up his quarters at Anet*, on the morrow at Miraumont†, and the next day at Clery-on-the-Somme.

The lord de Coucy, who resided at Arras, on hearing they had gone this road, sent the lord Hangest to Braye-sur-Somme‡, and with him thirty lances, knights and squires: he ordered to Peronne sir James de Verchin, séneschal of Hainault, the lord de Hamireth, sir John de Roye, and several others: he himself went to St. Quentin. He sent the lord de Clery, with others, into the Vermandois; for he was anxious that no loss should be suffered through any negligence on his part.

CHAPTER LI.—THE LORD DE BRIMEU, HIS SONS, AND HIS MEN, ARE TAKEN PRISONERS BY THE ENGLISH.—THE GARRISON OF PERONNE ARE DRIVEN BACK INTO THAT TOWN.

The night the English had quartered themselves at Clery-on-the-Somme, some knights of the army, such as sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Clinton, sir Evan Fitzwarren, at the instigation of the lord Delawarr, who was well acquainted with the whole country, and knew that the lord de Coucy was with a large body of men at arms in the town of Arras, resolved to march from the army, at early dawn, with the foragers, to see if they should meet with any adventure worth attending to; for they wished to perform some deed of arms. As they had planned, so did they execute; and about thirty lances set out after the foragers, in search of adventures.

This same day, the lord de Coucy had left Arras with a large body of men, and had taken the road to St. Quentin. When they were on their march, the lord de Brimeu, his sons, with about thirty spears, quitted the army of the lord de Coucy, anxious to perform some gallant act. These two bodies of English and French, meeting in the plains, saw a combat was inevitable: they therefore struck spurs into their horses, and galloped towards each other, shouting their cries of war. On the first shock, several were unhorsed, killed and wounded on both sides. Many handsome deeds were: they dismounted, and began to thrust with their spears, each party behaving bravely. This mode of combat continued about an hour, and no one could say to whom would be the victory, but in the end the English won the field. Sir Thomas Trivet made prisoners the lord de Brimeu, and his two sons, John and Lewis, and sixteen men at arms: the rest saved themselves: and the English returned to their army with their prisoners. They remained some little time in the neighbourhood of Peronne, having heard from their prisoners, that the lord de Coucy was in that town with upwards of a thousand lances, and they knew not if he wished to offer them battle.

This day the lord Delawarr, with Fierabras his bastard-brother, sir Evan Fitzwarren and several others, quitting the army, hastened to Mont St. Quentin, where they posted themselves in ambuscade; for they had learnt that the séneschal of Hainault was with a strong body of men at arms in Peronne, and they knew him to be so self-sufficient that he would not fail to sally out, which in truth he did. The vanguard ordered ten men at arms to march to Peronne; among whom were Thierry de Soumain, Fierabras, sir Hugh Calverley and Hopoquin Hay, mounted on their chargers. They galloped up to the barriers, where there were at least fifty spears with the séneschal of Hainault; who, thinking to catch these gallopers, ordered the barriers to be thrown open, and immediately began a pursuit after them, as they retreated towards their ambuscade.

When those who had placed themselves in ambush saw the French pursuing their men, they discovered themselves; but it was somewhat too soon, for when the séneschal perceived this large body so well mounted, he sounded a retreat, and the horses then knew the effect of spurs: very opportunely did these lords find the barriers open. They were, however, so closely followed, that sir Richard de Marqueillies, sir Louis de Vertaing, Honard de la Honarderie, Vital de St. Hilaire, with ten other men at arms, remained prisoners to the English: the others escaped. When the English learnt that the séneschal of Hainault, the

* "Anet." Q. † ‡ "Miraumont,"—"Braye-sur-Somme,"—villages in Picardy, election of Peronne.

lord de Hamireth, the lord de Clery, with twenty other knights, had escaped, they cried out,—"God! what a fortunate event would it have been, if we had taken them, for they would have paid us forty thousand francs." They returned to the army, and nothing more was done that day.

The army remained for three days at Clery-sur-Somme, and in that neighbourhood. On the fourth, they marched away, and came to the abbey of Vaucelle *, three leagues from Cambray, and the next day nearer St. Quentin. This day, about thirty spears attached to the duke of Burgundy had set out from Arras for St. Quentin. Sir Thomas Trivet, sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Delawarr, and several others who had been from the vanguard with the foragers, as they were about to fix on their quarters, fell in with these Burgundians, when a battle ensued: but it did not last long, for the Burgundians were soon dispersed, one here, another there, and all tried to save themselves as well as they could. Sir John de Mornay, however, stood his ground in good order, with his pennon before him, and fought valiantly, but at last was taken, and ten men of his company. The English then marched to Foursons, two leagues from Amiens, where the vanguard quartered itself.

CHAPTER LII.—THE ENGLISH BURN AND DESPOIL CHAMPAGNE.—THEY MEET WITH VARIOUS ADVENTURES ON THEIR MARCH, AND MAKE MANY PRISONERS.

On the ensuing morning, when the earl of Buckingham and his army had heard mass, they began their march towards St. Quentin; in which town there were numbers of men at arms, but they did not sally forth. Some of the light troops galloped up to the barriers, and soon returned; for the army continued its march, without halting, until it arrived at Origny St. Benoiste † and the adjacent villages. In the town of Origny, there was a handsome nunnery, the abbess of which at that time happened to be aunt-in-law to the lord Delawarr, at whose entreaty the nunnery and the whole town were respited from being burnt and pillaged: the earl was lodged in the abbey. That evening and the following morning, there were many skirmishes at Ribemont, which was hard by, when several were slain and wounded on each side. In the morning, the army dislodged from Origny, came to Crecy, and passed Vaux below Laon, fixing their quarters at Sissonne ‡. The next day, they crossed the river Aisne at Pont à Vaire, and came to Hermonville and Coumissy, four leagues from Rheims, without meeting with any forage on their march.

Everything had been driven or carried into the towns and strong places, the king of France having abandoned to his own men at arms whatever they could find in the open country: the English, therefore, suffered great distress for want of food. They determined to send a herald to Rheims, to open a treaty with the inhabitants, for them to send provisions to the army, such as cattle, bread and wine. The inhabitants refused to enter into any negotiation, and, in their reply, said, they must make the best of it. This answer so much enraged them that, in one week, the light troops burnt upwards of sixty villages dependant on Rheims. The English heard that the people of Rheims had secured six thousand sheep in the ditches of the town, thinking them safe there: the vanguard advanced thither, and made their men descend into the ditches and drive out the sheep, without any one daring to issue from the town to prevent them, or even appearing on the bulwarks; for the archers, being posted on the banks of the ditch, shot so sharply that no one ventured to show himself: the English gained several thousand head of sheep. They sent to inform the townsmen, they would burn all the corn in the fields, unless they ransomed it by sending them bread and wine. The inhabitants were frightened by this threat, and sent the army from ten to sixteen loads of bread and wine: by this means, the corn and oats were saved from being burnt. The English marched by Rheims in order of battle to Beaumont-sur-Vesle §, for they had crossed the river below Rheims. On their departure from Beaumount, the English

* "Vaucelle,"—on the Scheld, near to Crevecœur.
† "Origny St. Benoite,"—a town in Picardy, on the Oise, three leagues from St. Quentin.
‡ "Sissonne,"—a town in Picardy, diocese of Laon. § "Beaument-sur-Vesle,"—near Rheims.

rode along the river Marne, to seek a passage, and came to Conde sur Marne, where they found the bridge broken down; but, as the supporters still remained, they sought for planks and beams, with which they rebuilt the bridge, crossed the river, and quartered themselves in the villages above Marne; and on the ensuing day, they came before the town of Vertus*, when there was a grand skirmish in front of the castle, in which many were wounded.

The earl of Buckingham was lodged in the abbey. During the night, the town was burnt, except the abbey, which, from the earl lodging in it, was saved; otherwise it would infallibly have suffered the same fate, for the townsmen had retreated into the castle, and would not ransom it. The army marched off the following day, and passed by the castle of Moymer, which is the inheritance of the lord de Chastillon. The skirmishers advanced to the barriers, and then passed on and took up their quarters for the night at Pelange, making for the city of Troyes, and the next day at Plancy sur Aube†. The lord de Chateauneuf and John de Chateauneuf his brother, with Remond St. Marsin, Gascons, and some English, about forty spears in the whole, rode from the army to seek adventures, but met with none, which vexed them much. On their return, they saw in the plain a body of men at arms riding towards Troyes: it was the lord de Hangest and his men: the English and Gascons immediately spurred their horses to come up with them. The lord de Hangest had well observed them, and, doubting they were in greater numbers than they appeared, said to his men, "Make for Plancy and save yourselves; for these English have discovered us, and their main army is not far off: let us put ourselves in safety in the castle of Plancy." They rode in that direction, and the English after them.

There was a valiant man at arms from Hainault in the troop of the lord Delawarr, called Peter Berton, who fixing his lance in its rest, and being well mounted, came up with the lord de Hangest, who was flying before him, and gave him such a blow on the back with his lance that he almost drove him out of the saddle; but the lord de Hangest neither lost his seat nor stirrups, though Peter Berton kept the iron hard at his back; and in this manner did they arrive at Plancy. Straight at the entrance of the castle the lord de Hangest leaped from his horse, and got into the ditch. Those within it were anxious to save him, and ran to the barriers, where there was a grand skirmish; for the garrison kept shooting briskly, being very good cross-bowmen; and several valiant deeds were done on each side. With great difficulty the lord de Hangest was saved. He fought gallantly on entering the castle; for reinforcements from the van-guard were continually arriving. The lord Delawarr, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Hugh Calverley, came thither, and the conflict was great: there were upwards of thirty of the French killed and wounded, and the lower court of the castle burnt. The castle itself was warmly attacked on all sides, but well defended: the mills of Plancy were burnt and destroyed. The whole army then retired, passed the river Aube at Pont à l'Ange, and marched towards Valant sur Seine. The lord de Hangest had a very narrow escape.

This same day the captains of the van-guard, sir Thomas Trivet, sir Hugh Calverley, the lord Delawarr, the bastard his brother, Peter Berton and many others, made an excursion from the army, and met sir John de Roye, with about twenty spears of the duke of Burgundy who were going to Troyes. The English, on seeing them, spurred their horses; for the French were making off, as not in sufficient numbers to wait for them. The greater part did escape; and sir John de Roye, with others, got within the barriers of Troyes, which at the time chanced to be open. On their return, they captured four of his men who could not save themselves. among whom was a squire to the duke of Burgundy, called Guion Goufer, an expert man at arms. His horse was much heated, so that he had dismounted, and, having placed himself against a walnut-tree, fought valiantly two Englishmen, who pressed him hard, crying out to him in English to surrender; but he understood them not. Fierabras, on his return from the pursuit, arriving at the spot, said to the squire in French, "Surrender thyself." On hearing this, he replied, "Art thou a gentleman?" The bastard rejoined, he was. "I then surrender myself to thee," presenting him his sword and gauntlet; for which the English would have killed him when he was in the bastard's hands,

* "Vertus,"—a town in Champagne, twelve leagues from Rheims.
† "Plancy sur Aube,"—near Troyes.

and they told him he was not very courteous thus to carry from them their prisoner, but the bastard was stronger than they. Nevertheless this affair was, in the evening, brought before the marshals, who, having well considered it, determined he should remain to the bastard, who that evening ransomed him, taking his word for the payment, and sent him on the morrow to Troyes. The whole army were quartered at Valant sur Seine, and the next day crossing the Seine at a ford, came to a village one league from Troyes, called Bernard-Saint-Simple, where the lords and captains held many councils.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE ENGLISH COME BEFORE TROYES.—A SKIRMISH AT ONE OF THE GATES.—THEY TAKE A FORT WHICH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HAD ERECTED ON THE OUTSIDE.—KING CHARLES PRACTISES WITH THE INHABITANTS OF NANTES.

THE duke of Burgundy was in the city of Troyes, and had fixed on that place for the rendezvous of his forces. His intentions were to fight the English between the rivers Seine and Yonne; and the barons, knights and squires of France did not wish for any thing better; but Charles of France, doubtful of the fortune of the war, would not give his permission so to do. He recollected too well the great losses his nobles had formerly suffered from the victories of the English, and would never allow them to fight unless the advantages were very considerable on their side. There were with the duke of Burgundy, in Troyes, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Bar, the count d'Eu, the lord de Coucy, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, the lord de Vienne, and de Sainte Croix, Sir James de Vienne, sir Walter de Vienne, the lord de la Tremouille, the lord de Vergy, the lord de Rougemont, the lord de Hambue, the séneschal of Hainault, the lord de Saimpi, the baron des Barres, the lord de Roye, the viscount d'Assi, sir William bastard de Langres, with upwards of two thousand knights and squires. I was informed, that the lord de la Tremouille was sent by the duke and the other lords to Paris, to entreat the king to allow them to fight; and he was not returned at the time the English came before Troyes. The lords of France, doubting the English would not pass by without coming to look at them, had erected, about a bow-shot from the gates of Troyes, a large redoubt of great beams of timber, which might hold about a thousand men at arms: it was made of good strong wood, and well built.

All the captains of the English army were summoned to a council, to consider in what manner they should act the ensuing day. It was resolved, that all the lords and knights should march, fully armed with their banners and pennons displayed, before Troyes: they were to draw up in the plain, and to send their heralds to offer battle to those in the town. They armed themselves, therefore, on the morrow, and, being formed in three battalions, advanced into the plain before Troyes, where they halted. The two heralds, Glocester and Aquitaine, were called, when the earl of Buckingham said to them: "You will go to Troyes, and tell the lords within the city that we are come from England in search of deeds of arms: wherever we think they can be found, there we shall demand them: and, because we know that a part of the lilies and chivalry of France repose in the town of Troyes, we have purposely come this road. If they wish to say any thing to us, they will find us in the open plain in the form and manner in which you shall leave us, and in suchwise as we ought to meet our enemies." The heralds replied, "My lord, we shall obey your commands."

They then set off, and rode to Troyes. The entrance of the redoubt was opened to them, where they stopped; for they could not get to the gate of the town from the numbers of men at arms and cross-bowmen issuing forth, and drawing up before this redoubt. The two heralds wore the emblazoned arms of the earl of Buckingham: they were asked by the lords, what they wanted: they answered, they wished, if it were possible, to speak with the duke of Burgundy.

During the time the heralds were endeavouring to deliver their message to the duke of Burgundy, the English were arranging their battalions; for they looked on a battle as certain. All who were desirous of knighthood were called: first came sir Thomas Trivet, with his banner rolled up, to the earl of Buckingham, and said: "My lord, if you please, I will this day display my banner; for, thanks to God, I have a sufficient revenue to support

the state which a banner requires." "It is highly pleasing to us," replied the earl: then, taking the banner by the staff, he gave it back into his hands, saying, "Sir Thomas, God grant you may show your valour here, and everywhere else." Sir Thomas took his banner, and, having displayed it, gave it to one of his squires in whom he had great confidence, and went to the van-guard; for he was there stationed by orders from the lord Latimer and the lord Fitzwalter, captain and constable. The earl then created the following knights: sir Peter Berton, sir John and sir Thomas Paulet, sir John Stingulie, sir Thomas Dortingues, sir John Vassecoq, sir John Brasie, sir John Buraine, sir Henry Vernier, sir John Colville, sir William Everat, sir Nicholas Stingulie and sir Hugh de Lunit. They advanced to the van battalion, in order to have their share of the first blows.

A very gallant squire from the country of Savoy was then called, who had before been requested to be made a knight at St. Omer and at Ardres: his name was Ralph de Gruyeres, son to the count de Gruyeres: when the earl said to him, "We shall to-day, if it please God, have an engagement, and I will make you a knight,"—the squire excused himself, saying, "God give you all the good and honour you wish me; but I will never be a knight until my natural lord, the earl of Savoy, shall confer it upon me in battle." He was not pressed farther on this subject.

It was a pleasure to observe the order of battle in which the English were drawn up; and the French were busy in strengthening their forts, for they concluded that at least there would be some skirmishes, and that such warriors as the English would not depart without a nearer examination of them. The French formed themselves handsomely: and the duke of Burgundy was abroad, with his battle-axe in his hand, armed from head to foot: he passed in review all the knights and squires as they marched to the fort; and the crowd was so great, there was not any passing, nor could the heralds arrive as far as the duke to deliver the message with which they had been charged.

To the words which the earl of Buckingham had delivered to the heralds, Glocester and Aquitaine, others were added; for, on the evening when the lords had held their council, they told the heralds: "You will carry this message, and tell the duke of Burgundy, that the duke and country of Brittany in conjunction have sent to the king of England, for support and aid against certain knights and barons of Brittany in rebellion against the said duke, whom they refuse to obey as their lord, as the better disposed part of the country do, but carry on war, in which they are supported by the king of France. On this account, the king of England is resolved to assist the duke and the country, and has ordered his fair uncle the earl of Buckingham, with a large body of men at arms, to march to Brittany for this purpose. They landed at Calais, and, having marched through the kingdom of France, are now so much in the heart of it as to be arrived before the city of Troyes, wherein they know are great numbers of the nobility: in particular, the duke of Burgundy, son of the late king of France and brother to the king now on the throne: therefore, the lord Thomas of Buckingham, son to the late king of England, demands a battle." The heralds requested to have this put down in writing, which they were promised to have on the morrow; but, when they again asked for it, they had changed their opinions, and no letters were given: but they were told to go, and say what they had heard, as they were of sufficient credit; "and, if they choose, they will believe you." The heralds could not approach near enough to the duke to deliver their message, nor obtain any answer.

The young English knights had already begun to skirmish, which had troubled every thing, and some French knights and men at arms said to the heralds, "Gentlemen, you are in a hazardous situation, for the common people of this town are very wicked." This hint made them return without doing any thing. We will now relate the beginning of the skirmish. In the first place, there was an English squire, a native of the bishopric of Lincoln, who was an excellent man at arms, and there gave proofs of his courage. I know not if he had made any vow; but with his lance in its rest, his target on his neck, he spurred his horse, and, riding full gallop down the causeway, he made him leap over the bars of the barriers, and came to the gate where the duke was, surrounded by the French nobility, who looked on this enterprise with amazement. The squire intended returning; but he

was prevented by his horse receiving a blow from a spear, which felled him and killed the squire. It much angered the duke that he had not been made prisoner.

Instantly the battalions of the earl of Buckingham advanced on foot, to the attack of the men at arms in the wooden redoubt, which had been formed of shutters, doors and tables, and was not, to say the truth, fit to hold out against such men at arms as the English*. When the duke of Burgundy saw them advance in such numbers, and with so much spirit, that the lords, barons and knights in this fort were not in force to withstand them, he directly ordered them to retreat into the town, excepting the cross-bowmen. They retired, by little and little, to the gate; and, as they were entering it, the Genoese cross-bowmen shot and wounded the English. There was a good and sharp skirmish: the redoubt was soon conquered, but it did not long remain to the English. All sorts of people came in great strength to the gates; and, as they passed, they drew up on the causeways. The duke of Lorraine was there handsomely disposed; as were the lord de Coucy, the duke of Bourbon, and others. Between this gate and the bars, many valorous deeds were done, and of course numbers slain, wounded and taken. The English, seeing the French retreat, retreated also in excellent order, and formed themselves on the plain, in battle-array, for upwards of two hours; when, towards evening, they retired to their quarters.

The next day, the army marched to Maillerois-le-Vicomte, near Sens in Burgundy, where they halted for two days, to refresh themselves and to gather provision from the low countries, of which they were in the greatest want.

You have heard how the English marched through France, and thus took the road to Brittany. They publicly declared the duke and country of Brittany had sent for them, and that they had not any pretence for waging war in the name of the king of England their lord, but that they were then in the pay of the duke of Brittany. King Charles was at the time fully informed of all these matters, and, like a wise and prudent man as he was, examined well all the perils and incidents which might arise from them. He considered, that if Brittany joined these English against him, the fortune of war would be more doubtful; and, as he was ill with the duke, if the principal towns were to open their gates to his enemies, it would turn out very much to his prejudice. He therefore sent, secretly, letters sealed, but written in the most gracious manner, to the inhabitants of Nantes (which is the key to all the other towns in Brittany), to request they would consider that the English, who were marching through his kingdom, boasted they were sent for by them, and declared themselves to be their soldiers; and that in case they had thus engaged them, and would persevere in this evil act, they would incur the malediction of their holy father the pope, according to the sentence he had passed, as well as the penalty of two hundred thousand florins, which he could legally demand from them, and which they had bound themselves to pay, according to treaties sealed which had formerly passed between them, and of which he had copies, as they could not be ignorant: that he had ever been their friend, and had assisted them in all their necessities; and that by persisting in this matter they would be very much to blame, for they had not any well-grounded complaint against him to induce them to enter so warmly into the war as to receive his enemies. He therefore recommended them maturely to reconsider this; and, if they had been wickedly or ill advised, he would frankly forgive it, provided they did not open their gates to his enemies the English, and would maintain them in all just rights and privileges, and even renew them, should there be occasion.

When these letters and offers from the king of France had been read by the men of Nantes and considered, the principal persons among them said, the king of France was in the right, and had cause for remonstrating with them as he had done; that in truth they had sworn and sealed never to be enemies themselves to the kingdom of France, nor to give any assistance to its enemies. They began, therefore, to be on their guard, and sent privately to the king of France not to be uneasy on this head, as they would never aid or succour the English in their attempts to injure the kingdom of France by force, nor would their town afford them any assistance; for they were determined, if there should be any necessity, to claim the help of the king, and that to his army alone would they open their gates, and to none else. The king of France, having received their messenger, put confidence in their declarations, for

* This contradicts his prior account of the redoubt.

Nantes was ever attached to the French interest: of all this, however, the duke, who resided at Vannes, was ignorant: he thought, nevertheless, that the inhabitants of Nantes would remain steady to him, and that they would open their gates to the English when they should come thither.

We will now return to the English who were quartered near to Sens in Burgundy; in which city the duke of Bar, the lord de Coucy, the lord de Saimpi, the lord de Fransures, were in garrison with their troops.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE ENGLISH OVERRUN THE COUNTRIES OF GATINOIS AND BEAUCE.—A FRENCH SQUIRE DEMANDS TO TILT WITH AN ENGLISH SQUIRE: THEY BOTH BEHAVE VERY GALLANTLY.

When the earl of Buckingham and his army had reposed themselves at Maillerois-le-Vicomte, they determined to advance into the Gatinois: they crossed, in consequence, the river Yonne, and their light troops went even to the suburbs of Sens. The next day they quartered themselves at St. Jean de Nemours and thereabouts, and afterwards at Beaune in Gatinois, where they remained three days, on account of its fertile and rich country. There they held a council, whether to follow the road into the plains of Beauce, or keep to the course of the river Loire: they resolved on the first, and marched towards Toury in Beauce. In this castle were the lord de Saimpi, sir Oliver de Mauny, sir Guy le Baveux, and numbers of men at arms. There were besides, at Geneville in Beauce, the lord de Volainnes, le Barrois des Barres, with others to the amount of three hundred spears; and in all the castles and fortresses of Beauce were posted men at arms to defend the country.

Those of the van-guard skirmished with the garrison of Toury, when there were some slain on both sides. The earl of Buckingham and his whole army were quartered at Toury in Beauce, and in the environs, where they found plenty of provisions. During the skirmish at Toury, a squire from Beauce, a gentleman of tried courage, who had advanced himself by his own merit, without any assistance from others, came to the barriers, and cried out to the English, "Is there among you any gentleman who for love of his lady is willing to try with me some feat of arms? If there should be any such, here I am, quite ready to sally forth completely armed and mounted, to tilt three courses with the lance, to give three blows with the battle-axe, and three strokes with the dagger. Now look, you English, if there be none among you in love."

This squire's name was Gauvain Micaille. His proposal and request was soon spread among the English, when a squire, an expert man at tournaments, called Joachim Cator, stepped forth and said, "I will deliver him from his vow: let him make haste and come out of the castle." Upon this, the lord Fitzwalter, marshal of the army, went up to the barriers, and said to sir Guy le Baveux, "Let your squire come forth: he has found one who will cheerfully deliver him; and we will afford him every security."

Gauvain Micaille was much rejoiced on hearing these words. He immediately armed himself, in which the lords assisted, in the putting on the different pieces, and mounted him on a horse, which they gave to him. Attended by two others, he came out of the castle; and his varlets carried three lances, three battle-axes, and three daggers. He was much looked at by the English, for they did not think any Frenchman would have engaged body to body. There were besides to be three strokes with a sword, and with all other sorts of arms. Gauvain had had three brought with him for fear any should break.

The earl of Buckingham, hearing of this combat, said he would see it, and mounted his horse, attended by the earls of Stafford and Devonshire. On this account, the assault on Toury ceased. The Englishman that was to tilt was brought forward, completely armed and mounted on a good horse. When they had taken their stations, they gave to each of them a spear, and the tilt began; but neither of them struck the other, from the mettlesomeness of their horses. They hit the second onset, but it was by darting their spears; on which the earl of Buckingham cried out, "Hola hola! it is now late." He then said to the constable, "Put an end to it, for they have done enough this day: we will make them finish

it when we have more leisure than we have at this moment, and take great care that as much attention is paid to the French squire as to our own; and order some one to tell those in the castle not to be uneasy about him, for we shall carry him with us to complete his enterprise, but not as a prisoner; and that when he shall have been delivered, if he escape with his life, we will send him back in all safety."

These orders of the earl were obeyed by the marshal, who said to the French squire, "You shall accompany us without any danger, and when it shall be agreeable to my lord you will be delivered." Gauvain replied, "God help me!" A herald was sent to the castle, to repeat to the governor the words you have heard.

The following day, they marched towards Geneville in Beauce, always in expectation of having an engagement with the enemy; for they well knew they were followed and watched by the French, in greater numbers than themselves. True it is, that the French dukes, counts, barons, knights, and squires, eagerly wished for a battle, and said among themselves, that it was very blameable and foolish not to permit them to engage, and suffer the enemy thus to slip through their hands. But, when it was mentioned to the king, he replied, "Let them alone: they will destroy themselves." The English continued their march, with the intent to enter Brittany.

You before heard, that there were three hundred spears in Geneville, so the whole army passed by it. There was indeed at the barriers some little skirmishing, which lasted not long, as it was time thrown away. Without Geneville a handsome mill was destroyed. The earl came to Yterville *, and dismounted at the house of the Templars. The van-guard went forwards to Puiset †, where they heard that sixty companions had posted themselves in a large tower: they marched to the attack, for it was situated in the open plain without any bulwarks. The assault was sharp, but did not last long, for the archers shot so briskly that scarcely any one dared to appear on the battlements: the tower was taken, and those within slain or made prisoners. The English then set fire to it, and marched on, for they were in the utmost distress for water. From thence they went to Ermoyon, where they quartered themselves, and then to the forest of Marchenoir. In this forest there is a monastery of monks, of the Cistertian order, which is called the Cistertian Abbey, and has several handsome and noble edifices, where formerly a most renowned and noble knight, the count de Blois, received great edification, and bequeathed to it large revenues; but the wars had greatly diminished them. The earl of Buckingham lodged in this abbey, and heard mass there on the feast of our Lady in September. It was there ordered, that Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator should on the morrow complete their enterprise. That day the English came to Marchenoir †: the governor was a knight of that country, called sir William de St. Martin, a prudent and valiant man at arms. The English, after having reconnoitred the castle, retired to their quarters. In another part, the lord Fitzwalter came before the castle of Verbi, not to attack it, but to speak with the governor at the barriers, with whom he was well acquainted, having been together formerly in Prussia. The lord Fitzwalter made himself known to the lord de Verbi, and entreated him, out of courtesy, to send him some wine, and in return he would prevent his estate from being burnt or spoiled. The lord de Verbi sent him a large quantity, and thirty great loaves with it; for which the lord Fitzwalter was very thankful, and kept his promise.

On the day of the feast of our Lady, Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator were armed, and mounted to finish their engagement. They met each other roughly with spears, and the French squire tilted much to the satisfaction of the earl: but the Englishman kept his spear too low, and at last struck it into the thigh of the Frenchman ‡. The earl of Buckingham as well as the other lords were much enraged at this, and said it was tilting dishonourably; but he excused himself, by declaring it was solely owing to the restiveness of his horse. Then were given the three thrusts with the sword; and the earl declared they had done enough, and would not have it longer continued, for he perceived the French squire bled exceedingly: the other lords were of the same opinion. Gauvain Micaille was therefore

* Probably Interville,—"Puisé,"—near Janville in Beauce.

† "Marchenoir,"—a town in Beauce, election of Chateaudun. Near this town is a forest of 4230 arpents.—*Gazetteer.*

‡ It was against the law of arms to strike below the girdle, a rule still observed in the pugilistic combats of the prize-ring.—Ed.

disarmed and his wound dressed. The earl sent him one hundred francs by a herald, with leave to return to his own garrison in safety, adding that he had acquitted himself much to his satisfaction. Gauvain Micaille went back to the lords of France: and the English departed from Marchenoir, taking the road to Vendôme; but before they arrived there, they quartered themselves in the forest of Coulombiers.

CHAPTER LV.—KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS TAKEN ILL—HIS LAST WORDS ON HIS DEATH-BED.

You have heard what secret intrigues the king of France was carrying on with the principal towns in Brittany, to prevent them from admitting the English, menacing those who should do so that they should never be forgiven. The inhabitants of Nantes sent him word not to be alarmed; for they would never consent to admit them, whatever treaties had been entered into with their lord: but they were desirous, if the English should approach, that some men at arms might be sent, to defend the town and the inhabitants against their enemies.

The king of France was well inclined to this, and charged his council to see it executed. The main-spring of all these treaties was sir John de Bueil, on the part of the duke of Anjou, who resided at Angers. The duke of Burgundy was quartered in the city of Mans, and in that country. Other lords, such as the duke of Bourbon, the count de Bar, the lord de Coucy, the count d'Eu, the duke of Lorraine, were in the neighbouring castles and forts, with a force of upwards of six thousand men at arms: they said among themselves, that whether the king willed it or not, they would combat the English before they crossed the river Sarthe, which divides Maine from Anjou.

The king of France was at this moment seized with an illness, which much disheartened all who loved him; for, as no remedy could be found for it, they foresaw that in a very short time he must depart this life: indeed, he himself knew this, as well as his surgeons and physicians. The reports were firmly believed, that the king of Navarre, during the time he resided in Normandy, had attempted to poison him, and that the king was so much infected by the venom that the hairs of his head and the nails of his hands and feet fell off, and he became as dry as a stick, for which they could not discover any remedy. His uncle, the emperor, hearing of his illness, sent to him his own physician, the most able man of that time, and of the greatest learning then known in the world, as his works indeed show: he was called a second Aristotle, but his name was George of Prague. When this great doctor came to visit the king, who at that time was duke of Normandy, he knew his disorder, and declared, that having been poisoned, he was in danger of dying: however, he performed the greatest cure known, by so weakening the force of the poison that he caused him to regain his former strength.

This poison oozed out in small quantities from an issue in his arm. On the departure of the doctor, for they could not detain him, he prescribed a medicine that was to be made use of constantly. He told the king and his attendants that whenever this issue should dry up, he would infallibly die: but that he would have fifteen days or more to settle his affairs, and attend to his soul.

The king of France well remembered these words, and had had this issue for twenty-two years, which at times alarmed him much. Those in whom he put great confidence, in regard to his health, were able physicians, who comforted him, and kept up his spirits, by saying that, with the excellent medicines they had, they would make him live long in joy and happiness, so that he had great faith in them. The king had, besides other disorders that afflicted him much, as the tooth-ache: from this he suffered the greatest torment; and his majesty knew, from all these symptoms, he could not live very long; but the greatest comfort, towards the end of his days, was in God for having given him three fine children, two sons and a daughter, Charles, Louis, and Catherine.

When this issue began to cease running, the fears of death came upon him: he therefore, like a wise and prudent man, began to look to his affairs. He sent for his three brothers,

the duke of Berry, the duke of Burgundy, and the duke of Bourbon*, without noticing his next brother, the duke of Anjou, whom he did not send for, because he knew him to be very avaricious. When they were arrived, he said to them: "My dear brothers, I feel I have not long to live: I therefore recommend to your charge my son Charles, to take that care of him that good uncles ought to do of their nephew, by which you will loyally acquit yourselves. Have him crowned king as soon as you possibly can after my decease, and advise him justly in all his affairs. My whole confidence rests in you: the child is young, and, being of an unsteady temper, will want to be well managed and properly instructed in sound learning. Teach him, or have him taught, every point relative to royalty, and the manner in which he should, according to the situation he may be in, conduct himself. Marry him to such a princess of high birth that the kingdom may gain by it. I have had with me for a considerable time a learned astronomer†, who has predicted that in his youth he will have much to do, and escape from great perils and dangers. Having thought much on these expressions, I have considered that the events alluded to must have their origin in Flanders; for, thanks to God, the affairs of my kingdom are in a very good condition. The duke of Brittany is very deceitful and froward, and has always had more of English than French courage; for which reason, you must keep the nobles and principal towns of that country in good affection to you, in order to traverse his designs. I have every cause to praise the Bretons, for they have served me faithfully in the defence of my kingdom against its enemies. You will make the lord de Clisson constable: everything considered, I know no one so proper for that office. Seek out, in Germany, an alliance for my son, that our connexions there may be strengthened. You have heard our adversary is about to marry from thence, to increase his allies. The poor people of my realm are much harassed and tormented by taxes and subsidies: take them off as speedily as you can, for they are things which, notwithstanding I proposed them, weigh very heavy on my mind: but the great undertakings we have had to maintain in every part of the kingdom forced me to submit to them." Many more kind words did king Charles utter, but I have not thought it requisite to cite them all. The king explained why the duke of Anjou was absent; for he suspected him much, knowing him to be of an ambitious temper. Notwithstanding the king of France did not permit him to attend his death-bed, nor to have any part in the government of France, this duke did not keep at a very great distance: he had besides messengers continually going between Paris and Angers, who brought him exact accounts of the state of his brother's health. He had also some about the king's person, who informed him secretly what daily passed; and the last day, when the king of France departed this life, he was at Paris, and so near to the king's chamber that he heard all the discourse I have just related. But we will now follow the English in their march to Brittany.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE LORD DE HANGEST IS NEAR TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.—THE LORD DE MAUVOISIN REMAINS THEIR PRISONER.—THE ENGLISH CROSS THE RIVER SARTHE IN DISORDER.

When the earl of Buckingham quitted the forest of Marchenoir with his army, he took the road towards Vendôme and the forest of Coulombiers. Sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Clinton were somewhat advanced, with forty spears, and by accident met the lord de Hangest, who was returning from Vendôme, accompanied by thirty lances. The English soon saw they were French, and eagerly galloped towards them. The French, who found they were not in equal numbers, had no wish to wait for them, nor to fight, for they were near to Vendôme: they made, therefore, for that place, the English pursuing them. Sir Robert de Hangest, cousin to the lord of that name, was slain, and John de Mondecris, with five or six others, were made prisoners. The lord de Hangest came so opportunely to the barrier that he found it open. Having fixed his lance, he put himself in a gallant posture

* The duke of Bourbon was brother to the late queen.

† Thomas de Pisan. For particulars of him and of his daughter, see Moreri's Dictionary, and vol. xvii. of the Mémoires de l'Académie.

of defence: the rest of his companions did so as they came up: however, twelve remained prisoners.

Sir Robert Knolles had also this day made an excursion from the army: he met the lord de Mauvoisin, who defended himself valiantly, but was in the end made prisoner by sir Robert himself. This day the army marched by Vendôme to Aussie, and on the morrow to St. Calais*, where they halted for two days, and then came to Pontvalin†. The English thus advanced, without meeting any to oppose them: but the whole country was full of men at arms, and numbers were in the city of Mans. At this period, the duke of Anjou passed through Tours, Blois, and Orleans, in his way to Paris; for he had heard his brother was in so dangerous a state there were not any hopes of his recovery, and he was anxious to be with him at his decease. Notwithstanding this illness of the king, from which he was never expected to recover, the men at arms did not desist from pursuing and watching the English on their march: the commanders ordered their men to harass them as much they could, and to attempt, if possible, to surround them, which would prevent them from having any provision; and then they would engage with them at their will, whether the king of France gave permission or not. In consequence, the lords of France had brought to that part of the Sarthe which the English were to pass, large beams which they had fixed across the river with sharp stakes, so that they would not be able to cross it. On the banks, they dug very wide and deep ditches, to prevent their descending to the river, or ascending from it.

The earl of Buckingham marched from Pontvalin with his army to the Sarthe, where he halted; for they could not find a ford, as the river was swelled and deep, and difficult to cross except in certain places. The van-guard marched up and down, but could not discover any other ford but where the beams of timber and stakes had been fixed. The lords dismounted, and, observing the ford, said, "It is here we must pass, if we mean to march further: come let us be active, and drag these beams out of our way." You would have seen, after this speech, knights, barons, and squires enter the river, and labour most heartily before they could succeed: at last, they gained their point, but with much difficulty, and, having cleared away all obstacles, opened a passage. Had the French been watchful enough, they might have done them much harm; for those who crossed first could not assist those that followed, on account of the deep marshes they had to go through. The English took such pains, that they did pass them, and arrived at Noyon-sur-Sarthe.

CHAPTER LVII.—THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIFTH, KING OF FRANCE.

THAT same day on which the English crossed the Sarthe with so much difficulty, Charles, king of France, departed this life, in his hotel at Paris called the hotel de St. Pol‡. No sooner did his brother, the duke of Anjou, know that the king's eyes were closed than he seized all the jewels of the king, which were very valuable, and had them secured in a safe place, flattering himself they would be of the utmost use to him in the intended war and journey he was about to make; for he already signed himself king of Sicily, la Puglia, Calabria and Jerusalem.

The king of France was carried through the city of Paris to the abbey of St. Denis, with his face uncovered, followed by his brothers and his two sons, where he was most honourably interred. He had given orders respecting his burial during his lifetime; and his constable, sir Bertrand du Guesclin, lies at his feet.

Notwithstanding the orders king Charles had given, before his death, respecting the government of the kingdom, they were totally disregarded; for the duke of Anjou immediately took possession, and over-ruled all the others. He was willing his nephew

* "St. Calais,"—a town in Maine, six leagues from Vendôme.

† "Pontvalin,"—a town in Anjou.

‡ King Charles died Sunday the 16th September 1380, at his chateau of Beauté sur Marne. On the Monday, his body was carried early to St. Anthony, hard by Paris, to wait the arrival of his brothers. It remained there until Monday 14th October, when it was borne to the church of Nôtre Dame in Paris, and on the following day to St. Denis.—*Grandes Chroniques de France.*

should be crowned king, but resolved to have the management of affairs as much, if not more, than any other, on account of his being the eldest uncle; and there were none in the kingdom who dared to dispute it with him. The king of France died on the eve of Michaelmas: soon after his decease, the peers and barons of France recommended that the king should be crowned immediately after All-saints, at Rheims. The three uncles, Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, agreed to this proposal; but they insisted on governing the realm until the child should be of age, that is to say, twenty-one years*, which they made the great barons and prelates of France swear to observe. After this, the coronation of the young king was notified in foreign countries, to the duke of Brabant, duke Albert of Bavaria, the count de Savoye, the count de Blois, the duke de Gueldres, the duke de Juliers, the count d'Armagnac, and to the count de Foix. The duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the lord de Coucy, the count dauphin of Auvergne, were pursuing the English: they were not, therefore, so soon sent to; but the count of Flanders was invited; and the day fixed was All-saints, which fell on a Sunday.

The men of Ghent were much grieved at the death of the king of France; for he had been very friendly to them during their war, loving but little the earl of Flanders.

We will now speak of the English, and then return to the coronation of the king of France.

CHAPTER LVIII.—THE ENGLISH ARRIVE IN BRITTANY.—THE DUKE EXCUSES HIMSELF FOR HAVING SO LONG DELAYED COMING TO MEET THEM.—THEY UNDERTAKE TOGETHER THE SIEGE OF NANTES.

The English, having crossed the Sarthe in great danger, were not ignorant of the death of the king of France. They were quartered at Noyon sur Sarthe: from thence they marched to Poilli, two leagues from Sablé†. The whole strength of France was at that time in the city of Mans, and in that part of the country, but they contented themselves with following the march of the English: some, however, said, they would combat them.

When intelligence of the king's death became public, the intentions of the French were frustrated; for many of the barons decamped, and returned to Paris, to learn what was going forward. The English continued for three days in their quarters: on the fourth day they departed, and came to St. Pierre d'Arne, and from thence to Argentie. The next day the army crossed the river Mayenne, and passed a marsh with much difficulty, for only two or three could march in front the whole of this road, which lasted upwards of two leagues. Now, consider what danger they were in; for if the French had known this, and attacked the van, the rear could not have assisted them: of this the English were greatly afraid: however, they passed in safety, and arrived at Cossé‡, where they halted four days in constant expectation of having some intelligence from Brittany.

The duke of Brittany resided at Hennebon, in the district of Vannes: he had heard frequently of the English, and that they were near the frontiers of Brittany, but he did not know how to act. When he learnt the king of France's death, he took little notice of it, for he did not love him, but said to those near him, "The rancour and hatred which I bore the kingdom of France, on account of this king Charles, is now one-half diminished; for those who hated the father may love the son, and those who have made war on the father may assist the son. It is necessary, however, for me to acquit myself to the English; for, in truth, it has been at my request and solicitation they have marched through the kingdom of France, and I must keep the promises I have made them: but in this there is much difficulty, both in regard to them and me, as I wish our principal towns to shut their gates, and not allow them to enter within them."

* Froissart must mistake; for Charles V. enacted, the 21st May 1375, a law, that the heirs apparent should henceforward be of age to govern when fourteen years old. He, at the same time, ordered the duke of Anjou to have the government during the minority, and the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon to have the management of his son until he was 14 years of age.—*Grandes Chroniques.*

† "Sablé,"—an ancient town in Maine, on the Sarthe, 29 leagues from Rennes.

‡ "Cossé,"—a town of Maine, election of Laval.

The duke then summoned some of his council, such as the lord de Montbourier, sir Stephen Guyon, sir William Tanneguy, sir Eustace de la Houssaye, sir Geoffry de Kerimel and the judge-assessor of Leon, and said to them: "You will ride to my lord of Buckingham, who is approaching Brittany, and whom I believe you will find not far off: recommend me to him, and salute on my part all his barons. You will tell them, that I shall shortly be at Rennes to meet them; to which place I wish they would direct their march; when we will consider together on the best plans for our further proceedings. Tell them also, that I do not find my country in the same dispositions as when I sent to England, which vexes me much: that, in particular, I am hurt with the men of Nantes, who are more rebellious than any of the others." The knights replied, they would cheerfully carry this message. They took leave of the duke, and rode to Nantes: in the whole, they were about sixty spears.

The English having marched from Cossé, and entered the forest of la Gravelle, which they traversed, arrived at Vitré * in Brittany, where they felt themselves more secure than they had hitherto been, for they knew they should no longer be pursued by the French. From thence they went to Châteaubriant†, where they remained with the knights from the duke of Brittany, who met them at that place. The earl of Buckingham and the barons of England received the knights from the duke of Brittany most honourably, and there were many councils and debates. The English said in plain terms, they were much astonished that neither the duke nor the country were better prepared, and showed not any inclinations to receive them; for it was at their request they were come, and had suffered so many difficulties in their march through France.

The lord de Montboursier then said, in excuse of the duke, "My lords, you have very good cause for having thus spoken, and the duke has a thorough good will to fulfil every article of the engagements which have been entered into between you both, to the utmost of his power; but he cannot act as he wishes: in particular, the inhabitants of Nantes, which is the key to Brittany, are in complete rebellion, and are ready to receive men at arms from France. This conduct has very much astonished my lord; for it was that town which first entered into the alliance with the other chief towns in Brittany, and my lord believes that the men of Nantes have entered into a new treaty with the young king of France, who is to be crowned on All-saints day ensuing. My lord, therefore, begs and entreats you will hold him excused: he also desires that you will take the road to Rennes, whither he will come to meet you; for he has a great desire to see you, and will not fail being there." These words much pleased the earl of Buckingham and the English: they declared, he could not say more. The messengers, returning to the duke towards Hennebon, met him at Vannes. The English continued four days at Châteaubriant, when they marched away to the suburbs of Rennes: the gates of the city were shut, and no man at arms was suffered to enter: the earl of Buckingham, however, was lodged in the town, as were the lord Latimer, sir Robert Knolles, and five or six other barons of the council to the earl. They remained there upwards of fifteen days, waiting in vain for the duke, who never came, which astonished them greatly.

The lord de Monteraulieu, the lord Montfort of Brittany, sir Geoffry de Kerimel, and sir Alain de la Houssaye, the governor of Rennes, were in the city, as also sir Eustace, the governor's brother, who made daily excuses for the duke. I know not if they had a good cause to plead or not, but the English began to be very discontented with the duke for not coming. Those of Nantes kept their gates well guarded; for they did not think themselves secure from the English, whom they knew to be at Rennes: they sent, therefore, to the duke of Anjou, who had been the origin of the late treaties, and by whom the greater part of the kingdom was governed, to remonstrate with him on their incapacity to defend themselves, if they should be besieged, without having a stronger body of men at arms: they therefore entreated him to provide them with a reinforcement. The four dukes who governed France, Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, complied with their request, and sent upwards of six hundred good and valorous men at arms. Thus was Nantes reinforced.

* "Vitré,"—a city of Brittany, on the Vilaine, diocese of Rennes.

† "Châteaubriant,"—a town of Brittany, on the confines of Anjou, diocese of Nantes.

Those men at arms immediately repaired every part of the walls, and put the town in a proper condition to resist a siege or an attack, if such should happen.

The English, quartered at Rennes and thereabouts, began to despond on account of the duke's not coming to them: they resolved, in a council, to send to know his reasons of delay. Lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet were ordered to wait on him, escorted by five hundred lances, to prevent or oppose any ambuscades which might be laid for them. These two barons departed from Rennes, attended by this body of lances, with as many archers, and took the road to Hennebon. They set out on a Thursday: the following Saturday, the earl marched the army to St. Sulpice in Brittany, where he halted three days: on the fourth, he marched to Combront, where he remained four days. The duke of Brittany had left Hennebon, and was at Vannes: he had regular information of all the English were doing, and, after having well considered every thing, resolved to go to them: for his own honour, and the alliances he had formed with them, would not suffer him longer to delay it. Having learnt that sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy and sir Thomas Trivet were coming to him, he began his journey to Rennes; and, the day that he set out from Vannes, he met the English knights. This meeting caused great joy: the duke of Brittany made inquiries after the earl of Buckingham, and the knights told him they had left him very melancholy at Rennes, because he had not any tidings of him. The duke excused himself by saying, that by his faith he could not help it. They then rode all together to Vannes, where they were well received; but they knew that the English army had marched from Combront to la Hedé and la Maisiere, for they had followed that road.

The earl of Buckingham arrived at Vannes the next day, when great affection was shown on both sides. The duke handsomely excused himself to the earl and the English for his delay in coming to them: the reason of it was, that he did not find his country determined to perform what they had promised him at the beginning of the summer.

The earl replied: "Fair brother of Brittany, it shall not be long, if you follow my advice, before you punish these rebels; for, with the forces which you have yourself, and those we have brought, with the additional reinforcements that may arrive from England every day, we shall bring your subjects into such a state of submission that they will gladly throw themselves on your mercy." With these and suchlike speeches they conversed for a long time, when each retired to his hotel. On the morrow, they rode out together: it was then settled that the council of the earl should attend the duke to Rennes, and finally make arrangements for their future proceedings. That evening the duke, with the earl's council, remained at la Maisiere, and the earl returned to la Hedé, for they were all quartered in the environs of la Maisiere. The next day, the duke went to Rennes, accompanied by the lord Latimer, sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and others of the council of the earl.

They remained three days in consultation at Rennes: at last, it was determined, and sworn to, on the part of the duke of Brittany, on the holy Evangelists, that he would lay siege to Nantes, in company with the earl of Buckingham, and be there in person fifteen days after the English were arrived. The duke also engaged to send down the river Loire plenty of barges, the more to constrain those of Nantes, and would not himself quit the place, nor suffer his army to do so, before it should be conquered. The earl of Buckingham was sent for to la Hedé, that all this business might be completely settled, and that he might be present at these councils. The army therefore dislodged, and took up their former quarters in the suburbs of Rennes. The earls and barons entered Rennes, when the earl gave them a most magnificent dinner. The duke of Brittany engaged, and swore by his faith solemnly on the holy Evangelists, to come to Nantes with all his forces. After this, he returned to Hennebon. The English remained for upwards of fifteen days at Rennes, in making the necessary preparations.

The inhabitants of Nantes, being informed that the siege of their town was intended, took every precaution to defend themselves. One of the principal captains in Nantes was sir John le Barrois des Barres, a valiant and expert knight: there were with him the following captains; John de Clisson, John de Châtelmorant, Morfonace, sir John de Malatrait, the lord de Tournemine and several more, all the flower of the army. These leaders made very

prudent and able defences, as well towards the river as at the gates, walls and towers which were opposite to the plain, and at those parts where they thought it probable an attack might be made.

We will now give these affairs a respite, and speak of the ceremonies of the coronation of the young king Charles, who at this period was crowned at Rheims.

CHAPTER LIX.—THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES VI. OF FRANCE.

As you may well imagine, nothing was spared by the nobility and great lords to add to the magnificence of the coronation of the young king Charles of France, who was crowned at Rheims on a Sunday*, in the twelfth year of his age, in the year 1380. At this

Charles Sixth of France. From a Print in Mezeray's History of France.

solemnity there were many high and mighty lords: his uncles of Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, were present; as were also his great uncles, Winceslaus † duke of Brabant, the duke of Bar, the duke of Lorraine, the count de Savoye, the count de la Marche, the count d'Eu and sir William de Namur: but the earl of Flanders and the count de Blois sent excuses. There were several other lords whom I cannot name.

The young king made his entry into the city of Rheims on the Saturday, handsomely attended by the great lords, nobility and minstrels, at vespers. In particular, there were upwards of thirty trumpets, which preceded him, and sounded so clear it was quite marvellous to hear them. The young king of France dismounted before the church of our Lady at Rheims, in company with his uncles and brother. There were also his cousins of Navarre, d'Albret, of Bar and of Harcourt ‡, and a great many other young squires, children of the great barons of France, whom the king on the morrow, being the day of his coronation, created knights. This Saturday, the king heard vespers in the church of our Lady, and performed his vigils in that church, according to the custom of those times, the greater part of the night. All the youths desirous of knighthood attended him, and did the same.

On the Sunday, which was All-saints day, the church of our Lady was very richly decorated for the coronation; so much so that it could not possibly have been better ordered.

* The 4th November 1380. He returned to Paris the 11th.—*Grandes Chroniques.*

† "Winceslaus, &c."—See annotation 9th by D. Sauvage.

‡ D. Sauvage says, the three first were his cousins by his mother's side; but he knows nothing of the fourth.

The archbishop of Rheims, after having said mass with great solemnity, consecrated the king with the holy ampulla with which St. Remy had anointed Clovis, the first christian king of the French. This sacred oil was sent from God by a holy angel, with which the kings of France have ever since been anointed, and it never diminishes. Now this must be considered as wonderfully miraculous.

Before the consecration, the king created, in front of the altar, all those young squires, knights: the office of mass was afterwards chaunted by the archbishop, the king being clothed in his royal robes, and seated on an elevated throne, adorned with cloth of gold; and all the young knights were placed on low benches, covered also with the same, at his feet. In this state did they remain the whole day. The new constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, was present: he had been named constable a few days prior to this ceremony, and performed well his charge and every thing belonging to it. The principal barons of France were also there so richly dressed it would be tedious to relate: the king was seated in royal majesty, with a crown on his head rich and precious beyond measure. The church of our Lady at Rheims was so much crowded during this ceremony that one could not turn one's foot. I have heard also, that at this accession of the young king to the throne, in order to please the people of France, all impositions, aids, taxes, subsidies and other levies, which had displeased and had much oppressed them, were abolished, greatly to the joy of the subject.

After mass, they went to the palace; but, as the hall was too small for such numbers, they erected in the court of the palace a large covered stage, on which the dinner was served. The king was seated with his five uncles of Brabant, Anjou, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon; but, though they were at his table, they were at a distance from him. The archbishop of Rheims and other prelates were on his right hand. He was served by the great barons, the lord de Coucy, the lord de Clisson, sir Guy de la Tremouille, the lord high admiral and several others, on handsome horses, covered and decorated with gold brocade. The whole day passed in ceremonies. On the morrow, many of the great barons took leave of the king and his uncles, and returned to their own country. The king went that day to dinner at the abbey of St. Thierry, two leagues from Rheims; for those monks are bound to give him this entertainment, and the city of Rheims to provide for the coronation of the king. Thus ended this noble feast. He returned to Paris, where he was grandly feasted by the Parisians at his entrance.

After all these ceremonies, entertainments and honours, there were great councils holden on the present and future administration of the kingdom. It was settled that the duke of Berry should have the government of Languedoc; the duke of Burgundy, Picardy and Normandy; and that the duke of Anjou should remain near the king's person, and have, in fact, the whole government of the realm. The count de St. Pol was recalled, who had been banished from the favour of the late king Charles. He was indebted for this grace to Winceslaus duke of Brabant, and to the duke of Anjou, in whose affection the count de St. Pol was. He immediately left Han sur Heure, situated in the bishopric of Liege, where he had remained a long time, and returned to France, leaving his lady in the castle Bouhaing. All the confiscations were taken off his estates, which reverted to his profit.

We will say no more on these subjects, but return to the affairs of Brittany and the earl of Buckingham.

TWO ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS, WHICH ARE ONLY IN ONE OF MY MSS. AND NOT IN ANY PRINTED COPY.

You have heard how Sir Simon Burley, that gallant knight attached to the household of king Richard of England, had been sent with proposals to the emperor in Germany respecting the marriage of the lady Anne, his sister, with the king of England. He had transacted the business with ability, so that the emperor and his council consented; but he had brought with him, on his return, the duke of Saxony, one of the council of the emperor, for him to observe the state of England, and to make inquiries concerning the dower, and how it was to be settled on the queen. It is the custom in England for the queens to have

a large estate, independent of the crown, which is always managed by her directions; and it is called the inheritance or dowry lands of the queen. This estate is worth twenty-five thousand nobles a-year; for I, John Froissart, author of this history, during my youth, served that queen of good memory, the lady Philippa of Hainault, to whom I was secretary; and I then heard from many lords, ladies and knights, who had received the rents of these estates, their amount.

The duke of Saxony was much pleased with all he saw and heard, particularly respecting the dower: he was well satisfied with the king, and his two uncles of Lancaster and Cambridge; for the other was in France; and also with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northumberland, and the other lords about the person of the king. When the duke had remained some time in England, and finished the business he had come upon, he took leave of the king, promising to persevere in the marriage to the conclusion. At his departure, he received handsome presents of jewels for himself, for those attendant on the person of the emperor, and also for the ladies who had the management of the young lady, Anne of Bohemia, the intended future queen of England. The duke returned, well pleased, to his own country; but this business was not immediately concluded, for the damsel was young, and the councils of each party had many things to arrange: add to this, there shortly afterward happened in England great misery and tribulation, as you will hear recounted in this history.

[The remaining part of this chapter mentions the death of sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon, nearly as it has been before related.]

THERE fell out about this time, in England, an event that gave great displeasure to the earl of Buckingham when he heard of it. I will explain to you what it was. Humphry, earl of Hereford and Northampton, and constable of England, was one of the greatest lords and landholders in that country; for it was said, and I, the author of this book, heard it when I resided in England, that his revenue was valued at fifty thousand nobles a-year. From this earl of Hereford there remained only two daughters as his heiresses; Blanche the eldest, and Isabella * her sister. The eldest was married to Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham. The youngest was unmarried, and the earl of Buckingham would willingly have had her remain so, for then he would have enjoyed the whole of the earl of Hereford's fortune. Upon his marriage with Eleanor, he went to reside at his handsome castle of Pleshy, in the county of Essex, thirty miles from London, which he possessed in right of his wife. He took on himself the tutelage of his sister-in-law, and had her instructed in doctrine; for it was his intention she should be professed a nun of the order of St. Clare, which had a very rich and large convent in England. In this manner was she educated during the time the earl remained in England, before his expedition into France. She was also constantly attended by nuns from this convent, who tutored her in matters of religion, continually blaming the married state. The young lady seemed to incline to their doctrine, and thought not of marriage.

Duke John of Lancaster, being a prudent and wise man, foresaw the advantage of marrying his only son Henry, by his first wife Blanche, to the lady Mary: he was heir to all the possessions of the house of Lancaster in England, which were very considerable. The duke had for some time considered he could not choose a more desirable wife for his son than the lady who was intended for a nun, as her estates were very large, and her birth suitable to any rank; but he did not take any steps in the matter until his brother of Buckingham had set out on his expedition to France. When he had crossed the sea, the duke of Lancaster had the young lady conducted to Arundel castle; for the aunt of the two ladies was the sister of Richard, earl of Arundel, one of the most powerful barons of England. This lady Arundel, out of complaisance to the duke of Lancaster, and for the advancement of the young lady, went to Pleshy, where she remained with the countess of Buckingham and her sister for fifteen days. On her departure from Pleshy, she managed so well that she carried with her the lady Mary to Arundel, when the marriage was

* Froissart mistakes: their names were Eleanor and Mary.

instantly consummated between her and Henry of Lancaster. During their union of twelve years, he had by her four handsome sons, Henry, Thomas, John and Humphrey, and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa.

The earl of Buckingham, as I said, had not any inclination to laugh when he heard these tidings; for it would now be necessary to divide an inheritance which he considered wholly as his own, excepting the constableship which was continued to him. When he learnt that his brothers had all been concerned in this matter, he became melancholy, and never after loved the duke of Lancaster as he had hitherto done.

We will now return to the affairs of Brittany.

CHAPTER LX.—THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM BESIEGES NANTES.—SALLIES ARE MADE BY THE GARRISON.

You have heard of the agreement which had been sworn to, between the duke of Brittany and earl of Buckingham, to besiege Nantes. When the duke had left Rennes, the lord de Montboursier, sir Stephen Guyon, the lord de la Houssaye and their company retired to Vannes and Hennebon; and the earl of Buckingham and his army prepared to march to Nantes: they set out, therefore, from the suburbs of Rennes, and the adjacent villages where they had been quartered, and lodged that day at Chastillon, on the next day at Bain, and the third at Nozay: and on the fourth they quartered themselves in the suburbs of Nantes. The earl was lodged at the gate of Sauvetout: the lord Latimer constable of the army *, lord Fitzwalter and lord Basset were quartered at the gate of St. Nicholas, close to the river side. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley were lodged right honourably among their own men, as was proper for them.

In the town were numbers of knights and squires from Brittany, Beauce, Anjou and Maine, who well understood how to defend the place: they had the whole load and charge, for the inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about it. It happened, that on Martinmas eve, sir John le Barrois des Barres collected some of his companions in the town and said to them; "My good gentlemen, we know that our enemies are close to us, and we have not yet given them an alert: I am of opinion, that this fine night we should look at them, and give them a skirmish." "By my faith," they replied, "you speak loyally: tell us what you wish, and we will do it."

They collected a body of about one hundred and twenty, well armed and determined men, and having ordered the gate to be opened where the constable, the lord Basset and the lord Fitzwalter were quartered, placed foot guards at it to secure their retreat. The leaders of this troop were le Barrois des Barres, John Châtelmorant and the captain de Clisson. They came so unexpectedly as to find the English at supper: having shouted their war-cry, "Des Barres!" the French began to lay about them, slaying and wounding many. The English were soon prepared and drawn up before their quarters, which when the French saw they very prudently retreated in a compact body towards the town. The English came from all parts to the skirmish: some of each side were struck to the ground, and the French driven within their barriers. There were some slain and wounded on both sides; but le Barrois des Barres entered the town with so little loss that this skirmish was held, both at home and abroad, as a gallant action.

On the evening of St. Martin's day, le Barrois des Barres spoke to his companions, saying, "It would be a good thing if, at day-break to-morrow, we could get six or seven large barges, with two hundred men and the same number of cross-bows, to visit our enemies by water; for they have not the least suspicions of our coming to them down the river." They all assented to this proposal, and assembled that same night the number of men des Barres had fixed on: before day-light, they embarked in six large boats, and, floating down the stream, landed below the enemy's quarters. Sir John Harlestone with his men were lodged in a large hotel, not far from where they had landed, and which at day-break they

* Lord Despencer was constable in the preceding chapter. D. Sauvage supposes Froissart had forgotten it. But Dugdale says, in his Baronage, "he was constable of the host at the siege of Nantes."

surrounded and attacked. Sir John was soon dressed and armed, as were his men: they defended themselves courageously, the archers shooting at the cross-bows. This skirmish was long and severe: many were killed and wounded, and sir John would have been conquered, if sir Robert Knolles, who was quartered not far distant, had not armed himself and his men, and, with displayed banner, advanced hastily to his assistance. Sir William Windsor did the same, who, having had information of what was going on, hurried thither; besides, the English were now coming from all parts. The French retreated to their boats, as they saw the necessity of it, or else of risking the event of a battle. There was much skirmishing on the shore, as they re-embarked, but they departed very gallantly. The captains performed many valorous deeds; but, on their return to Nantes, several of the French were taken, slain or drowned. All who heard of this enterprise considered it as one of great courage and ability.

The English, finding themselves thus constantly attacked by the garrison of Nantes, resolved to be more on their guard, and to keep a stricter watch. The seventh night, however, after the attack which le Barrois had led down the river, he made another sally from the gate where the earl of Buckingham was quartered; le Barrois had with him about two hundred men at arms and one hundred cross-bows. The Germans were on guard this night, under the command of sir Algars and sir Thomas de Roddes. Le Barrois, John de Châtelmorant and de Clisson, with their men, immediately attacked this guard of Germans, when a sharp contest began, and many were struck to the earth. Those quartered near to the earl arose, armed themselves, and hastened to this skirmish; but, when le Barrois saw the numbers increasing, he retreated to the gate, fighting all his way. Several were killed by the arrows, and many wounded on both sides. Sir Thomas de Roddes, a knight from Germany, was struck by an arrow, which pierced quite through his helmet to his head; of which wound he died three days after: it was a pity, for he was a very able knight. The French and Bretons re-entered Nantes with scarcely any loss, carrying with them six prisoners.

Things remained in this state, and the English much on their guard, for they expected an alert every night.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY EXPLAINS HIS REASONS FOR NOT COMING TO THE SIEGE OF NANTES.—THE GARRISON CONTINUE MOST VALIANTLY TO MAKE SALLIES.

The earl of Buckingham remained in this situation before Nantes, daily expecting the arrival of the duke of Brittany, who never came, nor kept any of the promises he had engaged to perform, which quite discouraged the English, who knew not what to think of it. They sent repeatedly messengers with letters, to remonstrate with him how ill he was conducting himself by not keeping those promises and agreements he had sworn to so solemnly when in the city of Rennes. To all these letters the earl did not receive one answer: the English supposed the messengers to have been slain, for none returned; and in truth there was great danger to all who travelled between Nantes and Hennebon, unless they were strongly escorted. The roads were so strictly guarded by men at arms, no one could pass without being taken, or his business known; and, if there were found upon him letters from the English to the duke, or from the duke to them, the bearer was sure to be put to death. In addition to this, the foragers of the army dared not venture abroad but in large companies; for the knights and squires of the country had assembled, and would not suffer their lands to be overrun and pillaged, so that, whenever they fell in with bodies of twenty or thirty, they took all they had and their horses from them, besides wounding or killing them. This much enraged the army, but they knew not on whom to revenge themselves.

To say the truth, the duke of Brittany did everything he could to make his people consent to follow him to the siege of Nantes, according to the agreement he had entered into with the earl of Buckingham at Rennes: but he could not succeed. Even the barons, knights, and squires told him plainly they would not assist in the destruction of their country for the

sake of England, and would never arm themselves in his behalf so long as the English remained in Brittany. The duke, upon this, remonstrated with them, and asked why they had desired him to send for the aid of the English. They told him, in answer, that it was more to give alarm to the king of France and his council, that they might not be deprived of their ancient privileges, than for anything else; and, in case the king of France wished them no ill will, they would not make war against him. The duke could not obtain any other answer.

On the other hand, the lord de Clisson, constable of France, the lord de Dinant, the lord de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de Rochefort, and all the great barons of Brittany, had their castles well fortified and guarded. They told the duke, or sent word to him by messengers, that he had best consider well what he was about; for he had been ill advised in sending for the English, and bringing them over to destroy and carry war into his country: that he must not expect any aid from them: therefore, if he should go to Nantes, to assist in the siege, as they had heard it to be his intention, and which he ought not to have promised, they would attack his country on all sides, and would give him so much employment that he should not know what he ought to attend to first: but, if he were willing to acknowledge the king of France, and place himself under his obedience, as he was bounden to do, they engaged to make his peace with the young king. They added that those who had had the courage to oppose king Charles deceased might be beloved by the king his son. Such was the treatment the duke met with from the great lords of Brittany, so that, in fact, he did not know what to do; for he found he could not place any security on his barons or subjects: it therefore behoved him to dissemble.

The siege of Nantes still continued; and on the day of our Lady, in Advent, the French garrison resolved to make another attack on the besiegers, for they had left them quiet for some time. Sir Amaury de Clisson, cousin-german to the lord de Clisson, and the lord d'Amboise, made an assault, with about two hundred spears, on the quarters of sir William Windsor. They sallied out at the gate of Richebourg, on the river side, where sir Hugh Calverley's men were that night on guard. The lord d'Amboise was made a knight by sir Amaury de Clisson. These men at arms, French and Bretons, advanced in high spirits to the ford, which having gained, though guarded by sir William Cossington, a sharp contest ensued, in which many a man was overthrown. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley were in their quarters, and, hearing the noise, armed themselves and issued forth to the midst of the tumult, where the conflict mightily increased: both parties behaved valiantly. The French and Bretons made good their retreat, fighting all the way, and re-entered the gate of Richebourg with little loss: they had made a knight with ten men at arms prisoners, and had had only three of their men taken.

On Thursday, before the eve of Christmas-day, Barrois des Barres, with the lord de Solete and six score men at arms, made another sally from the gate of Sauvetout, to beat up the quarters of the earl of Buckingham: the earl of Devonshire had that night the command of the guard. The engagement was very severe, and many were thrown down and wounded by spears; but the English, being in greater force than their enemies, drove them back to their barriers: they lost, in killed and prisoners, sixteen. In this attack, an English knight, called sir Hugh Kitiel, received a blow on his helmet, with a bolt, that caused his death.

Every man then retired to his quarters, and nothing more was done that night: but the captains in Nantes held a council, and resolved on Christmas eve to make a sally with the whole garrison. The earl of Buckingham and the other English were kept in constant alarm by the garrison, and the foragers had many difficulties in providing provender for the horses, for they dared not forage but in large companies. The earl and his council were much astonished that the duke of Brittany came not, nor sent them any intelligence, so that they began to be very discontented. Upon considering everything, they found but a very weak support in him on all occasions, which they could not account for, nor did they know how to seek redress for it. They therefore determined to send once more sir Robert Knolles, lord Thomas Percy, and sir Thomas Trivet, to Vannes or Hennebon, to remonstrate with him on the part of the earl, how very ill he had conducted himself in not having fulfilled his

engagements with greater honour. This resolution was afterwards broken; for, when they more maturely weighed it, they found they could not send off this detachment without weakening too much their army, and that they could not go to the duke but with the whole army; for, if they should march only five or six hundred lances, and meet with a thousand or fifteen hundred, the odds would be too great, and they would be slain: they therefore did not detach any part of their army.

When the eve of Christmas was come, le Barrois des Barres, sir Amaury de Clisson, the lord d'Amboise, the lord de Solete, the châtelain de Clisson, John de Châtelmorant, and all the captains in Nantes, sallied forth in the evening through St. Peter's gate, with a determination to act well, accompanied by six hundred men at arms. On passing the gate, they formed themselves into two divisions; one of which marched down the street, and the other through the fields, towards the quarters of the lord Latimer and the lord Fitzwalter. Sir Evan Fitzwarren and sir William Renton commanded the guard. On the first attack, they gained the barriers of the guard, and, killing many, they drove them as far as the quarters of the constable, lord Latimer. They halted before the hotel of the lord Delawarr, where there was a grand engagement; for the French had an intention of conquering this hotel, which they were on the point of taking and the lord Delawarr in it. The guard suffered much before any succours arrived. Sir Evan Fitzwarren, the lord Delawarr, and sir William Drayton, did many gallant deeds. These assaults caused the battalions of the constable and marshal to exert themselves: they sounded their trumpets, and directly armed. Sir William Windsor and sir Hugh Calverley, hearing the trumpets, knew the van-guard was engaged: they ordered their trumpets to sound also, and a number of torches to be lighted and their banners displayed, with which they marched to the place where the combat was, attended by one hundred men at arms and as many archers. In another part, sir Thomas Trivet, lord Thomas Percy, and lord Basset, each with their banners before them, advanced to the skirmish. Good need had the vanguard of the haste they made to their relief, for they were on the point of losing their quarters: but when these barons and their men were arrived, they drove back the French and Bretons, who, forming together in a handsome body, retreated towards the town, skirmishing all the way. Many valiant deeds were done; and some young French knights and squires, in order to gain honours, ventured too far, so that sir Tristan de la Jaille was taken, in his foolish attempt, by a squire from Hainault called Thierry de Sommain.

Thus was this attack made. All those, or at least a part, who had come from Nantes, re-entered it; for, in these cases, there must be wounded and slain; and, when the heat of an engagement animates, such accidents are to be expected. They returned, however, without much loss; for they had full as many prisoners from the English as they had had taken from them. When the gates were closed, they attended to their wounded. The army returned to their quarters, but did not dismiss the guard: on the contrary, additions were made to it.

No sally was attempted on Christmas-day, nor on the succeeding feasts. The English expected to be attacked every night; but what troubled them the most was their not receiving any intelligence from the duke of Brittany. Their provisions were become very short, for it was with difficulty they could forage. The garrison was well supplied, by means of the river Loire, from the rich countries of Poitou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE ENGLISH BREAK UP THE SIEGE OF NANTES.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY SENDS HANDSOME EXCUSES TO THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM.

After the earl of Buckingham and the English had been before Nantes two months and four days, they found they could gain nothing, and that the duke of Brittany would not keep any of his engagements, for he neither came nor sent to them. They thought it best to decamp from thence (since they could not succeed), and march towards Vannes, to have some conversation with the duke, and know from himself the reasons of his conduct. Orders were issued for the army to pack up and dislodge: they decamped, the last day of the year,

in the same order of battle with which they had marched through France, and halted, the day they left Nantes, at Nort, where they remained for three days, on account of the bridge being broken down. They had much trouble in repairing this bridge, that their carriages might pass over: however, it was made good and strong, and the army, having also crossed the river Vilaine on a Saturday, took up their quarters at Lohéac, where they staid two days. When the army left Lohéac, they quartered themselves at Gosselin, where they also halted for two days, and then they came to la Trinité. They crossed the river Aust at the Pont de Boquinio, when the whole army stopped on that side of the water on the plains.

The inhabitants of Vannes received exact information of the day on which the army decamped, and when they crossed the river, from the country people, and that the earl of Buckingham was marching his army thither, intending to fix his quarters in their city. They knew not how to act, whether to permit them to come into their town or not: they therefore went to the duke at Hennebon; but the day they set out they met him, two leagues from Vannes, on his road thither. The duke perceiving his good subjects advancing towards him, asked them what was the news, and whither they were going. "My lord," they replied, "as for news, we can tell you enough: the earl of Buckingham and the English are marching hitherward; and it is their intention, as we have been informed, to quarter themselves in your good town of Vannes. Now, you must consider how you would have us act; for without your order we will not do anything. In truth, they have repaired the Pont de Boquinio, which was broken down."

The duke, on hearing these words, paused a little, and then answered, "God help us! do not you be uneasy nor alarmed at trifles, for everything will turn out well. These English will not do you any harm. I have entered into certain engagements which I must perform, and acquit myself to them. I am now going to Vannes; and to-morrow, as I verily believe, they will arrive there. I will advance to meet my brother, the earl, and will pay him every honour and respect in my power, for truly I am bounden so to do. As for the rest, you will act according to my advice, which is, that you meet him, and present him the keys of your town, saying, that you and all the town are ready to receive him and to obey his orders, on condition that he swear, fifteen days after he shall be requested to depart, he will march out of the town, and will deliver back to you the keys of it. This is the best advice I can give you." The citizens of Vannes replied, "My lord, we will obey your directions." They then rode on together to Vannes, where the duke lodged that night; and the English fixed their quarters at St. Jean, a small village, situated two leagues from Vannes.

The earl of Buckingham received that evening letters from the duke, written with great affection, welcoming him to the neighbourhood of Vannes. On the-morrow, when the earl had heard mass, and drank a cup, he mounted his horse, and with his whole army marched in great order towards Vannes; first the vanguard, then the earl in the centre battalion, the rearguard following close upon him. In this order they met the duke of Brittany, who had come out a long league from Vannes to meet them. Great affection was shown to each other by the duke and earl. After this reception, which was very honourable, they rode together, the earl on the right and the duke on the left, and entered into conversation: the earl said, "By holy Mary, fair brother of Brittany, we waited most impatiently for your arrival at Nantes, during the siege, according to the treaty entered into between you and me, and yet you never came." "By my faith, my lord," answered the duke, "I could not any way accomplish it; and I must own to you that I have been exceedingly enraged thereat, but it was not possible for me to act otherwise; for my subjects, notwithstanding every argument I could use, in remonstrating with them on the treaties I had made with you at their own requests, would never agree to march to assist you in the siege of Nantes. The principal barons kept themselves ready prepared on the borders, such as the lord de Clisson, the lord de Dinant, the lord d'Orval, the viscount de Rohan, and the lord de Rochefort, to guard the entrances of Brittany. All those my adherents and friends, as well knights and prelates as principal towns, are this moment in a state of rebellion; at which I am very much mortified, for by their misconduct you have reason to find fault with me. I will tell you, therefore, my lord, what you shall do: being now the depth of winter, it is cold and uncomfortable to keep an army in the field: you shall come to Vannes, where you will remain until April or May,

to recover yourselves from your fatigues, and I will give orders that your men are taken care of. You will pass your time as well as you can, and in the summer we will revenge ourselves for all these contempts."

The earl replied, " May God assist us:" for he saw plainly there was nothing better to be expected. The duke conducted him towards Vannes, when the inhabitants of the town came out in their robes, and, addressing the earl, said to him in an amicable manner,—" My lord, out of respect to your lordship, and in reverence to your great honour, we have not any objections to your entering our town; but we wish, in order to satisfy the people (otherwise you will not be very secure), you would swear to us, on the holy Evangelists, that fifteen days after we shall have requested you to depart, you will march away with your whole army, without doing or suffering to be done to us the least molestation." " By my troth, none shall be done to you," answered the earl of Buckingham; " and I will swear and keep it." They afterwards made the other lords swear on their faith, and on the holy Evangelists, to keep the same engagement as the earl had done, to which they readily assented. It behoved them so to do, unless they had wished to sleep in the fields. The division of the army of the earl of Buckingham was quartered in the town of Vannes, and himself lodged in the hôtel of the duke, a well built and pleasantly situated castle, called la Motte.

The duke of Brittany entertained the English knights handsomely at dinner in his castle of la Motte, and then retired to Sucinio *, where he resided; but sometimes he came to Vannes to visit the earl and hold conferences with him, and then returned to the place whence he had come. Lord Latimer, lord Fitzwalter, lord Thomas Percy, sir Thomas Trivet, and the whole of the van of the army, were to have been quartered at Hennebon; but the inhabitants would not open their gates to them, so that they were forced to lodge themselves in the suburbs and in the fields.

Sir Robert Knolles and lord Fitzwarren, with many more, were to have been quartered in Quimpercorentin; but the inhabitants treated them as those of Hennebon had done, and they were obliged to make the same shifts with the van. Sir William Windsor and the rearward were, by orders of the duke, to lodge at Quimperlé; but they could not, by entreaties nor threats, prevail on the inhabitants to open their gates. In consequence, they suffered much from the inclemency of the weather and the ill usage they met with: what was not worth three farthings was sold to them for twelve, and hardly could they get any provision at such prices. Their horses perished through cold and famine, for they knew not where to collect forage; and, when they went out to seek it, they were in great peril, as the adjacent countries were all inimical to them.

The viscount de Rohan possessed at that time two strong castles in the neighbourhood of Vannes; one was called Caire, and the other Linguighant. In these two castles, the viscount had strong garrisons, which, aided by other garrisons of the lord de Clisson situated on this frontier, such as châteaux Josselin, Montagu, and Moncontour, did much mischief to the English foragers, killing many. The duke of Brittany could not prevent this; for the lord de Clisson, constable of France, carried on the war in the name of the king of France, and had in the country numerous bodies of men at arms, so that the English dared not stir abroad in small parties. When it is considered that they were encamped in the fields, without any entrenchments, it is marvellous they did not suffer great losses; for those quartered in Vannes could not easily assist those near Quimperlé, Hennebon, or Quimpercorentin. To say the truth, the duke stood boldly forward, and guarded them to the best of his abilities, to prevent their destruction. He fairly told his council, that he had but poorly acquitted himself towards the earl and his army of all the promises he had made them.

At this time, there were four great barons at Paris, whom the duke had sent to the king of France to make his peace; the viscount de Rohan, sir Charles de Dinan, sir Guy lord de Laval, and sir Guy lord de Rochefort. These four barons of Brittany had remonstrated with him in council, during the time the earl of Buckingham was before Nantes, several times, and with much wisdom, in such terms as these: " My lord, you show to all the world, that your heart is entirely given to the English: you have brought into this country Englishmen who, if they gain the upper hand, will diminish your inheritance. What profit or pleasure can

* " Sucinio,"—a castle near Vannes.—*Gazetteer.*

you have in this great affection for them? Look to the situation of the king of Navarre, who put his confidence in them: after having given them possession of his town and castle of Cherbourg, they have never quitted it, nor ever will, but keep it as their own property. Therefore, if you put them into any of your fortified towns in Brittany, they will not leave them, for daily reinforcements will arrive. See how they keep Brest; nor have they any thought of surrendering it, although it is your inheritance. Be satisfied, my lord, with the love of the people of this country, who will never give up the king of France to serve and belong to the king of England. If your duchess is from England, would you, for that, run the risk of losing your whole dukedom, which has cost you so much to gain, and always continue in a state of warfare? In case the country should be against you, you will be but as one man. Quit your present advisers; for the king of France whom you did not love is dead, and at present there is a young and amiable monarch on the throne, who has good abilities; and those who have hated the father may serve the son. We undertake to make your peace with him, and bring you to a proper understanding with each other. You will continue lord and duke of Brittany with great power, and the English return to their own country." In such words as the above, and others well glossed over, had these barons remonstrated several times with the duke; they had succeeded so far as to have half gained his consent to their purpose: but he still dissembled with the king of France and the English, as well as with his own council, until he should more plainly see what would be the event.

The earl of Buckingham and his barons were ignorant of all these secret intrigues which the four barons above mentioned were carrying on at Paris with the king and his uncles, until the matter was arranged. Prior to their knowledge of it, and before they left Brittany, there were tilts and tournaments held at Vannes, in the presence of the earl of Buckingham and the lords who were there, of which I will speak; for it is not a thing that I ought to be silent about, nor should it be forgotten.

CHAPTER LXIII.—TILTS AND TOURNAMENTS ARE PERFORMED BEFORE THE EARL OF BUCKINGHAM BETWEEN CERTAIN FRENCH AND ENGLISH KNIGHTS.

At the time when Gauvain Micaille and Joachim Cator performed their combat before the earl of Buckingham and the English lords, certain knights and squires from France had come as spectators to Marchenoir near Blois, when sir Reginald de Touars, lord de Pousanges, a baron of Poitou, had some words with the lord de Vertain, and said he would like to tilt with him three courses with the lance and three strokes with the battle-axe. The lord de Vertain, wishing not to refuse, was eager to accommodate him immediately, whatever might be the event: but the earl of Buckingham would not consent, and forbade the knight at that time to think of it.

What had been said relative to this feat of arms was not forgotten by the two knights. Similar words had passed that same day between a squire from Savoye, called the bastard Clarius, and Edward Beauchamp, son of sir Robert Beauchamp; and also between sir Tristan de la Jaille and sir John d'Ambreticourt; sir John de Châtelmorant, and Jannequin Clinton; and le Gallois d'Aunay and sir William Clinton; between sir Hoyau d'Araines and sir William France: but these were all set aside like the first.

During the time the English were quartered in the suburbs of Nantes, these French knights and squires were within the town. The lord de Vertain and the others were requested by the French knights to deliver them from their engagements while they were before Nantes; but the governors in Nantes would not consent, and excused their friends by saying, they were in Nantes, as soldiers, intrusted with the guard and defence of the town. Nothing more passed until the earl of Buckingham's army were fixed in their quarters at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperlé, and Quimpercorentin, when sir Barrois des Barres, sir Hoyau d'Araines, and many other knights and squires, came to château Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, where the constable of France resided. The count de la Marche, with several knights, were also there, who were very glad to see them, and received them handsomely. They informed the constable of all that had passed, and that such and such persons had

undertaken deeds of prowess against others of the English. The constable heard this with pleasure, and said, "Send to them: we will grant them passports, to perform these deeds of arms, if they be willing to come."

Le Gallois d'Aunay and sir Hoyau d'Araines were the first to say they were ready to perform their engagement of three courses with the spear, on horseback. When sir William Clinton and sir William France heard they were called upon by the French to perform their challenges, they were much rejoiced, and took leave of the earl and barons of England to go thither. They were accompanied by many knights and squires. The English and French tilted very handsomely, and performed their deeds of arms as the rules required. Then sir Reginald de Touars, sir Tristan de la Jaille, sir John de Châtelmorant, and the bastard Clarius, summoned each of them his knight or squire; that is to say the lord de Vertain, sir John d'Ambreticourt, Edward Beauchamp, and Jannequin Clinton. These four were so eager for the combat that they wished to go to château Josselin on the passports of the constable; but the earl of Buckingham, hearing at Vannes the summons from the French, said aloud to the heralds, "You will tell the constable, from the earl of Buckingham, that he is equally powerful to grant passports to the French as he may be to grant them to the English; and to all those who may wish to perform any deeds of arms with his knights, on their arrival at Vannes, he will, out of his affection to them, give passports, and to all who may choose to accompany them, both for their stay and for their return."

When the constable heard this, he instantly perceived the earl was in the right, and that he wanted to see those deeds of arms: it was but reasonable there should be as many performed at Vannes as had been before him at château Josselin. The constable therefore said, "the earl of Buckingham speaks like a valiant man and a king's son, and I will that what he says shall be believed: let me know those who may be desirous of accompanying the challengers and we will send for a proper passport." Thirty knights and squires immediately stepped forth: a herald came to Vannes for the passport, which was given to him, sealed by the earl of Buckingham. The three knights who were to perform their deeds of arms set out from château Josselin, attended by the others, and came to Vannes, where they were lodged in the suburbs, and the English entertained them well. On the morrow, they made preparations for the combat, as it behoved them to do, and advanced to a handsome space, which was large and even, on the outside of the town. Afterwards came the earl of Buckingham, the earl of Stafford, the earl of Devonshire, and other barons, with those who were to engage in this deed of arms: the lord de Vertain against sir Reginald de Touars, lord de Pousanges; sir John d'Ambreticourt against Tristan de la Jaille; Edward Beauchamp against the bastard Clarius de Savoye.

The French took their places at one end of the lists *, and the English at the other. Those who were to tilt were on foot completely armed, with helmets, vizors, and provided with lances of good steel from Bordeaux, with which they performed as follows:

First, the lord de Pousanges and the lord de Vertain, two barons of high renown and great courage, advanced towards each other on foot, holding their sharp spears in their hands, with a good pace: they did not spare themselves, but struck their lances lustily against each other in pushing. The lord de Vertain was hit, without being wounded; but the lord de Pousanges received such a stroke that it pierced through the mail and steel breastplate, and everything underneath, so that the blood gushed out, and it was a great wonder he was not more seriously wounded. They finished their three courses and the other deeds of arms without

* In the histoire de la vie de Louis III. duc de Bourbon, xliv. p. 160, five combatants are mentioned; sir John de Châtelmorant, sir Barrois des Barres, the bastard of Clairains (probably the same as the bastard of Savoy), the viscount d'Aunay, and sir Tristan de la Jaille. The English were, sir Walter Clopton, Edward Beauchamp, Thomas de Hennefort, Crosby, and sir John de Tracio, probably Tracy.

Sir John de Châtelmorant tilted with sir Walter Clopton, and wounded him so badly as to prevent the completing his engagement. Sir Barrois was opposed by Thomas de Hennefort, and these finished their career with lances unhurt; but sir Thomas was wounded too badly with the sword to continue it.

The bastard de Clairains vanquished Edward Beauchamp: he reeled so much, the English said he was drunk. Sir Tristan de de la Jaille conquered his adversary. The viscount d'Aulnay had similar success.

Sir William Farrington challenged sir John de Châtelmorant to complete the engagement which his relation, sir Walter, had been obliged to relinquish, and wounded sir John, as mentioned in the text, to the great scandal of the English.

further mischief, when they retired to repose themselves, and to be spectators of the actions of the others. Sir John d'Ambreticourt, who was from Hainault, and sir Tristan de la Jaille, from Poitou, next advanced, and performed their courses very valiantly, without hurt to either, when they also retired.

Then came the last, Edward Beauchamp and Clarius de Savoye. This bastard was a hardy and strong squire, and much better formed in all his limbs than the Englishman. They ran at each other with a hearty good will: both struck their spears on their adversary's breast; but Edward was knocked down on the ground, which much vexed his countrymen. When he was raised up, he took his spear, and they advanced again to the attack; but the Savoyard drove him backward to the earth, which more enraged the English: they said, Edward's strength was not a match for this Savoyard, and the devil was in him to make him think of tilting against one of such superior force. He was carried off among them, and declared he would not engage further. When Clarius saw this, wishing to finish his course of arms, he said, "Gentlemen, you do not use me well: since Edward wishes not to go on, send me some one with whom I may complete my courses."

The earl of Buckingham would know what Clarius had said, and, when it was told him, replied, that the Frenchman had spoken well and valiantly. An English squire then stepped forth, who was since knighted, and called Jannequin Finchley, and, coming before the earl, kneeled down and entreated his permission to tilt with Clarius, to which the earl assented. Jannequin very completely armed himself on the spot: then each, seizing his spear, made thrusts at the other, and with such violence that their spears were shivered, and the stumps of them flew over their heads. They began their second attack, and their lances were again broken: so were they in the third. All their lances were broken, which was considered by the lords and spectators as a decisive proof of their gallantry. They then drew their swords, which were strong; and, in six strokes, four of them were broken. They were desirous of fighting with battle-axes, but the earl would not consent to more being done, saying they had sufficiently shown their courage and abilities. Upon this, they both retired; when sir John de Châtelmorant and Jannequin Clinton advanced. This Jannequin was squire of honour to the earl of Buckingham, and the nearest about his person; but he was lightly made and delicate in his form. The earl was uneasy that he should have been matched with one so stout and renowned in arms as John de Châtelmorant: notwithstanding, they were put to the trial, and attacked each other most vigorously; but the Englishman could not withstand his opponent, for, in pushing, he was very roughly struck to the ground: on which, the earl said, they were not fairly matched. Some of the earl's people came to Jannequin, and said, "Jannequin, you are not sufficiently strong to continue this combat: and my lord of Buckingham is angry with you for having undertaken it: retire and repose yourself." The Englishman having retired, John de Châtelmorant said, "Gentlemen, it seems your squire is too weak: choose another, I beg of you, more to your liking, that I may accomplish the deeds of arms I have engaged to perform; for I shall be very disgracefully treated if I depart hence without having completed them."

The constable and marshal of the army replied, "You speak well, and you shall be gratified." It was then told to the surrounding knights and squires that one of them must deliver the lord de Châtelmorant. On these words, sir William Farrington immediately replied,—"Tell him, he shall not depart without combating: let him go and repose himself a little in his chair, and he shall soon be delivered; for I will arm myself against him." This answer was very pleasing to John de Châtelmorant, who went to his seat to rest himself. The English knight was soon ready and in the field. They placed themselves opposite to each other, when taking their lances, they began their course on foot to tilt with their spears within the four members; for it was esteemed disgraceful to hit any part but the body.

They advanced to each other with great courage, completely armed, the vizor down and helmet tightly fixed on. John de Châtelmorant gave the knight such a blow on the helmet that sir William Farrington staggered some little, on account of his foot slipping: he kept his spear stiffly with both hands, and, lowering it by the stumble he made, struck John de Châtelmorant on the thighs; he could not avoid it; and the spear head passed through, and

came out the length of one's hand on the other side. John de Châtelmorant reeled with the blow, but did not fall.

The English knights were much enraged at this, and said, it was infamously done. The Englishman excused himself by saying, "he was extremely sorry for it; and if he had thought it would have so happened at the commencement of the combat, he would never have undertaken it: but that he could not help it, for his foot slipped from the violence of the blow he had received." Thus the matter was passed over. The French, after taking leave of the earl and other lords, departed, carrying with them John de Châtelmorant in a litter, to château Josselin, whence they had come, and where he was in great danger of his life from the effects of this wound.

These deeds of arms being finished, each retired to his home; the English to Vannes, the French to château Josselin.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE DUKE OF BRITTANY MAKES HIS PEACE WITH THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE ENGLISH RETURN HOME.—A COMBAT BETWEEN AN ENGLISH AND A FRENCH SQUIRE.

After these deeds of arms were performed, during the residence of the earl of Buckingham at Vannes, nothing happened worth mentioning. The English, as I have before said, were quartered at Vannes, Hennebon, Quimperlé and Quimpercorentin: they passed the whole winter in Brittany as well as they could. Very many of them were ill, and suffered much from the badness and scarcity of provision; as did also their horses, for their foragers could not find any thing in the open country, which at that season is always bare. The French had taken every precaution that the enemy should not be very comfortable. The English were in this perilous state for some time; for the French were so strong in the surrounding garrisons, they dared not make any excursions. Some provisions came to them by sea from Cornwall, Guernsey and the Isle of Wight, which were of great succour to them; otherwise they and their cavalry would have perished through famine.

During this time, the four Breton barons remained at Paris on the part of the duke, negotiating a peace between him and the king. He did not oppose it; for he saw clearly that he could not keep the promises he had made the English, unless he would lose his dukedom. It was the intention of the earl of Buckingham and his barons to pass the winter in the town of Vannes as well as they could, and in the summer to return to France to continue the war: he had written a full account of his situation and intentions to the king of England and to the duke of Lancaster. The king and his council, having approved of this plan, ordered him to carry it into execution, adding, that at the proper season, a reinforcement of English should be sent to Normandy and land at Cherbourg; and those two armies, being united in Normandy, might be able to perform some decisive actions in France.

The king of France, his uncles and council, foresaw all that might happen, having been duly informed of the intended plans: they said, in their secret councils, that if the duke of Brittany, or any of his principal towns, were at enmity with the realm, and united with the English force, France would have, for a time, too heavy a burden to bear. For this reason, the four barons from Brittany, who represented the duke and managed his affairs very well, had thrown out these doubts: in particular, they had opened themselves to the duke of Anjou, at that time regent of France, who having a grand expedition in his head, and intending within two years at the farthest to march to la Puglia and Calabria, would not have chosen that the kingdom of France should be shaken, nor his expedition put off. He was therefore strongly inclined to make peace with the duke of Brittany, that he might become a good Frenchman, loyal in faith and homage to the king of France. The articles of peace were now discussed by the four barons: it was settled that the duke might, without blame, assist the English with vessels to return to their own country. The duke was permitted to add to his ordinances; that if those who had come from the garrison of Cherbourg to serve under the earl of Buckingham wished to return thither by land, they should have

passports from the king and constable to march through France, but unarmed, and any knights or squires from England who might be desirous of accompanying them: that, when the English had quitted Brittany, the duke was to come to the king and his uncles at Paris, and acknowledge himself vassal by faith and homage to the king, in such way as a duke of Brittany owes to his lord, the king of France. All these articles were properly drawn out and sealed, and carried to the duke of Brittany, who at that time was resident at Sucinio, near to Vannes. He agreed to what his ambassadors had done, but sore against his inclination: for he knew he could not do it, without incurring the greatest ill-will from the English.

When the earl of Buckingham and his knights heard that the duke of Brittany had made peace with France, they were greatly enraged and very indignant, saying, he had sent for them and made them come to Brittany, where he had never performed any one of the promises he had sworn to; for which reason they pronounced him void of loyalty. Shortly after, the duke visited the earl of Buckingham and his barons at Vannes, when he openly explained to them the treaty his people had made for him, and which it behoved him to agree to, for otherwise he should lose his whole duchy. Upon this, high words passed between the earl and his barons with the duke; but the duke humbled and excused himself as much as possible, for he was conscious that he had been in some sort to blame. It was, however, necessary to come to terms, in order that the English might quit Brittany. The earl then gave notice to the city of Vannes, that if any of his men were indebted to the inhabitants, they should come forward, when they would be paid. He gave back to the magistrates the keys of the town, and thanked them for their attentions to him.

The earl was supplied with vessels at Vannes, Hennebon and Quimperlé, and wherever else they had been quartered, on paying for them: he left Vannes the eleventh day of April, in battle-array, with banners displayed, and thus marched to the haven. The duke of Brittany, sir Alain de la Houssaye, the lord de Montboursier, sir Stephen Guyon, sir William de Tresiquidi, sir Geoffry de Kerimel and others of his council, came thither: they sent to inform the earl, who was in his vessel, that the duke wanted to speak with him; but the earl refused to come, and sent the lord Latimer and lord Thomas Percy. These two had a conference with the duke for three hours, and, after long debates, consented to request the earl, that before he set sail, he would on another day have a conversation with the duke: they then went to his ship, and related to the earl all that had passed.

About midnight, on the return of the tide, the wind became favourable; and the mariners asked the earl what were his intentions. The earl, who wished not for any further conferences, said, "Weigh your anchor and set your sails, and let us be gone." This was soon done; and thus did the English sail from the harbour of Vannes for England. All the others did the same in their different ports, and collected together at sea.

We will now speak of certain knights and squires who returned to Cherbourg by land, and relate what befel them on their road. The constable of France, who at that time resided at Château Josselin, seven leagues from Vannes, had granted passports to some English and Navarre knights of the garrison of Cherbourg, who had served under the earl of Buckingham. Among others were sir John Harlestone, governor of Cherbourg, sir Evan Fitzwarren, sir William Clinton and sir John Burley. They set out from Vannes, following the road to château Josselin, for it was in their route. On their arrival, they took up their quarters in the town below the castle, not intending more than to dine and continue their journey. When they had dismounted at the inn, like travellers who wished to repose themselves, the knights and squires of the castle came to visit them as brother-soldiers, who always see each other with pleasure, particularly the French and English. Among the French, there was a squire of great renown in arms, who belonged to John de Bourbon, count de la Marche, the nearest to his person of all his squires, and whom he loved the most: his name was John Boucmel. He had formerly been in garrison in Valogne with sir William des Bordes, and in his expedition against Cherbourg. During that time, he had often had words with an English squire, called Nicholas Clifford, who was then present, respecting a tilting match. In the course of the conversation which these French knights and squires held at the inn with the English, John Boucmel, recollecting Clifford, cried out,—"Nicholas Clifford! Ah!

Nicholas, Nicholas, we have often wished and sought to perform a tilting match; but we never could find fit opportunity or place for it. Now, as we are here before my lord constable and those gentlemen, let us perform it: I therefore demand from you three courses with a lance." "John," replied Nicholas, "you know that we are here but as travellers on our road, under the passport of my lord constable: what you ask from me cannot now be complied with, for I am not the principal in the passport, but under the command of these knights whom you see: if I were to stay behind, they would set out without me." "Ha, Nicholas, do not make such excuses as these: let your friends depart, if they please, for I give you my promise, that as soon as our tilt shall be over, I will conduct you myself within the gates of Cherbourg without loss or peril, as I can depend on my lord constable's good will."

Nicholas said,—"Now suppose it to be as you say, and that I place my confidence in being safely conducted by you, yet you see we are travelling through the country without arms of any sort: therefore, if I were willing to arm myself, I have not wherewithal to do so." John replied,—"You shall not excuse yourself that way, for I will tell you what I will do: I have plenty of arms at my command, and will order different sorts to be brought to the place where we shall tilt; and, when all are laid out, you shall examine them, and consider which will suit you best: for I will leave the choice to you, and, when you shall have chosen, I will then arm myself."

When Nicholas saw himself so earnestly pressed, he was ashamed that those present should have heard it, and thought, that since John made such handsome offers, he could not in honour refuse them; for John still added, "Make whatever arrangements you please, I will agree to them sooner than we should not have a tilting match." Nicholas then said, he would consider of it; and, before his departure he would make him acquainted with his resolution; adding, "if it will not be possible for me to comply with your request at this place, and if my lords, under whom I am, should be unwilling to assent to it, on my return to Cherbourg, if you will come to Valogne, and signify to me your arrival, I will immediately hasten thither, and deliver you from your engagement." "No, no," said John, "seek not for excuses: I have offered you such handsome proposals, that you cannot in honour depart without running a tilt with me, according to the demand I make." Nicholas was more enraged than before; for he thought, and true it was, that he, by such a speech, greatly outraged his honour. Upon this, the French returned to the castle, and the English to their inn, where they dined.

When these knights had got to the castle, you may suppose they were not silent on the words which had passed between John Boucmel and Nicholas Clifford, insomuch that the constable heard of them. He considered a short time; and, when the knights and squires of the country who were with him entreated him to interest himself that this combat might be fought, he willingly promised it. The English knights and squires, wishing to pursue their journey after dinner, went to the castle to wait on the constable; for he was to give them seven knights to escort them the whole road, through Brittany and Normandy, as far as Cherbourg.

When they were arrived at the castle, the constable received them very amicably, and then said,—"I put you all under arrest, and forbid you to depart hence this day: to-morrow morning, after mass, you shall witness the combat between your squire and ours, and then you shall dine with me. Dinner over, you shall set out, and I will give you good guides to conduct you to Cherbourg." They complied with his requests, and, having drank of his wine, returned to their inn. Now the two squires consulted together, for it was fixed they should on the morrow morning engage without fail. When morning came, they both heard mass, confessed themselves, and mounted their horses; the French being on one side, and the English on the other: they rode together to a smooth plain on the outside of the castle, where they dismounted. John Boucmel had provided there two suits of armour, according to his promise, which were good and strong, as the occasion demanded: having had them displayed, he told the English squire to make the first choice. "No," said the Englishman, "I will not choose: you shall have the choice." John was therefore forced to choose first, which he did, and armed himself completely (in doing which he was assisted), as a good

man at arms should be. Nicholas did the same. When they were both armed, they grasped their spears, well made with Bordeaux steel and of the same length; and each took the position proper for him to run his course, with their helmets and vizors closed. They then advanced, and, when they approached pretty near, they lowered their spears, aiming them to hit each other. At the first onset, Nicholas Clifford struck with his spear John Boucmel on the upper part of his breast; but the point slipped off the steel-breast-plate, and pierced the hood, which was of good mail, and, entering his neck, cut the jugular vein, and passed quite through, breaking off at the shaft with the head; so that the truncheon remained in the neck of the squire, who was killed, as you may suppose. The English squire passed on to his chair, where he seated himself. The French lords, who had seen the stroke and the broken spear in his neck, hastened to him: they immediately took off his helmet, and drew out the spear. On its being extracted, he turned himself about without uttering a word, and fell down dead. The English squire hurried to his relief, crying out to have the blood staunched, but could not arrive before he expired. Nicholas Clifford was then exceedingly vexed, for having by ill fortune slain a valiant and good man at arms. All who at that time could have seen the despair of the count de la Marche, who had such an affection for his deceased squire, would surely have much pitied him; he was in the greatest distress, for he esteemed him above all others.

The constable was present, and endeavoured to comfort him, saying, "that such things were to be expected in similar combats. It has turned out unfortunate for our squire, but the Englishman could not help it." He then addressed himself to the English,—"Come, come to dinner, for it is ready." The constable led them, as I may say, against their wills to the castle to dinner, for they wished not to go there on account of the death of the Frenchman.

The count de la Marche most tenderly bewailed his squire, as he viewed his corpse. Nicholas Clifford directly retired to his lodgings, and would not by any means dine at the castle, as well for the great vexation he was in for this death as on account of his relations and friends: but the constable sent to seek for him, and it was necessary he should comply. On his arrival, the constable said,—"In truth, Nicholas, I can very well believe, and I see by your looks, that you are much concerned for the death of John Boucmel; but I acquit you of it, for it was no fault of yours, and, as God is my judge, if I had been in the situation you were in, you have done nothing more than I would have done, as it is better to hurt one's enemy than to be hurt by him. Such is the fate of war."

They then seated themselves at table, and these lords dined at their ease. After they had finished their repast, and drank their wine, the constable called the lord le Barrois des Barres, and said to him,—"Barrois, prepare yourself: I will that you conduct these Englishmen as far as Cherbourg, and that you have opened to them every town and castle, and have given to them whatever they shall be in need of." Le Barrois replied,—"My lord, I shall cheerfully obey your orders."

The English then, taking leave of the constable and the knights with him, came to their lodgings, where every thing was packed up and ready. They mounted their horses, departed from château Josselin, and rode straight to Pontorson and Mont St. Michel. They were under the escort of that gallant knight le Barrois des Barres, who never quitted them in Brittany or Normandy, until they had arrived in Cherbourg. In this manner did the army of the earl of Buckingham quit France by sea and by land. We will now return to the affairs of Flanders during that period, and say how the men of Ghent behaved themselves, and how the earl of Flanders, their lord, persisted in continuing an oppressive and heavy war.

CHAPTER LXV.—THE WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT.—THE MEN OF GHENT AND OF YPRES ARE DISCOMFITED BY THE AMBUSCADES OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

TRUE it is, that the earl of Flanders at the beginning had very little dread of the Flemings and men of Ghent, imagining he could conquer them by little and little, both by reason and arms, since John Lyon and John Pruniaux were dead: but the men of Ghent had still able captains in whom wholly they trusted, and by whom they were governed; such as Rasse de Harzelle, captain of the castlewick of Ghent, and John de Launoy, captain of the men of Courtray. There were other captains; John Boule, Peter du Bois, Arnoul le Clerc and Peter la Nuitée. At this period, there arose a contest between the grandees and populace of Bruges; the small handicraft trades there wished to act according to their own inclinations, which the richer sort would not suffer. This caused a rebellion, and great numbers of fullers and weavers lost their lives before the rest were appeased. The inhabitants sent information of all this to the earl, who resided at Lille, entreating of him, for the love of God, to come to them; for they acknowledged him as their lord, and were at that moment masters of the populace.

The earl of Flanders was pleased on hearing this intelligence: he set out from Lille, in company with sir William de Namur and a great number of knights and squires of Flanders, and came to Bruges, where he was received with great joy by the council. On the arrival of the earl at Bruges, all the leaders and those who were even suspected to have similar intentions with the men of Ghent, were arrested and sent to prison, to the amount of five hundred, who in a short time were beheaded.

When those of the Franconate * learnt that the earl was quiet in Bruges, they began to be alarmed, and immediately threw themselves on the mercy of the earl, who pardoned them, to their great joy; for his power was daily increasing, and the inhabitants of the Franconate have been always more attached to their earl than all the rest of Flanders. The earl, seeing himself master of Bruges and of the Franc, and that he had at his orders knights and squires from Hainault and Artois, thought he had now a good opportunity to recover his country and to punish the rebels: he therefore declared he would first pay a visit to Ypres. He hated them much for having so easily opened their gates to those of Ghent, and said that those who by treaty had admitted his enemies within the town, and slain his knights, should pay dearly for it, if he should gain the upper hand of them. He then issued his summons to the Franc and Bruges, for he was resolved to march to Ypres.

News was carried to Ypres, that the earl was preparing to attack them: they determined, in consequence, to send to Ghent to ask assistance: for they were not in sufficient strength to hold out without succours from that party, who had always promised to help them in their need. They sent secretly letters and messages to the captains in Ghent, to inform them of the situation of the earl, and his menaces of coming to attack them.

The men of Ghent considered themselves as bound by their faith and oaths to grant their request, and having called two captains, John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc, said to them, "You will take three thousand of our men, and march in haste to Ypres, to succour our good friends." Soon after this order was given, the detachment marched from Ghent, and three thousand men arrived at Ypres, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

The earl of Flanders set out from Bruges with a large force, and came to Thorout: on the morrow to Poperingue, where they halted for three days, until his whole army was come up, which amounted to twenty thousand men. The men of Ghent being informed of all these preparations, and that the earl was to march against Ypres with a powerful army, resolved to assemble their whole force, and take the road by Courtray to Ypres, when, by uniting with those of the last town, they might engage the earl's army; and, if they should once completely defeat him, he would never be able to recover the blow. In consequence of this determination, the following captains marched from Ghent: Rasse de Harzelle, Peter du

* Du Franc. That part of Flanders, in which the towns of Dunkirk, Bergues, Gravelines, Bombourg and Furnes are situated, is called the Franc, or the Franconate.—*Note in Mémoires de l'Académie*, vol. xx. p. 419.

Bois, Peter la Nuitée, John de Launoy, with others, who were captains of hundreds or of fifties in the different parishes; and, when drawn out in the plain, they amounted to upwards of nine thousand men.

They marched for Courtray, where they were received with great joy, for John de Launoy was governor. The earl of Flanders, whose quarters were at Poperingue, heard how those of Ghent intended marching to Ypres, and that they were already at Courtray. Upon this, he called a council, and kept his army in a compact body. The Ghent men who had come to Courtray marched from thence to Rousselaer, where they halted, and sent to inform those of Ypres of their arrival; and, if they would come forth with the troops they had sent to them, they should be in sufficient force to combat the earl. The men of Ypres were delighted at this intelligence; and, having every inclination to do what had been requested, they sallied out in the morning, to the amount of eight thousand, under the command of John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc.

The earl, who was with his army in that district, got information, I know not by what means or by what accident, that the men of Ypres had marched to join those from Ghent: he therefore ordered two large ambuscades on a pass through which those from Ypres must march, under the command of his son, le Haze, bastard of Flanders, and the lord d'Anghien: there were knights and squires from Hainault, Artois, Bruges, and the Franconate, and in each ambuscade were ten thousand men.

When those of Ypres and the Ghent men who had been sent thither under the command of John Boule were in the plains, and had marched about a league, they came to two roads; one of which led to Rousselaer, and the other to Thorout: they halted, and asked which road they should take. Arnoul le Clerc, answering, said, "I would advise you to go and see our men who are at Rousselaer." "By my troth," replied John Boule, "I think we shall be better lodged on Mont d'Or than any where else; for be assured I know so well Peter du Bois and Rasse de Harzelle, that, since they have sent to us to say they intend to offer the earl battle, they will get as near to him as they can: I therefore think you should follow this road." Arnoul le Clerc disputed, but John Boule insisted upon it, and made them follow his road. When they had advanced about two leagues, and were almost tired, they fell into the midst of these two ambuscades, which when they perceived, they cried out, "We are betrayed!" No people ever made so poor a defence as these did: they saved themselves as fast as they could, some returning to Ypres, others flying over the fields, without any sort of order.

The earl's army had surrounded a great number, whom they slew without mercy: however, John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc saved themselves. The runaways who made for Courtray met their allies, who had set out from Rousselaer, and were marching towards Rosebecque. When Peter du Bois and the other officers saw them in such a state, they demanded the reason of it, and what had happened: they replied, "they could not tell; they had not had time to see what was the matter; but that they were flying, having been betrayed, and that the whole plain was covered with them."

Peter du Bois was doubtful, whether to march back to cover the runaways, and to combat those who were thus chasing them, or to retreat with them to Courtray. All things considered, he was advised this time to retreat, as being the most advantageous: he therefore began his return in regular order, without quitting the road, and the same day came back to Courtray. The runaways took shelter there: the men of Ghent were quartered in the town, and placed strong guards at the gates to prevent any surprise. When John Boule and Arnoul le Clerc were returned, and had counted their men, they found there had been slain of the men of Ghent, including those in the detachment sent to Ypres, twelve hundred; and of those of Ypres as many, if not more. If the ambuscade had pursued those flying towards Ypres and Courtray, they must have been overtaken, and scarcely one would have escaped: but the giving up the pursuit, to slay those who had fallen into their hands, was the saving of many.

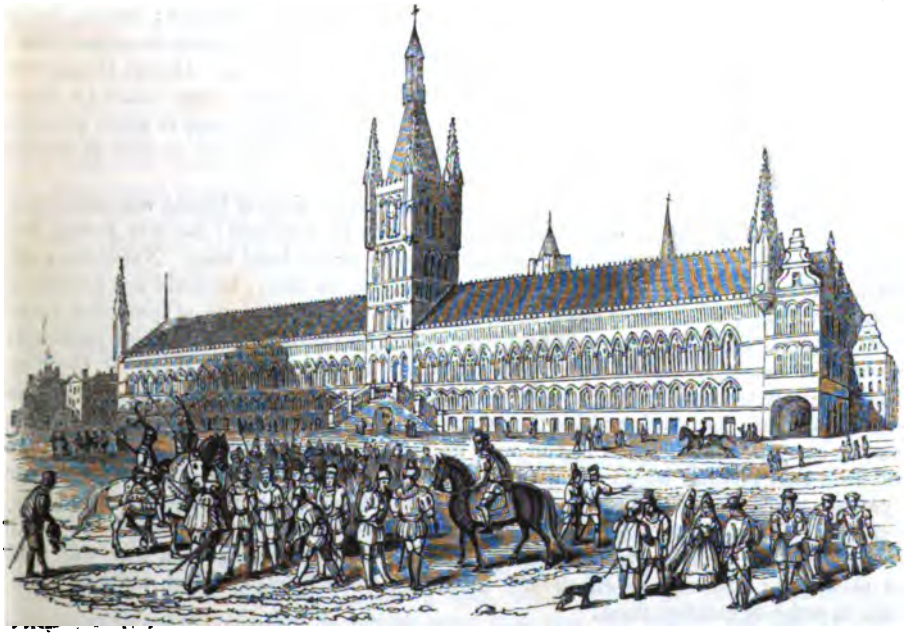
The inhabitants of Ypres were much cast down on seeing their men return defeated the very day they had marched, and asked how it could have happened. Some said, that John Boule had betrayed them, and led them thus to be slaughtered. You have often heard how difficult it is to appease the populace when once they are stirred up: I shall instance it by those of Ghent, for when they had returned thus defeated to Courtray, and heard that John

Boule was in the town, they collected upwards of a thousand, bawling out, "Let us go seek that arch traitor John Boule, who has betrayed us! for it was he and no other who would have us follow that road which led to the ambuscade. If we had believed Arnoul le Clerc, we should have escaped it; for he wanted to conduct us straight to our men, and John Boule, who had sold and betrayed us, would march us where we have been tricked and defeated." Now, observe how unjustly they accuse him of treason, when I do not see that there was the least cause for it. Had it been, as they said, that he had sold and betrayed them, he would never have returned, but would have staid with the earl and his army. This, however, could not save him from being killed: the men of Ghent sought for him in his house, and, having found him, dragged him into the street, when he was torn in pieces, and as many as could, carried off a morsel. Such was the end of John Boule.

The next day, the men of Ghent departed from Courtray, and returned home. They sent John de Launoy to Gavre, a castle belonging to the earl, and situated on the Scheld, of which he took possession, and placed a garrison in it.

CHAPTER LXVI.—THE TOWNS OF YPRES AND COURTRAY TURN TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—GHENT IS BESIEGED.

We will now return to the earl of Flanders and his army. When they had thus, by their ambuscades, defeated the men of Ghent, and had slain three thousand or thereabouts, including those of Ypres, the earl was advised to advance and lay siege to Ypres. This council he followed, and marched thither with a fine army of knights and squires from Hainault, Artois, and Flanders, who had come to serve under him. As soon as the citizens



Hôtel de Ville, Ypres. From an Original Drawing.

of Ypres learnt that the earl was on his march thither with such a force, they were greatly alarmed; and the principal and richest inhabitants held a council, in which they resolved to open their gates, and go out to meet him, with offers to replace themselves under his obedience, trusting to his mercy. It was well known to him that they had allied themselves

with Ghent through fear of the lower ranks, such as weavers, fullers, and other ill-intentioned people of the town: they besides depended on his kind and merciful character for their pardon. As they had resolved, so did they execute; and upwards of three hundred in a company went out of the town, carrying the keys of the gates with them. On meeting the earl of Flanders, they fell on their knees, and begged for mercy, saying, that they personally, and the whole town, resigned themselves to his will.

The earl took pity on them, made them rise, and granted them his pardon. He entered the town of Ypres with his whole army, and there remained for three weeks, sending back those of the Franc and of Bruges to their several towns. During his residence in Ypres, he had upwards of seven hundred weavers and fullers beheaded, and all those who had been any way concerned in admitting John Lyon and the Ghent men into the town, who had slain the knights and men at arms whom he had sent thither, and which had enraged him so much. To prevent them from again rebelling against him, he sent three hundred of the principal inhabitants to prison in Bruges, escorted by a handsome body of men at arms. He then marched towards Courtray, in order to bring that town under his obedience. When the inhabitants heard this was his intention, and that he was on his way, having subjugated those of Ypres, they were much afraid, for they saw no appearance of any aid coming to them from Ghent: they therefore determined to surrender themselves amicably to their lord; for it was better to depend on the earl, to whom they owed fidelity, homage, and loyalty, than on Ghent. Upon this, three hundred of the principal citizens assembled, and went out of the town on foot, to meet the earl, taking the keys with them. When the earl was near to pass them, they flung themselves on their knees, crying out to him for mercy. The earl, taking compassion on them, pardoned them, and made a joyful entry into the town, where every one paid him honour and reverence. He arrested about two hundred of the principal inhabitants, whom he sent to Lille and to Douay, as hostages for the town.

When he had continued at Courtray six days, he returned to Bruges; where, having reposed himself for a fortnight, he issued a grand summons for his vassals to attend him at the siege of Ghent, for at this time all Flanders was dependent on him. He left Bruges with a numerous army to lay siege to Ghent, and fixed his quarters at a place called La Briete. Sir Robert de Namur came thither to serve him, with a large body of men at arms, according to his letters and orders: but sir William de Namur could not come, for he was at the time in France with the king and duke of Burgundy.

It was about the feast of the decollation of St. John that the siege of Ghent was commenced. Sir Walter, lord of Anghien, was marshal of the army of Flanders: he was young, bold, enterprising, and fearless of whatever dangers or perils might befal him. Notwithstanding the earl of Flanders was before Ghent with so numerous an army, he could not prevent the town from having two or three gates open, by which means all sorts of provision entered without danger. The Brabanters and Liegeois were very favourable to them, more particularly the citizens of Brussels. The Liegeois wrote to them, to keep up their spirits,—"Good men of Ghent, we are well aware that at this present you have enough to do; that you are hard pushed by the earl your lord, and by the gentry and the rest of the country, which we are extremely sorry for: know, that if you were only five or six leagues from our frontiers, we would send that succour which ought to be given to our brothers, friends, and neighbours; but you are too far from us, and the country of Brabant lies between, which is the cause that prevents us. Now, if you should be besieged at this moment, do not be cast down; for God knows, and all the principal towns, that you have justice on your side in this war, which must make your labours more effective." Thus did the citizens of Liege write to those of Ghent, in order to comfort them.

The earl of Flanders had invested Ghent on the sides towards Bruges and Courtray; but on those towards Brussels and les Quatre Mestiers *, he could not, on account of the Scheld and Lys. I may therefore say, everything considered, that Ghent is one of the strongest places in the world: it would be necessary to have two hundred thousand men, if any one

* The territory comprehended under the name of Les Quâtre Mestiers, was formerly subject to the bishop of Utrecht, and contained thirty villages. Hulse, Axele, Bocholle, and Assenede are the four principal towns: the two last are not inclosed with walls.—*Bleau's Atlas.*

wished to block up all the passes: besides, the armies ought to be near the rivers, or, in time of need, they would not be able to co-operate with each other; for Ghent is very populous, and full of determined men. They found, on numbering the inhabitants at this time, they had eighty thousand men, all fit for bearing arms, under sixty and above fifteen years.

When the earl had been before Ghent about a month, and his men under the lord d'Anghien, le Haze his son, with the young séneschal of Hainault, had had various skirmishes with those of Ghent, in which sometimes they won, and at others lost, as in such cases will happen, he was advised to send the men from Bruges, Ypres, and Poperingue, on an expedition to a place called Longpont, the conquest of which would be highly advantageous; for by this they could enter the Quatre Mestiers, and then approach Ghent as near as they pleased. Those who had been ordered on this expedition were drawn up, and a very valiant and prudent knight, called sir Josse de Haluin, was nominated commander: with him were very many knights and squires, but sir Josse was the chief. When they arrived at Longpont, they did not find it defenceless, but garrisoned with a great number of men at arms: Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, and Rasse de Harzelle, were there in front. The skirmish was severe; for, on the arrival of the detachment from the earl, they began on both sides to shoot from cannons and cross-bows, which slew and wounded many. The men of Ghent behaved too well, for they drove back their enemies, and took by force the banner of the goldsmith's company of Bruges, which they flung into the river and besmeared with filth. There were, of this goldsmith's company and of many others, numbers slain and wounded: in particular sir Josse de Haluin was killed, which was a great pity. So valiantly did the Ghent men behave, that those who had been sent to Longpont returned discomfited.

CHAPTER LXVII.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS RAISES THE SIEGE OF GHENT.—HE DEFEATS A GREAT PART OF THE ARMY OF GHENT, THROUGH THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF RASSE DE HARZELLE, NEAR TO NEVELE.

During the siege of Ghent by the earl of Flanders, there were numerous skirmishes before the city. The lord d'Anghien, the séneschal of Hainault and le Haze de Flanders never ransomed those whom they fell in with unprotected in the plains; and sometimes they were forced to retreat in such a hurry as not to have time to look behind them. Six thousand well-appointed men were drawn up in the city, and put under the command of Rasse de Harzelle, Arnoul le Clerc and John de Launoy: they marched from Ghent without any fear of the army, and took the road to Alost, which was then a good town and well inclosed, in which the earl had placed a garrison of several knights. They, on hearing of this intended attack, made off, through the gate leading to Brussels, in haste, otherwise they would have been slain. The Ghent men burnt every thing, even the gates, and gained great pillage.

They then marched to Dendremonde, which is a strong town, but they took it by storm. Sir Philip de Namur was there killed. The men of Ghent were masters of the town, but not of the castle; for the lord de Widescot and his companions held it out valiantly against them. The Ghent army went next to Gramont, which had lately turned to the earl, through the entreaty and negotiation of the lord d'Anghien. I know not whether by treachery or not, but the Ghent men entered it, and very many of the inhabitants were slain. After these exploits, they returned to Ghent with a great booty.

When the earl of Flanders considered that, beside losing his time, he was at a vast expense in this siege, and that he and his army were suffering greatly, and also that he could not prevent the Ghent men from sallying forth and burning the country; that lately they had conquered Dendremonde and Gramont; he resolved to break up the siege and depart, for winter was approaching. He marched away, and sent his men to their different homes to recruit themselves. He ordered the lord d'Anghien and the lord de Montigny to garrison Oudenarde: they had, besides men at arms, two hundred English archers, on whom they placed great dependence. With regard to the earl, he went to Bruges. The lords who were in Oudenarde made several sallies against those of Ghent; and there were frequent skir-

mishes, for they were almost constantly in the field, so that none could carry provision or merchandise to Ghent without risk of being taken.

When winter was over, and the month of April arrived, the earl assembled his army, having sent for those of Ypres, Courtray, Poperingue, Damme, Sluys and the Franconate: he marched from Bruges and came to Nevele, where he remained some time. While there, he appointed the lord d'Anghien again commander-in-chief of all the men at arms, comprehending those of Lille, Douay and Oudenarde. The earl's army was fully twenty thousand men: they prepared to march to Gavre, where John de Launoy resided, who, on receiving intelligence of this, sent off directly to Ghent, to inform Rasse de Harzelle that he must send him immediate reinforcements, for the army of the earl had taken the field. Rasse de Harzelle instantly collected six thousand men, and marched to Gavre: he did not find John de Launoy, but overtook him at Deynse, where he was pillaging the country on the other side of the river. They then, having united their forces, marched that day together, and fell in with those from Oudenarde and Deynse who were going to join the earl, whom they immediately attacked, and slew at least six hundred of them. The lord d'Anghien was not present: he had gone before to the earl, who was with his army between Deynse and Bruges.

When news was brought to the earl, and to the lord d'Anghien, that the men of Oudenarde had been so roughly treated, they were much vexed: the lord d'Anghien was ordered to march with four thousand men towards Gavre, where they expected to find John de Launoy; but he had retreated to Ghent with his pillage and prisoners, of whom, indeed, he had no great number. On the morrow, he and Rasse de Harzelle marched out with ten thousand men; and, though the earl was not come to Gavre, they were anxious to surround him. The same day that Rasse de Harzelle had marched from Ghent, Peter du Bois made a sally also with six thousand men, accompanied by Arnoul le Clerc: they burnt the suburbs of Courtray, and then retreated towards Deynse, in order to fall in with their townsmen; but it was too late, for, when Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy were come to Nevele, they perceived the earl with his whole army in the plain: thus did these two armies find themselves in sight of each other, without either of them suspecting it in the morning. When Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy saw a battle was inevitable, they were not cast down, but drew up their men in three battalions; in each battalion were two thousand men, all bold and hardy, and the best soldiers in Ghent.

Peter du Bois and Arnoul le Clerc had an equal number of men, who, though in the country, were ignorant of this meeting, or that their friends were about to engage. When they left Ghent, they had entered into an agreement, that if either party should meet the earl, they were not to fight without the other; for they were not separately of sufficient strength, but, when united, they were able to engage with three times their number: this they had sworn to Peter du Bois they would adhere to; and to say the truth, if Rasse had wished it, he might easily have delayed the combat, for he had only to keep himself in the town of Nevele to wait for Peter du Bois, and the earl would never there have fought him: but the moment Rasse de Harzelle saw the army of the earl, through pride and self-sufficiency, he took the field, saying to himself that he would offer battle to his enemies, and reap all the honour, without waiting for Peter du Bois or the others. He had great confidence in his men, and such hopes in the good fortune of Ghent that he thought he could not be defeated; and he manifested that day his willingness to engage, as I shall presently relate to you.

Greatly was the earl rejoiced when he saw Rasse de Harzelle march out of Nevele to the plain to fight. He immediately ordered his men to be drawn up in proper order: his infantry were about twenty thousand, able men, and about fifteen hundred lances, knights and squires, from Flanders, Hainault, Brabant and Artois. Among those from Hainault were the lord d'Anghien, marshal of the army, and, in his company, the lord de Montigny, the bastard of Anghien, Giles de Riscon, Hutin de Lay, the lord of Lens, sir John de Berlammont and several more. From Flanders were, the lord de Guistelles, sir Guy de Guistelles, the lord des Cornets, the lord de Hallue, the lord de Haluin, sir Daniel de Haluin, sir Thierry de Disquetane, sir John d'Escoumbouc, the lord de Gentus, sir John de

Vilain, sir Gerard de Marquellies and many others. Several new knights were also made. The young séneschal of Hainault had died in his bed some time before, from the bruise he had received at Aubiez, near Mortaigne, for he had been in that affair.

The earl formed his army in five battalions, and in each there were about five thousand men, eager for the attack: the lord de Lieureghien bore that day the earl's banner. In this manner they advanced on the enemy, five battalions to three; but at the commencement only three battalions of the earl's army engaged, the other two were on the wings to support those who might be broken. The earl was present, exhorting his men to behave well, and to revenge themselves on the madmen of Ghent who had given them so much trouble: he said to the citizens from the chief towns,—"Be assured, should you fly, you would more certainly be put to death than if you stood your ground; for I will have you all beheaded without mercy." The earl posted the men of Bruges in the first battalion, those of the Franc in the second, those of Ypres and Courtray in the third, and those of Poperingue, Cassel, Bergues and Bourbourg in the fourth battalion: he had retained those of Oudenarde, Lille and Douay near his person.

The armies kept advancing toward each other. Rasse de Harzelle led the first battalion, for it was composed of the most determined men of the three, and because he was anxious to be the first to begin the combat, and to gain honour if it were possible: he attacked that of Bruges, which the lord de Guistelles and his brothers commanded. There was great pushing and fighting at the commencement. In another part, the other battalions engaged, when many were beat down at the onset. The Ghent men behaved very gallantly; but the army of the earl was too numerous for them.

The battle was sharp, and lasted some time, so that it was long before it was seen which had the advantage. All the battalions were intermixed; and on one side they shouted out, "Flanders for the Lion!" to cheer their men: on the other, they cried as loudly, "Ghent, Ghent!" There was a moment when the earl was in danger of losing all; and, if he had then given way, they would all have been slain and defeated beyond a remedy: for Peter du Bois, with full six thousand men, was in the plain, and clearly saw the combat, but he could not give any assistance to his townsmen for the extensive marshes which were between him and the armies: but, had the earl lost the day, or his men fled through panic, he knew well that Peter du Bois would have fallen upon them, and none would have escaped death, not even himself; which would have been such a loss as Flanders never would have recovered.

Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had not long the advantage in this combat, for the earl had a number of valiant knights, besides the men from Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde, Damme, Sluys, the Franc and Bruges, who, when assembled together, amounted to near twenty thousand men, being four times the number of their enemies. The Ghent men, unable to withstand them, were thrown into disorder, and retreated into the town. Upon this, the knights and squires advanced, and, breaking their ranks, put them in confusion, and killed them in heaps. The men of Ghent retired towards the church of Nevele, which was strong; and, having collected themselves there, a hard battle ensued, and great slaughter was made of them. John de Launoy, like one distracted, rushed into the church, and posted himself, and as many men as he could, in the large tower of the steeple. Rasse de Harzelle remained behind, and, with his men, performed many valorous deeds at the door of the church; but at last he was overpowered, and pierced with a spear, which instantly killed him. Thus ended Rasse de Harzelle, who had been a great commander of the Ghent men against the earl: he was much beloved by his townsmen for his good sense and prowess; but this was his recompense at last for all his valour.

When the earl of Flanders arrived at the square before the church, and saw that the Ghent men had retreated into it, he ordered the church to be set on fire: his order was obeyed, and a fire was kindled with great quantities of straw and faggots, which they placed all round the church. The flames soon ascended to the roof, when the Ghent men perished miserably; for they were sure of being burnt if they staid in the church, and if they sallied out they were slain and cast back into the fire. John de Launoy, who was in the steeple, perceiving himself at the point of death, and that he must soon be burnt, for the steeple was

beginning to take fire, cried out to those below, "Ransom, ransom!" and offered his coat, which was full of florins; but they laughed at and mocked him, saying,—"John, come and speak to us through these windows and we will receive you. Make a handsome leap, John, such as you have forced our friends to take this year: you must make this leap." John de Launoy, finding his situation desperate, and the fire so fast approaching that he must be burnt, grew enraged, and preferred being slain to being being burnt. Both happened to him; for he leaped out of the windows in the midst of his enemies, who received him on their spears; and, after hacking him to pieces, he was flung into the flames. Thus finished John de Launoy.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—PETER DU BOIS WITH THE REMAINDER OF HIS ARMY RETIRES TO GHENT.—AFTER HAVING BEEN IN DANGER OF HIS LIFE, HE BESIEGES COURTRAY.

Of the six thousand men, of which the army at least consisted, that Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had brought from Ghent or that neighbourhood, or who were serving the men of Ghent for pay and had been marched thither, there did not escape more than three hundred: the rest were slain in the field or in the town, or had been burnt in the church. Peter du Bois, notwithstanding he had a fine army, could not give them the smallest assistance, on account of the marshes and stagnant waters which were between him and the earl's army. He marched away with his men drawn up in order of battle, saying to them, "Come, let us proceed slowly towards Ghent. Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy have had very bad success: they are defeated. I know not what may happen to us, if we should be pursued, and attacked by the earl's army: let us keep in a body and combat boldly, as good men should do when they fight for their rights." Those who heard him answered, "We will do so." They then departed, taking the road towards Ghent, in a close well-formed battalion.

Some of the runaways who had escaped from the battle of Nevele returned to Ghent, which they entered quite frightened, like defeated men, and related their discomfiture, telling how Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy had been slain and their army lost. The citizens were much dejected at this ill news, and sorry for the loss of Rasse, for they had found him a good captain and true to their interests: he was much beloved, and great confidence was placed in him, because he was of a noble family, and had served them faithfully for their money. They asked the runaways, "Tell us where was Peter du Bois all the time of the combat?" They who had neither seen nor heard any intelligence of him replied, "We have not seen him, nor do we know anything about him." Upon this, several began to murmur, saying, that Peter du Bois had behaved very ill, for not having been present at this battle, he who had six thousand men under his command completely armed.

Those who governed Ghent therefore resolved, as soon as Peter du Bois should return, to kill him, and then make peace with the earl their lord, throwing themselves on his mercy. I believe that, if they had done so, they would have acted well, and peace would easily have been made. But they changed their resolution, for which afterwards they paid severely, as did the whole country of Flanders. Affairs at that time were not so bad as they afterwards became, nor the great distress of Flanders at its height, as I shall hereafter relate.

After the defeat of Rasse de Harzelle and John de Launoy, the earl of Flanders was informed, that Peter du Bois with an army of Ghent men were in the field, and on their march to that city. The earl halted, and called a council, in which he demanded from his knights whether he should not pursue them and offer battle: they replied, that he had done enough that day; that his men were tired, and that it was proper they should have some rest; but that he would do well to send off five or six hundred men at arms, to observe their motions, for they might perhaps fix their quarters in such a situation that they could come up with them at their dislodging. The earl approved of this advice, and followed it: those who were to be of this detachment were directly ordered out, and the lord d'Anghien was appointed to the command. About five hundred lances being mounted, they marched off from Nevele, and followed bye-roads, in order to come up with the Ghent men: they

proceeded so far that they at last saw them descend a small hill: they were in a compact body, and in good order, marching at a good pace toward Ghent.

The lord d'Anghien and his detachment followed them some time on their flank. Peter du Bois and his men saw them plainly, though they made not any appearance of being discomposed by it. Peter du Bois said, "Let us continue our road with a good step, without breaking our ranks; if they attack us, we will receive them, but I do not believe they have any such intentions." Thus each party marched on, without doing anything, as far as Ghent, when the lord d'Anghien returned to the earl, and Peter du Bois with his men entered the town. Peter du Bois was very badly received, and on the point of being killed, for not having exerted himself to assist Rasse de Harzelle. Peter exculpated himself, saying truly, "that he had sent orders to Rasse not to engage with the earl on any account, without being joined by him, for that the earl was in too great force; but that Rasse had done quite the contrary: that if bad success had attended him, he could not by any means be blamed: that he was as much grieved for the death of Rasse as any one, for the town of Ghent had lost a valiant man and good captain. It will therefore be necessary for you to choose another, one who has a good reputation and will be feared; who is bold, wise, and prudent; or otherwise put yourselves under the obedience of the earl, who will destroy us all, by wickedly and cruelly putting us to a shameful death. Now, consider what you will do: either persevere in what you have begun and carried on for so long a time, or throw yourselves on the mercy of my lord the earl of Flanders."

None made any answer to this speech of Peter du Bois; but, with regard to the event of the battle of Nevele and the death of Rasse, he was acquitted. He was, however, much dissatisfied that no one replied to his speech; particularly with some of the principal and richest citizens of Ghent then present, such as sir Guisebert Grote and sir Simon Bete. He at the time did not show his resentment; but in the course of the year, they severely experienced its effects, as you will hear related. The lord d'Anghien, the lord de Montigny, and the Haze de Flanders, returned with their men to the earl, and related all they had seen. The earl set off from Nevele, and went to Bruges: he dismissed his army to their different towns, and sent those of the Franc, with the lord d'Anghien and the banners, to Oudenarde.

The men of Ghent, on hearing that the earl had disbanded his army and retired to Bruges, began to be in motion, by the instigation of Peter du Bois, who said to them, "Come, let us take the field, and not be cool in carrying on this war, but show we are men of courage and enterprise." Upwards of fifteen thousand marched out of Ghent, and came before Courtray, to which they laid siege during the time of the feast and procession at Bruges in the year 1381. They remained there for ten days, and burnt the suburbs of Courtray, with all the surrounding country. When the earl heard of this he remanded all his gentlemen, and the garrisons and commonalty of Ypres and the Franc, and marched from Bruges with upwards of twenty-five thousand men, taking the road to Courtray, with intentions of combating the Ghent army and raising the siege. Peter du Bois, on receiving intelligence of the earl's march and strength, thought it best not to continue the siege: he decamped, and went to Deynse and Nevele, where his army quartered themselves, giving out they would there wait for the earl: at the same time, they signified their situation to their townsmen, who ordered out the reserve, that they might have a superior force of men at arms. Fifteen thousand more men therefore marched from Ghent to their army quartered at Deynse and Nevele, where they encamped in the plain.

When the earl arrived at Harlebecque, near Courtray, he heard the Ghent men had retreated towards Ghent, and were quartered at Deynse and Nevele. He did not think proper to pursue them at that time, but dismissed great part of his army at Courtray, and sent the lord d'Anghien and the Hainaulters, with his bastard son the Haze, to Oudenarde in garrison.

CHAPTER LXIX.—ARNOUL LE CLERC, CAPTAIN OF SOME TROOPS OF WHITE HOODS, DEFEATS SEVERAL OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS' NOBILITY.—HE HIMSELF IS AFTERWARDS DEFEATED AND SLAIN.

WHEN Peter du Bois and the Ghent army found that it was not the earl's intention to advance against them, they departed from Deynse and Nevele, and took a roundabout road towards Oudenarde, on their return to Ghent. The day they passed Oudenarde, they detached a body from the army, under the command of Arnoul le Clerc, who advanced as far as the barriers of the town to skirmish. The knights and squires within could not resist combating with them, so that many were slain and wounded on both sides. But those from Ghent did not continue the skirmish long: they returned to Ghent with their men, when each retired to his own house.

Three days after, Arnoul le Clerc marched to Gavre with about twelve hundred white hoods; and the castle and castlewick were garrisoned, to keep in check those in Oudenarde. Arnoul le Clerc had not been there long before he was informed that some knights and squires had sallied out of Oudenarde in search of adventures, namely, the lord de Cornais, the lord de Remselles, sir John de Villaines, the lord d'Anghien, le Gallois de Mamines, the bastard de Cornais, and sir Blanchard de Calemie. He therefore formed an ambuscade, and as these knights were on their return to Oudenarde, he fell upon them, when several were slain, for mercy was shown to none. The horses of the knights were brought very opportunely, when they made the best of their way to Oudenarde: on their arrival at the barriers, they dismounted and put themselves in a posture of defence, waiting for their men and servants; but, before they could re-enter the town, they had left upwards of sixty dead on the field.

Arnoul le Clerc, having performed this enterprise, marched that day to a monastery near Berchem: he found that Pierre d'Estonnehoux and Gallois de Mamines, with about a hundred of their companions, had retreated into the town of Berchem: he therefore immediately attacked the monastery whither they had retired. Gallois de Mamines with difficulty escaped from the back part of it, and having entered a boat, came by night to Oudenarde, when he related to the lord d'Anghien, the lord de Montigny, sir Daniel de Halluyn, and the other knights who were there, how Arnoul le Clerc, with the white hoods, had forced the monastery of Berchem, and slain their companions: that he thought Pierre d'Estonnehoux was killed; as indeed he was, for Arnoul le Clerc and his men had made him leap out of a window, when he was received on the points of their spears and slain, which was a great loss.

The knights in Oudenarde, on hearing that Arnoul le Clerc with about twelve hundred white hoods were quartered in Berchem; that their companions were slain and the monastery taken; were very indignant, and determined to send off in the night spies to observe whither they would march on the morrow. The spies reported, that the white hoods had fixed on Berchem for their quarters, which much pleased these noblemen. The lords d'Anghien de Montigny, de Bresueil, sir Michael de la Hamarde, with upwards of six hundred knights and squires from Hainault, immediately armed themselves; as did a like number from Flanders. Three hundred spears were in Oudenarde, with upwards of one thousand cross-bows and stout varlets. They marched to Berchem, and, when near that place, they sent forward sir Oliver de Chem, with full one hundred lances, to begin the attack, and to draw Arnoul le Clerc out of the monastery, as well as to give time for the cross-bows and stout varlets, who were on foot, to come up and be properly arranged.

Sir Daniel and sir Peter de Disquemac and the Haze de Flanders, spurring their horses, entered the space before the monastery at full gallop, crying out, "Flanders for the Lion! Flanders for the Bastard!" The Ghent men, not suspecting an ambuscade, for it was early morn, were not dressed, so that before Arnoul le Clerc could collect his men, the lord d'Anghien, the lord Lens, the lord de Bresueil, the lord de Cornais, the lord de Montigny, entered the back part of the town, with the army, crying out, "D'Anghien for the lord!" and attacked the Ghent white hoods with so much vigour, that they could not withstand them, but, breaking their ranks, were thrown into disorder; and, of the twelve hundred, eleven hundred were slain in the monastery, in the town and fields. Arnoul le Clerc was also killed,

as he was running away, by two pikes being thrust through him, which fastened him to a hedge. After this defeat, the lord d'Anghien, with the other knights, returned to Oudenarde, esteeming this enterprise a deed of great prowess. The news of it greatly pleased the earl of Flanders, who told the lord d'Anghien that he was a handsome and good child, and in time would be a most valiant man. To say the truth, the lord d'Anghien was the glory of the earl of Flanders, who at that time resided at Bruges, and who did not call him cousin, but fair son.

CHAPTER LXX.—DURING THIS WAR, THE RICH CITIZENS OF GHENT ARE SUBJUGATED BY THEIR SOLDIERS.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS MADE GOVERNOR OF GHENT.

When the news was carried to Ghent that Arnoul le Clerc was slain, and his men defeated, many began to take alarm, and to say among themselves, "Our affairs go on very badly: by degrees, they will kill all our captains and men: we have done ill to make this war upon the earl our lord, for by little and little he will destroy us. The hatreds of Gilbert Matthew and John Lyon are now falling upon us, and we have too long followed the opinions of John Lyon and Peter du Bois; they have driven us into this war, and brought on us the hatred of our lord to such a degree that we shall never be admitted to mercy, nor obtain a peace. It will be better that twenty or thirty should suffer than a whole city."

This was the conversation of several when together in private, from their dread of the ill-intentioned who were of another way of thinking, and were daily adding to their power, though at the beginning they were but poor workmen scarcely worth a groat. They had now plenty of gold and silver; for, when in want, they complained to their leaders, who willingly listened to them, and gave them advice by pointing out to them the richest men in the town, and saying,—"Go to such and such persons, and tell them we want to speak to them." They directly went, and those they sought were afraid to refuse following them. On their arrival, they were told the good town of Ghent was in want of money to pay their soldiers, who were aiding to guard and preserve their rights and franchises, and that it was necessary the workmen should live. They raised instantly among themselves the sum demanded; for, had they refused, they would have been put to death, on pretence of being traitors to the good town of Ghent, and indifferent to its honour or profit.

Thus did these wicked people become masters of the town, and continued so as long as the war lasted against their lord. In truth, if the rich men and nobility of the town were beaten by such rods, one cannot pity, nor any way excuse them, for they were the primary cause of all this mischief. When the earl of Flanders sent thither his bailiff to do justice on some wicked persons, could they not have remained steady and have assisted him in this act, seeing the rebels were then in very small numbers? But it appeared they were quite indifferent whether the affair turned out well or ill, or if they had war or peace. They must have been sensible, that if they made war on their lord, the ill-intentioned would be their masters and lords of the town, and that they could not turn them out when they pleased. It would happen to them as to John de la Faucille, who, by dissembling and quitting the town of Ghent to live in Hainault, imagined he should be clear of all the wars in Flanders, as well as of those against his lord by the town of Ghent, of which he was a native, and that nothing would be required from him: but in this he was mistaken, so that it caused his death; which was a pity, for John de la Faucille was in his time a wise and able man. But in those days none could trim between the lords and the townsmen, for they were too clear-sighted; and though he knew how to advise others very well, yet in regard to himself he managed things badly. I do not know, for a truth, if he were guilty of all the charges on which he was examined by sir Simon Rain in the castle of Lille, but his judges, with his adverse fortune, turned against him, so that he died: and thus it happened to all the leaders in Ghent, and those who encouraged them in their rebellion against their lord. Many others of Ghent perished, who I hope were blameless.

When Peter du Bois saw Ghent thus weakened in her captains and soldiers, and deserted by her allies; that the principal inhabitants began to tire; he suspected they would readily

give up the war, but that, whatever peace or treaty they should enter into with the earl, there would not be any possibility for him to save his life. He therefore called to his recollection John Lyon, who had been his master, and with what art he had worked; he saw plainly he could not do every thing himself, not having sufficient weight nor knowledge to govern the town; neither did he wish for the principal command, being solely desirous of leading every mad enterprise: he, in consequence, turned his thoughts to a man, of whom the city of Ghent had not any suspicions, one of sufficient prudence, though his abilities were unknown, for until that day they had not paid any attention to him: his name was Philip von Artaveld, son of Jacob von Artaveld, who had ruled over all Flanders for seven years. Peter du Bois had heard it related by his master, John Lyon, and the old people of Ghent, that the whole country was never so well governed, feared, loved and honoured as during the time of Jacob von Artaveld's reign, which lasted for seven years: the inhabitants added, that if Jacob von Artaveld were alive, things would not be in the state they are now in: they should have a peace according to their wishes, and the earl would be too happy to forgive them.

These words made an impression on Peter du Bois: he recollected that Jacob von Artaveld had left a son called Philip, a handsome and agreeable man, to whom the queen of England, when she was at Ghent and during the time of the siege of Tournay, had stood godmother, and who, from respect to her, had been christened Philip. Peter du Bois came one evening to Philip's house, who resided with his mother, maintaining themselves honourably on their rents. Peter, having arranged in his own mind what he should say, thus opened the matter and the cause of his coming: "If you will listen to me, and follow my advice, I will make you the greatest man in Flanders." "How will you do this?" replied Philip. "I will tell you how," said Peter: "you shall have the sole government of Ghent: for we are at this moment in the utmost want of a leader of a good name and fair character: by this means we shall rouse the men of Ghent, through remembrance of your father's fame; for every one says that Flanders was never so flourishing, nor so much feared, as during his lifetime. I will easily place you, if you be willing, in his situation; and, when there, you will govern according to my advice until you shall find yourself master of the business, which you will soon acquire." Philip, who was arrived at manhood, and naturally wished to advance himself in honour and wealth more than he then possessed, replied,—"Peter, you offer me great things; and, if I be placed in the situation you say, I swear on my faith, that I will never act without your advice."

Peter asked,—"Can you be cruel and proud? for a great man among the commonalty, and in particular among such as we shall have to do with, will not be thought any thing worth if he be not feared and dreaded, and at times renowned for his cruelty. It is thus the Flemings wish to be governed; and, among them, men's lives should be no more valued, nor should they have more pity shown to them, than swallows or larks, which are caught in the proper season for the table."—"By my troth," answered Philip, "I know well how to act this part." "All then goes well," said Peter. "You are just such a one as I want, and the chief I look for." On saying this, he took leave and departed to his own house. Night passed, and day returned, when Peter du Bois went to a square where there were upwards of four thousand of his followers and others, assembled to hear the news, to discuss how matters ought to be carried on, and who should be governor of the town.

The lord de Harzelle was there, who chiefly conducted the affairs of Ghent, but he would not undertake to do any thing out of the town: some named him for governor: others were also nominated. Peter, who was listening attentively, having heard many names, raised his voice and said, "Gentlemen, I have paid every attention to all you have said, and firmly believe you have been induced, through your love and affection for the honour and wealth of the town of Ghent, to propose such who are worthy to have a share in the government of this city; but I know one who in no way is thinking of it, and if he would undertake the government, there could not be any one found of greater abilities, nor of a more propitious name." Peter du Bois was called upon to name him, which he did by saying, "It was Philip von Artaveld, who was christened at the font of St. Peter's in Ghent by that noble queen of England, Philippa, who was his godmother at the time when his father, Jacob von

Artaveld, was at the siege of Tournay with the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the duke of Gueldres and the earl of Hainault; which Jacob von Artaveld, his father, governed the town of Ghent and the country of Flanders better than has ever been done since, from all I hear from those inhabitants who have it strong in their memories: Flanders had been for some time lost, if through his sense and good fortune he had not regained it. Now, it behoves us to love the branches from such a valiant man, in preference to any other person." No sooner had Peter du Bois done speaking than the idea of Philip von Artaveld filled every one's mind, and encouraged them so much that they unanimously cried out, "Let him be sought for: we will not have any one but him for our governor." "No, no," said Peter du Bois: "we will not send for him: it will be much better we go to his house, for we do not at present know how he will take it. We ought not by any means to suffer him to excuse himself from accepting it."

At these words, those present took the road to Philip's house, followed by many others who had been informed of their intentions. When they arrived there, the lord de Harzelle, Peter du Bois, Peter la Nuitée, and about ten or twelve of the principal tradesmen, addressed him, saying, "that the good town of Ghent was in the greatest danger for want of a chief, with whom alliances might be formed both at home and abroad, and that all ranks of people in Ghent had given him their voices and chosen him to be their sovereign; for the good remembrance of his name, and the love they had borne to his father, made him more agreeable to them than any one else. For which reasons they entreated him affectionately to take on him the government of the town, with the management of their affairs both within and without, and they would swear to him obedience and loyalty as completely as to their lord. They likewise engaged to bring every one, how great soever he might be, under his obedience."

Philip, after hearing every thing they had to say, made the following prudent reply: "Gentlemen, you require great things from me; and I should imagine you have not weighed the matter so maturely as it ought to have been, when you offer me the government of Ghent. You say, the affection your ancestors had for my father has been your great inducement: when he had performed for them every service in his power, they murdered him. If I should accept the government in the manner you request, and be afterwards murdered, I shall gain but a miserable recompence." "Philip," said Peter du Bois, who caught at these words which seemed to make his choice doubtful, "what has passed cannot now be amended: you will act from the advice of your council, and by thus continuing you will ever be so well advised that all mankind shall praise you." Philip answered, "I should never wish to act otherwise." They then elected him; and, conducting him to the market-place, he was there sworn into office; the mayors, sheriffs, and rulers of companies were also sworn to obey him.

In this manner was Philip von Artaveld made sovereign of Ghent. He acquired great popularity at the commencement; for he spoke to every one who had any business with him politely and prudently, so that he was beloved by all. He gave a part of the revenues which the earl of Flanders had in Ghent as his inheritance to the lord de Harzelle, out of affection to him, and to enable him the better to support his rank; for he had lost every thing he possessed without the walls of the town.

We will now for a time leave these affairs of Flanders, and speak of those of England and Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXI.—A WAR BETWEEN THE KINGS OF CASTILLE AND PORTUGAL.

You have before heard related the death of king Henry of Castille, and that his eldest son, don John, was crowned in his stead. His queen also, who was daughter to king Peter of Arragon, was crowned with him. A war broke out between king Ferdinand of Portugal and the king of Castille on certain disputes between them; but principally on account of the two daughters of Peter king of Castille, who were married in England; the eldest, Constance, to the duke of Lancaster, and Isabella to the earl of Cambridge. The king of

Portugal declared, that it was unjust and illegal in the king of Castille to disinherit, without cause, his two cousins; and that it was not becoming that two noble ladies of such high birth should be disinherited from their rights: it was also improper that this affair should become old and forgotten, so that these ladies would never be able to regain their possessions: that for him, who was one of the nearest relations they had, he would never consent to it, both for the love of God and his desire to maintain justice, to which every good Christian should incline. He sent therefore his defiance to the king of Castille, whom all Spain had crowned; and the king of Portugal made war upon him for the reasons above mentioned. Don John defended himself valiantly, and ordered to the frontiers and to his garrisons numbers of men at arms, to oppose his enemies, so that he lost nothing at the breaking out of hostilities. He had with him some of the ablest and most prudent of French chivalry, who assisted him greatly by their arms and advice; such as the bègue de Villaines, sir Peter his son, sir John de Bergettes, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Puissac, the lord de la Tande, sir John and sir Tristram de Roye, and many more, who had gone to Spain on the departure of the earl of Buckingham from Brittany; for the king of France, who had great connections and of a long standing with the king of Castille, had sent them thither.

The king of Portugal, on finding this, thought it advisable to send ambassadors to England to the king and his uncles, to request succours from them, that he might be able to carry on a successful war against the king of Castille. He called to him one of his knights, a valiant and prudent man, as well as a great lord, called John Ferrande, and told him his intentions in these words: "John, you will carry these credential letters to England. I cannot send thither a more able ambassador than yourself, nor one who is better informed of all my affairs: you will therefore commend me to the king, on presenting these letters, and let him know that I am supporting the rights of my cousins, his aunts, for their inheritance of Castille and Spain; and that I have already waged war against him, who, through the influence of France, has taken possession of it; but that I am not sufficiently strong in myself, nor have I resources to oppose him, nor to conquer such heritages as Castille, Galicia and Seville. For which reason, I entreat him to send me his fair uncle the duke of Lancaster, with his wife and daughter, my cousins, and a number of men at arms and archers. On their arrival hither, we will carry on such a war, if it should please God, that we will recover their inheritances." "My lord," replied the knight, "with pleasure will I carry your message." He was not long before he embarked on board a strong vessel fit for the voyage, and sailed from the harbour of Lisbon; when, having favourable winds, he arrived at Plymouth the same day and same tide that the earl of Buckingham returned thither, with part of his fleet, from Brittany.

The English had unfortunately lost at sea three of their ships, full of men and stores, and had been so much separated by contrary winds, that they arrived, not without great danger, in three different ports of England. The earl of Buckingham was rejoiced at the arrival of the Portuguese knight, whom he most graciously received. On his inquiring after news, he told him enough, as well of Spain as of Portugal. They continued their journey together until they came to the good city of London, where the king was. On the earl of Buckingham's arrival, the city of London entertained him magnificently. He went to Westminster to wait on the king, who was there with his two uncles, the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, and took the knight from Portugal with him, whom he presented to the king and to his brothers.

When the king and the above-named lords were made acquainted with the subject of his coming, they seemed to be much pleased, and paid him great respect. He delivered his letters to the king, who read them in the presence of his uncles; for you must know the king did nothing without the advice of these uncles, being at that time very young. The knight was questioned, notwithstanding the letters he had brought with him, on the subject of his coming from Portugal: his answers were prudent and proper, according to the propositions which have been mentioned before. When the lords had fully heard all he had to say, they said,—"Many thanks to our fair cousin the king of Portugal, who, to serve us, has made war on our adversary. What he requires is but reasonable, and he shall be speedily succoured. The king will consider in what manner he shall arrange this business."

No further conversation passed. The foreign knight, having brought such agreeable tidings to the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, was much feasted, and dined with the king. He remained about fifteen days, and until a week before the feast of St. George, with the king and his uncles. Sir Robert de Namur was also there, who had come to do homage to the king for what he possessed in England. The parliament was also summoned to meet at Westminster, as well on account of this embassy from Portugal as upon the affairs of Scotland, the truce between the two countries ending the first of June.

The prelates and barons of England held many councils to consider this business: they were not for sending the duke of Lancaster to Portugal, some saying it was a long voyage for him, and that they might repent of his going, for the Scots were making great preparations to invade England. It was at last determined that the duke of Lancaster, who was well acquainted with Scotland and its inhabitants, should go to the borders, and learn what were the intentions of the Scots; for of all the barons of England he knew best how to conduct a treaty, and the Scots would do more for him than for any other person. They likewise resolved that the earl of Cambridge should embark for Portugal with five hundred spears and as many archers; and if the duke of Lancaster could manage the Scots, and, without dishonouring England, conclude a truce for three years, he might go likewise, if the king approved of it in council, about August or September, to Portugal to reinforce the army of his brother. There was another reason why the duke of Lancaster ought to remain in England: the king had sent ambassadors, with the duke of Saxony and the archbishop of Ravenna, to the emperor of Germany, to demand his sister in marriage and to obtain his answer; for there had been great negotiations on this subject for upwards of a year. The bishop of St. David's and sir Simon Burley were the ambassadors, on the part of England, to assist and bring it to a conclusion.

The king and his lords agreed to this determination, when the parliament broke up. Lists were made out of those barons and knights who were to accompany the earl of Cambridge to Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE SAILS FOR PORTUGAL.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER GOES TO THE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND, TO MAKE A TRUCE WITH THE SCOTS.

The duke of Lancaster, having made his preparations, left the king and his brothers. On taking leave of the earl of Cambridge, he swore to him, by his faith, that on his return from Scotland, he would speedily follow him to Portugal, if no hindrance which he could not then foresee happened in England to prevent him. On this, the duke departed, taking the road to Scotland, and attended only by those of his household. In this parliament, the earl of Northumberland was appointed lieutenant of all Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, and as much of Wales as to the banks of the Severn: he therefore left London for those parts, but it was about fifteen days after the departure of the duke of Lancaster.

The earl of Cambridge took leave of the king and his brother the earl of Buckingham, to complete the forces for the expedition he had undertaken to command. He made his rendezvous at Plymouth, where he was the first who arrived, bringing with him his lady Isabella and his son John, whom he intended carrying with him to Portugal. The earl of Cambridge was accompanied by many noblemen, such as sir Matthew Gournay constable of the army, the canon de Robesart, sir John Newcastle, sir William Beauchamp marshal of the army, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord Botreaux, the lord de Charlton, sir William Helmon, sir Thomas Symon, sir Nicholas Windsor, sir John Carteret and several others. There were also men at arms to the amount of five hundred, and as many archers. These lords and their men came to Plymouth, where they quartered themselves and in the adjoining villages. They loaded their vessels by little and little; but no horses were to be embarked, as the voyage was too long from England to Lisbon. The Portuguese knight was with them, intending to accompany them to his country. They remained upwards of three weeks on the coast, getting ready their provision and stores, and waiting for favourable weather.

The duke of Lancaster continued his journey towards Scotland until he came to Berwick,

which is the last town in that part of England. When arrived there, he halted, and sent a message to Scotland to acquaint the barons he was come thither to ride the borders, as had always been customary; and, if they were desirous of doing the same first, they had best to inform him of it, otherwise he well knew what he was to do. The duke's herald rode to Edinburgh, where king Robert of Scotland, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Mar, the earl of Moray and all the principal barons of Scotland were assembled. They had heard the duke of Lancaster was come to treat with them, and had thus assembled in the chief town of Scotland, where the herald met them.

The herald punctually executed his message. He was favourably listened to, and had a friendly answer from the Scots barons, who said, they would willingly hear what the duke had to propose. The herald brought back with him passports for the duke and his people, to last as long as they should remain on the borders and during the parleys. The herald, having received these assurances, came back to Berwick and related what he had done. Upon this, the duke departed from Berwick, leaving all his stores in that town, and took the road to Roxburgh, where he lay. On the morrow, he was lodged in the abbey of Melrose on the Tweed, which divides the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The duke and his attendants remained there until the Scots were come to Lambir-law, three short leagues off. On their arrival, they signified it to the duke, when immediately negotiations were begun between the Scots and English, and which lasted for upwards of fifteen days.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE POPULACE OF ENGLAND REBEL AGAINST THE NOBILITY.

WHILE these conferences were going forward, there happened in England great commotions among the lower ranks of the people, by which England was near ruined without resource. Never was a country in such jeopardy as this was at that period, and all through the too great comfort of the commonalty. Rebellion was stirred up, as it was formerly done in France by the Jacques Bons-hommes, who did much evil, and sore troubled the kingdom of France. It is marvellous from what a trifle this pestilence raged in England. In order that it may serve as an example to mankind, I will speak of all that was done, from the information I had at the time on the subject.

It is customary in England, as well as in several other countries, for the nobility to have great privileges over the commonalty, whom they keep in bondage; that is to say, they are bound by law and custom to plough the lands of gentlemen, to harvest the grain, to carry it home to the barn, to thrash and winnow it: they are also bound to harvest the hay and carry it home *. All these services they are obliged to perform for their lords, and many more in England than in other countries. The prelates and gentlemen are thus served. In the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, these services are more oppressive than in all the rest of the kingdom.

The evil-disposed in these districts began to rise, saying, they were too severely oppressed; that at the beginning of the world there were no slaves, and that no one ought to be treated as such, unless he had committed treason against his lord, as Lucifer had done against God: but they had done no such thing, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed after the same likeness with their lords, who treated them as beasts. This they would not longer bear, but had determined to be free, and if they laboured or did any other works for their lords, they would be paid for it.

A crazy priest in the county of Kent, called John Ball, who, for his absurd preaching, had been thrice confined in the prison of the archbishop of Canterbury, was greatly instrumental in inflaming them with those ideas. He was accustomed, every Sunday after mass, as the people were coming out of the church, to preach to them in the market place and assemble a crowd around him; to whom he would say,—"My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until every thing shall be in common; when there

* And to hew their wood and bring it home.—*Lord Berners.*

shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill have they used us! and for what reason do they thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? and what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be more the masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labour and work, for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs *, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw; and, if we drink, it must be water. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labours in the field; but it is from our labour they have wherewith to support their pomp. We are called slaves; and, if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who wishes to hear us and do us justice. Let us go to the king, who is young, and remonstrate with him on our servitude, telling him we must have it otherwise, or that we shall find a remedy for it ourselves. If we wait on him in a body, all those who come under the appellation of slaves, or are held in bondage, will follow us, in the hopes of being free. When the king shall see us, we shall obtain a favourable answer, or we must then seek ourselves to amend our condition."

JOHN BALL PREACHING TO THE PEOPLE. From a MS. of the Fifteenth Century.

With such words as these did John Ball harangue the people, at his village, every Sunday after mass, for which he was much beloved by them. Some who wished no good declared it was very true, and murmuring to each other, as they were going to the fields, on the road from one village to another, or at their different houses, said, "John Ball preaches such and such things, and he speaks truth."

The archbishop of Canterbury, on being informed of this, had John Ball arrested, and

* Lord Berners says "*chamlet* furred with *grise*," the skin of the weazle or martin. The word in Froissart is *camocas*, which D. Sauvage is at a loss to understand, and proposes to alter to *camelos*, camlet; thus confirming Lord Berners' translation.—ED.

imprisoned for two or three months by way of punishment; but it would have been better if he had been confined during his life, or had been put to death, than to have been suffered thus to act. The archbishop set him at liberty, for he could not for conscience sake have put him to death. The moment John Ball was out of prison, he returned to his former errors. Numbers in the city of London having heard of his preaching, being envious of the rich men and nobility, began to say among themselves, that the kingdom was too badly governed, and the nobility had seized on all the gold and silver coin. These wicked Londoners, therefore, began to assemble and to rebel: they sent to tell those in the adjoining counties, they might come boldly to London, and bring their companions with them, for they would find the town open to them, and the commonalty in the same way of thinking; that they would press the king so much, there should no longer be a slave in England.

These promises stirred up those in the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex and Bedford, and the adjoining country, so that they marched towards London; and, when they arrived near, they were upwards of sixty thousand. They had a leader called Wat Tyler, and with him were Jack Straw and John Ball: these three were their commanders, but the principal was Wat Tyler. This Wat had been a tiler of houses, a bad man, and a great enemy to the nobility. When these wicked people first began to rise, all London, except their friends, were very much frightened. The mayor and rich citizens assembled in council, on hearing they were coming to London, and debated whether they should shut the gates and refuse to admit them; but, having well considered, they determined not to do so, as they should run a risk of having the suburbs burnt *.

The gates were therefore thrown open, when they entered in troops of one or two hundred, by twenties or thirties, according to the populousness of the towns they came from; and as they came into London they lodged themselves. But it is a truth, that full two-thirds of these people knew not what they wanted, nor what they sought for: they followed one another like sheep, or like to the shepherds of old, who said they were going to conquer the Holy Land, and afterwards accomplished nothing. In such manner did these poor fellows and vassals come to London from distances of a hundred and sixty leagues †, but the greater part from those counties I have mentioned, and on their arrival they demanded to see the king. The gentlemen of the country, the knights and squires, began to be alarmed when they saw the people thus rise; and, if they were frightened, they had sufficient reason, for less causes create fear. They began to collect together as well as they could.

The same day that these wicked men of Kent were on their road towards London, the princess of Wales, mother to the king, was returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She ran great risks from them; for these scoundrels attacked her car, and caused much confusion, which greatly frightened the good lady, lest they should do some violence to her or to her ladies. God, however, preserved her from this, and she came in one day from Canterbury to London, without venturing to make any stop by the way. Her son Richard was this day in the Tower of London: thither the princess came, and found the king attended by the earl of Salisbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, sir Robert de Namur, the lord de Gommegines, and several more, who had kept near his person from suspicions of his subjects who were thus assembling, without knowing what they wanted. This rebellion was well known to be in agitation in the king's palace, before it broke out and the country people had left their homes; to which the king applied no remedy, to the great astonishment of every one. In order that gentlemen and others may take example, and correct wicked rebels, I will most amply detail how this business was conducted.

* According to Lord Berners and D. Sauvage they did at first shut the gates, but afterwards being in fear for the suburbs they caused them to be re-opened.—Ed.

† Lord Berners exactly agrees with D. Sauvage, and differs materially in the relation of the distance the rebels travelled. Lord Berners translates lieues *miles*, I apprehend correctly. "In lykewise these villains and poor people came to London a hundred myle off, lx myle, l myle, xl myle, and xx myle off, and fro' all countries about London, but the moost part came fro' the countries before-named."—Ed.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE POPULACE OF ENGLAND COMMIT MANY CRUELTIES ON THOSE IN OFFICIAL SITUATIONS.—THEY SEND A KNIGHT AS AMBASSADOR TO THE KING.

On Monday preceding the feast of the Holy Sacrament, in the year 1381, did these people sally forth from their homes, to come to London to remonstrate with the king, that all might be made free, for they would not there should be any slaves in England. At Canterbury, they met John Ball (who thought he should find there the Archbishop, but he was at London), Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. On their entrance into Canterbury, they were much feasted by every one, for the inhabitants were of their way of thinking; and, having held a council, they resolved to march to London, and also to send emissaries across the Thames to Essex, Suffolk, Bedford, and other counties, to press the people to march to London on that side, and thus, as it were, to surround it, which the king would not be able to prevent. It was their intention that all the different parties should be collected together on the feast of the Holy Sacrament, or on the following day.

Those who had come to Canterbury entered the church of St. Thomas, and did much damage: they pillaged the apartments of the archbishop, saying as they were carrying off different articles,—"This chancellor of England has had this piece of furniture very cheap: he must now give us an account of the revenues of England, and of the large sums he has levied since the coronation of the king." After they had defrauded the abbey of St. Vincent, they set off in the morning, and all the populace of Canterbury with them, taking the road towards Rochester. They collected the people from the villages to the right and left, and marched along like a tempest, destroying every house of an attorney or king's proctor, or that belonged to the archbishop, sparing none.

On their arrival at Rochester, they were much feasted, for the people were waiting for them, being of their party. They advanced to the castle, and seizing a knight called sir John de Newtoun, who was constable of it and captain of the town *, they told him that he must accompany them as their commander in chief, and do whatever they should wish. The knight endeavoured to excuse himself, and offered good reasons for it, if they had been listened to; but they said to him, "Sir John, if you will not act as we shall order, you are a dead man." The knight seeing this outrageous mob ready to kill him, complied with their request, and very unwillingly put himself at their head. They had acted in a similar manner in the other counties of England, in Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Stafford, Warwick and Lincoln, where they forced great lords and knights, such as the lord Manley, a great baron, sir Stephen Hales, and sir Thomas Cossington, to lead and march with them. Now, observe how fortunately matters turned out, for had they succeeded in their intentions they would have destroyed the whole nobility of England: after this success, the people of other nations would have rebelled, taking example from those of Ghent and Flanders, who were in actual rebellion against their lord. In this same year the Parisians acted a similar part, arming themselves with leaden maces †. They were upwards of twenty thousand, as I shall relate when I come to that part of my history; but I will first go on with this rebellion in England.

When those who had lodged at Rochester had done all they wanted, they departed, and, crossing the river, came to Dartford, but always following their plan of destroying the houses of lawyers or proctors on the right and left of their road. In their way, they cut off several men's heads, and continued their march to Blackheath, where they fixed their quarters: they said they were armed for the king and commons of England. When the citizens of London found they were quartered so near them, they closed the gates of London-bridge: guards were placed there by orders of sir William Walworth, mayor of London, and several rich citizens who were not of their party; but there were in the city more than thirty thousand who favoured them.

Those who were at Blackheath had information of this: they sent, therefore, their knight to speak with the king, and to tell him, that what they were doing was for his service, for

* "John de Newtoun was constable of this castle (Rochester) anno 2 king Richard."—*Hasted's Kent*, vol. ii. p. 13.

† Lord Berners and D. Sauvage read *iron*, though the latter in a note says that the Chronicles and Annals of France say *lead*.—Ed.

the kingdom had been for several years wretchedly governed, to the great dishonour of the realm and to the oppression of the lower ranks of the people, by his uncles, by the clergy, and in particular by the archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellor, from whom they would have an account of his ministry. The knight dared not say nor do any thing to the contrary, but, advancing to the Thames opposite the Tower, he took boat and crossed over. While the king and those with him in the Tower were in great suspense, and anxious to receive some intelligence, the knight came on shore: way was made for him, and he was conducted to the king, who was in an apartment with the princess his mother. There were also with the king his two maternal brothers, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, the great prior of the Templars in England, sir Robert de Namur, the lord de Vertain, the lord de Gommegines, sir Henry de Sausselles, the mayor of London and several of the principal citizens.

Sir John Newtoun, who was well known to them all, for he was one of the king's officers, cast himself on his knees and said,—"My much redoubted lord, do not be displeased with me for the message I am about to deliver to you; for, my dear lord, through force I am come hither." "By no means, sir John, tell us what you are charged with: we hold you excused." "My very redoubted lord, the commons of your realm send me to you to entreat you would come and speak with them on Blackheath. They wish to have no one but yourself; and you need not fear for your person, for they will not do you the least harm: they always have respected and will respect you as their king; but they will tell you many things, which, they say, it is necessary you should hear; with which, however, they have not empowered me to acquaint you. But, dear lord, have the goodness to give me such an answer as may satisfy them, and that they may be convinced I have really been in your presence; for they have my children as hostages for my return, whom they will assuredly put to death, if I do not go back."

The king replied, "You shall speedily have an answer." Upon this, he called a council to consider what was to be done. The king was advised to say, that if on Thursday they would come down to the river Thames, he would without fail speak with them. Sir John Newtoun, on receiving this answer, was well satisfied therewith, and, taking leave of the king and barons, departed: having entered his boat, he recrossed the Thames, and returned to Blackheath, where he had left upwards of sixty thousand men. He told them from the king, that if they would send on the morrow morning their leaders to the Thames, the king would come and hear what they had to say. This answer gave great pleasure, and they were contented with it: they passed the night as well as they could; but you must know that one-fourth of them fasted for want of provision, as they had not brought any with them, at which they were much vexed, as may be supposed.

At this time, the earl of Buckingham was in Wales, where he possessed great estates in right of his wife, who was daughter of the earl of Hereford and Northampton; but the common report about London was, that he favoured these people: some assured it for a truth, as having seen him among them, because there was one Thomas very much resembling him, from the county of Cambridge. As for the English barons who were at Plymouth making preparations for their voyage, they had heard of this rebellion, and that the people were rising in all parts of the kingdom. Fearful lest their voyage should be prevented, or that the populace, as they had done at Southampton, Winchelsea and Arundel, should attack them, they heaved their anchors, and with some difficulty left the harbour, for the wind was against them, and put to sea, when they cast anchor to wait for a wind.

The duke of Lancaster was on the borders, between la Morlane*, Roxburgh and Melrose, holding conferences with the Scots: he had also received intelligence of this rebellion, and the danger his person was in, for he well knew he was unpopular with the common people of England. Notwithstanding this, he managed his treaty very prudently with the Scots commissioners, the earl of Douglas, the earl of Moray, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Mar and Thomas de Vesey. The Scotsmen who were conducting the treaty on the part of the king and the country knew also of the rebellion in England, and how the populace were

* "La Morlane." Lambir-law.—*Macpherson's Geog. Illust. of Scotland.*

rising everywhere against the nobility. They said, that England was shaken and in great danger of being ruined, for which in their treaties they bore the harder on the duke of Lancaster and his council.

We will now return to the commonalty of England, and say how they continued in their rebellion.

CHAPTER LXXV.—THE COMMONALTY OF ENGLAND ENTER LONDON, WHERE THEY COMMIT MANY CRUELTIES AND OUTRAGES.—THEY PUT TO DEATH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND SEVERAL OTHERS.

On Corpus Christi day king Richard heard mass, in the tower of London, with all his lords, and afterwards entered his barge, attended by the earls of Salisbury, Warwick and Suffolk, with other knights. He rowed down the Thames towards Rotherhithe, a manor belonging to the crown, where were upwards of ten thousand men, who had come from Blackheath to see the king and to speak to him: when they perceived his barge approach, they set up such shouts and cries as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. They had their knight, sir John Newtoun, with them; for, in case the king had not come and they found he had made a jest of them, they would, as they had threatened, have cut him to pieces.

Richard the Second and the Rebels. From a MS. of the 15th Century.

When the king and his lords saw this crowd of people, and the wildness of their manner, there was not one among them so bold and determined but felt alarmed: the king was advised by his barons not to land, but to have his barge rowed up and down the river.

"What do ye wish for?" demanded the king: "I am come hither to hear what you have to say." Those near him cried out with one voice,—"We wish thee to land, when we will remonstrate with thee, and tell thee more at our ease what our wants are." The earl of Salisbury then replied for the king, and said,—"Gentlemen, you are not properly dressed, nor in a fit condition for the king to talk with you."

Nothing more was said; for the king was desired to return to the Tower of London, from whence he had set out. When the people saw they could obtain nothing more, they were inflamed with passion, and went back to Blackheath, where the main body was, to relate the answer they had received, and how the king was returned to the Tower. They all then cried out, "Let us march instantly to London." They immediately set off, and, in their road thither, they destroyed the houses of lawyers, courtiers, and monasteries. Advancing into the suburbs of London, which were very handsome and extensive, they pulled down many fine houses: in particular, they demolished the prison of the king called the Marshalsea, and set at liberty all those confined within it. They did much damage to the suburbs, and menaced the Londoners at the entrance of the bridge for having shut the gates of it, saying, they would set fire to the suburbs, take the city by storm, and afterwards burn and destroy it.

With respect to the common people of London, numbers were of their opinions, and, on assembling together, said,—"Why will you refuse admittance to these honest men? They are our friends, and what they are doing is for our good." It was then found necessary to open the gates, when crowds rushed in, and ran to those shops which seemed well stored with provision: if they sought for meat or drink, it was placed before them, and nothing refused, but all manner of good cheer offered, in hopes of appeasing them.

Their leaders, John Ball, Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, then marched through London, attended by more than twenty thousand men, to the palace of the Savoy, which is a handsome building on the road to Westminster, situated on the banks of the Thames, belonging to the duke of Lancaster; they immediately killed the porters, pressed into the house and set it on fire. Not content with committing this outrage, they went to the house of the knights-hospitalers of Rhodes, dedicated to St. John of Mount Carmel, which they burnt, together with their hospital and church. They afterwards paraded the streets, and killed every Fleming they could find, whether in house, church or hospital: not one escaped death. They broke open several houses of the Lombards, taking whatever money they could lay their hands on, none daring to oppose them. They murdered a rich citizen called Richard Lyon, to whom Wat Tyler had been formerly servant in France; but, having once beaten this varlet, he had not forgotten it, and, having carried his men to his house, ordered his head to be cut off, placed upon a pike, and carried through the streets of London. Thus did these wicked people act like madmen; and, on this Thursday, they did much mischief to the city of London.

Towards evening, they fixed their quarters in a square called St. Catharine's, before the Tower, declaring they would not depart thence until they should obtain from the king every thing they wanted, and have all their desires satisfied; and the chancellor of England made to account with them, and show how the great sums which had been raised were expended; menacing, that if he did not render such an account as was agreeable to them, it would be the worse for him. Considering the various ills they had done to foreigners, they lodged themselves before the Tower. You may easily suppose what a miserable situation the king was in, and those with him; for at times these rebellious fellows hooted as loud as if the devils were in them.

About evening, a council was held in the presence of the king, the barons who were in the Tower with him, sir William Walworth the mayor, and some of the principal citizens, when it was proposed to arm themselves, and during the night to fall upon these wretches, who were in the streets and amounted to sixty thousand, while they were asleep and drunk, for then they might be killed like flies, and not one in twenty among them had arms. The citizens were very capable of doing this, for they had secretly received into their houses their friends and servants, properly prepared to act. Sir Robert Knolles remained in his house, guarding his property, with more than six score companions completely armed, who would have

instantly sallied forth. Sir Perducas d'Albreth was also in London at that period, and would have been of great service; so that they could have mustered upwards of eight thousand men, well armed. But nothing was done; for they were too much afraid of the commonalty of London; and the advisers of the king, the earl of Salisbury and others, said to him,—"Sir, if you can appease them by fair words, it will be so much the better, and good humouredly grant them what they ask; for, should we begin what we cannot go through, we shall never be able to recover it: it will be all over with us and our heirs, and England will be a desert." This council was followed, and the mayor ordered to make no movement. He obeyed, as in reason he ought. In the city of London, with the mayor, there are twelve sheriffs *, of whom nine were for the king and three for these wicked people, as it was afterwards discovered, and for which they then paid dearly.

On Friday morning, those lodged in the square before St. Catherine's, near the Tower, began to make themselves ready; they shouted much, and said, that if the king would not come out to them, they would attack the Tower, storm it, and slay all in it. The king was alarmed at these menaces, and resolved to speak with them; he therefore sent orders for them to retire to a handsome meadow at Mile-end, where, in the summer time, people go to amuse themselves, and that there the king would grant them their demands. Proclamation was made in the king's name for all those who wished to speak with him to go to the above-mentioned place, where he would not fail to meet them.

The commonalty of the different villages began to march thither; but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view, for the greater part only wished for the riches and destruction of the nobles, and the plunder of London. This was the principal cause of their rebellion, as they very clearly showed; for when the gates of the Tower were thrown open, and the king, attended by his two brothers, the earls of Salisbury, of Warwick, of Suffolk, sir Robert de Namur, the lords de Vertain and de Gommegines, with several others, had passed through them, Wat Tyler, Jack Straw and John Ball, with upwards of four hundred, rushed in by force, and, running from chamber to chamber, found the archbishop of Canterbury, whose name was Simon †, a valiant and wise man, and chancellor of England, who had but just celebrated mass before the king: he was seized by these rascals, and beheaded. The prior of St. John's suffered the same fate, and likewise a Franciscan friar, a doctor of physic, who was attached to the duke of Lancaster, out of spite to his master, and also a serjeant at arms of the name of John Laige ‡. They fixed these four heads on long pikes, and had them carried before them through the streets of London: when they had sufficiently played with them, they placed them on London Bridge, as if they had been traitors to their king and country.

These scoundrels entered the apartment of the princess, and cut her bed, which so much terrified her that she fainted, and in this condition was by her servants and ladies carried to the river side, when she was put into a covered boat, and conveyed to the house called The Wardrobe §, where she continued that day and night like to a woman half dead, until she was comforted by the king her son, as you shall presently hear.

* "Twelve sheriffs."—Froissart is mistaken, as there are only two sheriffs and twenty-six aldermen, including the mayor.

The aldermen were originally chosen for one year; but, in 1354, "it was ordained that they should not be removed without some special cause."—*Stowe's History of London.*

† "Simon de Sudbury."—His name was Tibold; but he took the name de Sudbury from the place of his birth.

‡ "Laige."—Leg.—*Hollingshed.*

§ The King's Wardrobe was at this time in Carter-lane, Barnard's Castle-ward. For further particulars, see Stowe's History of London.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE NOBLES OF ENGLAND ARE IN GREAT DANGER OF BEING DESTROYED.—THREE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE REBELS ARE PUNISHED, AND THE REST SENT BACK TO THEIR HOMES.

WHEN the king was on his way to the place called Mile-end, without London, his two brothers, the earl of Kent and sir John Holland, stole off and galloped from his company, as did also the lord de Gommegines, not daring to show themselves to the populace at Mile-end for fear of their lives*.

On the king's arrival, attended by the barons, he found upwards of sixty thousand men assembled from different villages and counties of England: he instantly advanced into the midst of them, saying in a pleasant manner, "My good people, I am your king and your lord: what is it you want? and what do you wish to say to me?" Those who heard him answered, "We wish thou wouldst make us free for ever, us, our heirs and our lands, and that we should no longer be called slaves, nor held in bondage." The king replied, "I grant your wish: now, therefore, return to your homes and the places from whence you came, leaving behind two or three men from each village, to whom I will order letters to be given sealed with my seal, which they shall carry back with every demand you have made fully granted: and, in order that you may be the more satisfied, I will direct that my banners shall be sent to every stewardship, castlewick, and corporation." These words greatly appeased the novices and well-meaning ones who were there, and knew not what they wanted, saying, "It is well said: we do not wish for more." The people were thus quieted, and began to return towards London.

The king added a few words, which pleased them much: "You, my good people of Kent, shall have one of my banners; and you also of Essex, Sussex, Bedford, Suffolk, Cambridge, Stafford, and Lincoln, shall each of you have one; and I pardon you all for what you have hitherto done; but you must follow my banners, and now return home on the terms I have mentioned." They unanimously replied they would. Thus did this great assembly break up, and set out for London. The king instantly employed upwards of thirty secretaries, who drew up the letters as fast as they could; and, having sealed and delivered them to these people, they departed, and returned to their own counties.

The principal mischief remained behind: I mean Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, who declared, that though the people were satisfied, they would not thus depart; and they had more than thirty thousand who were of their mind. They continued in the city, without any wish to have their letters, or the king's seal; but did all they could to throw the town into such confusion that the lords and rich citizens might be murdered, and their houses pillaged and destroyed. The Londoners suspected this, and kept themselves at home, with their friends and servants, well armed and prepared, every one according to his abilities.

When the people had been appeased at Mile-end Green, and were setting off for their different towns as speedily as they could receive the king's letters, king Richard went to the Wardrobe, where the princess was in the greatest fear: he comforted her, as he was very able to do, and passed there the night.

I must relate an adventure which happened to these clowns before Norwich, and to their leader, called William Lister, who was from the county of Stafford. On the same day, these wicked people burnt the palace of the Savoy, the church and house of St. John, the hospital of the Templars, pulled down the prison of Newgate, and set at liberty all the prisoners. There were collected numerous bodies from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, who proceeded on their march towards London, according to the orders they had received, under the direction of Lister.

In their road they stopped near Norwich, and forced every one to join them, so that none of the commonalty remained behind. The reason why they stopped near Norwich was, that the governor of the town was a knight called sir Robert Salle: he was not by birth a gentleman, but, having acquired great renown for his ability and courage, king Edward had

* Lord Berners, who in this agrees with D. Sauvage, says the king sent them away—("put them out of his company.") I do not understand why Mr. Johnes has represented them as running away privily.—ED.

created him a knight: he was the handsomest and strongest man in England. Lister and his companions took it into their heads they would make this knight their commander, and carry him with them, in order to be the more feared. They sent orders to him to come out into the fields to speak with them, or they would attack and burn the city. The knight, considering it was much better for him to go to them than that they should commit such outrages, mounted his horse, and went out of the town alone, to hear what they had to say. When they perceived him coming, they showed him every mark of respect, and courteously entreated him to dismount, and talk with them. He did dismount, and committed a great folly: for, when he had so done, having surrounded him, they at first conversed in a friendly way, saying, "Robert, you are a knight, and a man of great weight in this country, renowned for your valour: yet, notwithstanding all this, we know who you are: you are not a gentleman, but the son of a poor mason, just such as ourselves. Do you come with us, as our commander, and we will make so great a lord of you that one quarter of England shall be under your command."

The knight, on hearing them thus speak, was exceedingly angry; he would never have consented to such a proposal; and, eyeing them with inflamed looks, answered, "Begone, wicked scoundrels and false traitors as you are: would you have me desert my natural lord for such a company of knaves as you? would you have me dishonour myself? I would much rather you were all hanged, for that must be your end." On saying this, he attempted to mount his horse; but, his foot slipping from the stirrup, his horse took fright. They then shouted out, and cried, "Put him to death." When he heard this, he let his horse go; and, drawing a handsome Bordeaux sword, he began to skirmish, and soon cleared the crowd from about him, that it was a pleasure to see. Some attempted to close with him; but with each stroke he gave, he cut off heads, arms, feet, or legs. There were none so bold but were afraid; and sir Robert performed that day marvellous feats of arms. These wretches were upwards of forty thousand; they shot and flung at him such things, that had he been clothed in steel instead of being unarmed, he must have been overpowered: however, he killed twelve of them, besides many whom he wounded. At last, he was overthrown, when they cut off his legs and arms, and rent his body in piecemeal. Thus ended sir Robert Salle, which was a great pity; and, when the knights and squires in England heard of it, they were much enraged.

On the Saturday morning, the king left the Wardrobe, and went to Westminster, where he and all the lords heard mass in the abbey. In this church, there is a statue of our Lady in a small chapel, that has many virtues and performs great miracles, in which the kings of England have much faith. The king, having paid his devotions and made his offerings to this shrine, mounted his horse about nine o'clock, as did the barons who were with him. They rode along the causeway to return to London; but, when they had gone a little way, he turned to a road on the left to go from London.

This day, all the rabble were again assembled, under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, to parley at a place called Smithfield, where, every Friday, the horse-market is kept. They amounted to upwards of twenty thousand, all of the same sort. Many more were in the city, breakfasting and drinking Rhenish and Malmsey Madeira wines, in taverns and at the houses of the Lombards, without paying for anything; and happy was he who could give them good cheer. Those who were collected in Smithfield had the king's banners, which had been given to them the preceding evening; and these reprobates wanted to pillage the city this same day, their leaders saying, "that hitherto they had done nothing. The pardons which the king has granted will not be of much use to us: but, if we be of the same mind, we shall pillage this large, rich, and powerful town of London, before those from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Warwick, Reading, Lancashire, Arundel, Guildford, Coventry, Lynne, Lincoln, York, and Durham shall arrive; for they are on the road, and we know for certain that Vaquier * and Lister will conduct them hither. If we now plunder the city of the wealth that is in it, we shall have been beforehand, and shall not repent of so doing; but, if we wait for their arrival, they will wrest it from us." To this opinion all had agreed, when the king appeared in sight, attended by sixty horse. He was

* "Valquier,"—probably Walker.

not thinking of them, but intended to have continued his ride without coming into London: however, when he came before the abbey of St. Bartholomew, which is in Smithfield, and saw the crowd of people, he stopped, and said he would not proceed until he knew what they wanted; and, if they were troubled, he would appease them.

The lords who accompanied him stopped also, as was but right, since the king had stopped; when Wat Tyler, seeing the king, said to his men, "Here is the king: I will go and speak with him: do not you stir from hence until I give you a signal." He made a motion with his hand, and added, "When you shall see me make this sign, then step forward, and kill every one except the king; but hurt him not, for he is young, and we can do what we please with him; for, by carrying him with us through England, we shall be lords of it without any opposition." There was a doublet-maker of London, called John Ticle, who had brought sixty doublets, with which some of the clowns had dressed themselves; and on his asking who was to pay, for he must have for them thirty good marcs, Tyler replied, "Make thyself easy man; thou shalt be well paid this day: look to me for it: thou hast sufficient security for them." On saying this, he spurred the horse on which he rode, and, leaving his men, galloped up to the king, and came so near that his horse's head touched the crupper of that of the king. The first words he said, when he addressed the king, were, "King, dost thou see all those men there?" "Yes," replied the king: "why dost thou ask?" "Because they are all under my command, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatever I shall order." "Very well," said the king: "I have no objections to it." Tyler, who was only desirous of a riot, answered, "And thinkest thou, king, that those people and as many more who are in the city, also under my command, ought to depart without having had thy letters? Oh no, we will carry them with us." "Why," replied the king, "so it has been ordered, and they will be delivered out one after the other: but, friend, return to thy companions, and tell them to depart from London: be peaceable and careful of yourselves, for it is our determination that you shall all of you have your letters by villages and towns, as it had been agreed on."

As the king finished speaking, Wat Tyler, casting his eyes around him, spied a squire attached to the king's person bearing his sword. Tyler mortally hated this squire; formerly they had had words together, when the squire ill-treated him. "What, art thou there?" cried Tyler: "give me thy dagger." "I will not," said the squire: "why should I give it thee?" The king, turning to him, said, "Give it him, give it him;" which he did, though much against his will. When Tyler took it, he began to play with it and turn it about in his hand, and, again addressing the squire, said, "Give me that sword." "I will not," replied the squire; "for it is the king's sword, and thou art not worthy to bear it, who art but a mechanic; and, if only thou and I were together, thou wouldst not have dared to say what thou hast for as large a heap of gold as this church." By my troth," answered Tyler, "I will not eat this day before I have thy head." At these words, the mayor of London, with about twelve more, rode forward, armed under their robes, and, pushing through the crowd, saw Tyler's manner of behaving: upon which, he said, "Scoundrel, how dare you thus behave in the presence of the king, and utter such words? It is too impudent for such as thou." The king then began to be enraged, and said to the mayor, "Lay hands on him."

Whilst the king was giving this order, Tyler had addressed the mayor, saying, "Hey, in God's name, what I have said, does it concern thee? what dost thou mean?" "Truly," replied the mayor, who found himself supported by the king, "does it become such a stinking rascal as thou art to use such speech in the presence of the king, my natural lord? I will not live a day, if thou pay not for it." Upon this, he drew a kind of scimetar * he wore, and struck Tyler such a blow on the head as felled him to his horse's feet. When he was down, he was surrounded on all sides, so that his men could not see him; and one of the king's squires, called John Standwich †, immediately leaped from his horse, and, drawing a handsome sword which he bore, thrust it into his belly, and thus killed him.

His men, advancing, saw their leader dead, when they cried out, "They have killed our captain: let us march to them, and slay the whole." On these words, they drew up in a sort of battle-array, each man having his bent bow before him. The king certainly hazarded

* "*Badelaire*,"—a short and broad backsword, being towards the point like a Turkish scymitar.—*Cosgrave*

† "Standwich.' Lord Berners calls him Standyshe; Stow, Cavendish.

much by this action, but it turned out fortunate; for, when Tyler was on the ground, he left his attendants, ordering not one to follow him. He rode up to these rebellious fellows, who were advancing to revenge their leader's death, and said to them, "Gentlemen, what are you about? you shall have no other captain but me: I am your king: remain peaceable." When the greater part of them heard these words, they were quite ashamed, and those inclined to peace began to slip away. The riotous ones kept their ground, and showed symptoms of mischief, and as if they were resolved to do something.

The king returned to his lords, and asked them what should next be done. He was advised to make for the fields; for the mayor said, "that to retreat or fly would be of no avail. It is proper we should act thus, for I reckon that we shall very soon receive assistance from London, that is, from our good friends who are prepared and armed, with all their servants in their houses." While things remained in this state, several ran to London, and cried out, "They are killing the king! they are killing the king and our mayor." Upon this alarm, every man of the king's party sallied out towards Smithfield, and to the fields whither the king had retreated; and there were instantly collected from seven to eight thousand men in arms.

Death of Wat Tyler. From a MS. of the Fifteenth Century.

Among the first, came sir Robert Knolles and sir Perducas d'Albreth, well attended*; and several of the aldermen, with upwards of six hundred men at arms, and a powerful man of the city called Nicholas Bramber, the king's draper, bringing with him a large force, who, as they came up, ranged themselves in order, on foot, on each side of him. The rebels were drawn up opposite them: they had the king's banners, and showed as if they intended to

* In one of my MSS. there is the following addition: "Sir Robert de Namur, sir Robert Knolles, and sir Perducas d'Albreth were very angry that these wicked people so easily escaped, for they had put the town into great alarm for three days. Sir Henry de Sausselles, a young knight from Hainault who had accompanied sir Robert de Namur, asked why some revenge was not had for having kept the town in such alarm. Sir Robert, upon this, asked him if he had been frightened: 'Yes, by God, was I, very much; why should I conceal it? And was not you?' 'No, by my troth, I was not; but if the king had not been here with us, we should have run great risk.'"

maintain their ground by offering combat. The king created three knights; sir William Walworth, mayor of London, sir John Standwich, and sir Nicholas Bramber. The lords began to converse among themselves, saying, "What shall we do? We see our enemies, who would willingly have murdered us if they had gained the upper hand." Sir Robert Knolles advised immediately to fall on them, and slay them; but the king would not consent, saying, "I will not have you act thus: you shall go and demand from them my banners: we shall see how they will behave when you make this demand; for I will have them by fair or foul means." "It is a good thought," replied the earl of Salisbury.

The new knights were therefore sent, who, on approaching, made signs for them not to shoot, as they wished to speak with them. When they had come near enough to be heard, they said, "Now attend: the king orders you to send back his banners, and we hope he will have mercy on you." The banners were directly given up, and brought to the king. It was then ordered, under pain of death, that all those who had obtained the king's letters should deliver them up. Some did so; but not all. The king, on receiving them, had them torn in their presence. You must know, that from the instant when the king's banners were surrendered, these fellows kept no order; but the greater part, throwing their bows to the ground, took to their heels and returned to London.

Sir Robert Knolles was in a violent rage that they were not attacked, and the whole of them slain; but the king would not consent to it, saying, he would have ample revenge on them, which in truth he afterwards had.

Thus did these people disperse, and run away on all sides. The king, the lords, and the army returned in good array to London, to their great joy. The king immediately took the road to the Wardrobe, to visit the princess his mother, who had remained there two days and two nights under the greatest fears, as indeed she had cause. On seeing the king her son, she was mightily rejoiced, and said, "Ha, ha, fair son, what pain and anguish have I not suffered for you this day!" "Certainly, madam," replied the king, "I am well assured of that; but now rejoice and thank God, for it behoves us to praise him, as I have this day regained my inheritance, and the kingdom of England, which I had lost."

The king remained the whole day with his mother. The lords retired to their own houses. A proclamation was made through all the streets, that every person who was not an inhabitant of London, and who had not resided there for a whole year, should instantly depart; for that, if there were any found of a contrary description on Sunday morning at sun-rise, they would be arrested as traitors to the king, and have their heads cut off. After this proclamation had been heard, no one dared to infringe it; but all departed instantly to their homes, quite discomfited. John Ball and Jack Straw were found hidden in an old ruin, thinking to steal away; but this they could not do, for they were betrayed by their own men. The king and the lords were well pleased with their seizure: their heads were cut off, as was that of Tyler, and fixed on London bridge, in the place of those gallant men whom they beheaded on the Thursday *. The news of this was sent through the neighbouring counties, that those might hear of it who were on their way to London, according to the orders these rebels had sent to them: upon which they instantly returned to their homes, without daring to advance further.

* From the forementioned MS.

"This same week was James Lister taken, who had murdered sir Robert Salle. He and twelve others were executed with him. Thus were these traitors punished. There are some who say, that John Ball and his accomplices were strictly examined before they were put to death, and then owned that persons of the highest rank and power had incited them to act as they had done. The king kept this confession secret in his own mind, and returned thanks to God for his happy issue out of this danger. Very many were astonished that the duke of Lancaster, during all this rebellion, remained out of the kingdom, settling general matters on the borders of Scotland.

"The king sent orders to the earl of Northumberland, that if the duke of Lancaster should attempt to enter any fortified town or castle, the gates should be shut against him. The king made the said earl his lieutenant of all the borders towards Scotland. Many noblemen and others were surprised at this, for it would seem as if the king suspected the duke of being implicated with the rebels. But it was admitted, on all sides, that he was inculpated without any grounds; for the first thing the rebels did, on entering London, was to march to the palace of the Savoy, and totally destroy and burn it. Now this did not show that he was friendly to their cause. They also put to death several who were attached to him."

CHAPTER LXXVII.—A TRUCE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTS.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER REMAINS IN SCOTLAND DURING THE REBELLION IN ENGLAND.

We will now speak of the truce which the duke of Lancaster, who had remained on the borders of Scotland during the time of this rebellion in England, was negotiating with the earl of Douglas and other barons on the part of Scotland. The Scots were as well informed as the duke of the situation of England, though he did not take any notice of it to them, but went on with the treaty as if England were in perfect peace. The business was so ably conducted by the commissioners on each side that a truce was made, for three years, between the two kingdoms.

When this treaty was concluded, the lords of the two countries visited each other with much respect. The earl of Douglas said to the duke of Lancaster,—"My lord, we were well informed of the rebellion of the populace in England, and what peril the kingdom was in from that event: we therefore look on you as a valiant and prudent man, for having so frankly continued your negotiations without ever taking the least notice of it; and we offer you, should you think them necessary, five or six hundred spears, which you will find ready and at your service." "By my faith," replied the duke, "fair gentlemen, I thank you much for your gallant offer, which I do not refuse; but I imagine his majesty must have been so advised that all will turn out well. However, I wish to have passports from you, for myself and people, to go to your country, and reside there, should there be occasion, until all these troubles be appeased." The earls of Douglas and Moray, who had full powers from the king, immediately complied with his request. They then took their leave, and each party separated: the Scots returned to Edinburgh, and the duke, with his attendants, to Berwick, thinking to enter the town, where he had left all his baggage; but sir Matthew Redmayne, the governor, refused him entrance, and closed the gates against him. He told him he acted by orders from the earl of Northumberland, at that time lord warden of the county of Northumberland and of all those parts, who had forbidden him to open the gates, and that he could do no otherwise.

The duke was much vexed on hearing these words, and thus answered, "How, Matthew Redmayne, is there any one in Northumberland greater than I? Who has thus denied my entrance where I have left my baggage? from whence come such orders?" "By my faith, my lord, my orders are from the king, and what I do is very much against my will; but do it I must; and I entreat of you, for God's sake, to excuse me, for I am strictly enjoined, on my honour and life, not to suffer you, or any of your people, to enter this town." You may suppose the duke of Lancaster was much astonished and enraged at these orders; not so much with the knight, but with those who had given them; for when he had been labouring for the good of England, they were so suspicious of him that they had refused him admittance into the first town of England, on his return from Scotland. He supposed that great fault had been found with him: however, he did not open his thoughts or intentions further, and no longer pressed the knight. He saw no success could come from it, for the knight would never have acted as he had done if he had not had express commands: he therefore changed the subject of conversation, and asked sir Matthew if he had heard any news from England. He answered,—"None, except that the country was in confusion, and that the king had written to the principal towns, barons and knights of this country to be ready to come to him the moment he should send for them, strictly forbidding, under pain of losing their heads, all governors and captains of towns and castles in Northumberland to suffer any one whatever to enter their places; and be assured they will punctually obey. But, with regard to the common people who are in rebellion about London, I know nothing I can depend on to relate to you, except that the officers in Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Stafford, Bedford and Norfolk have sent information that the commonalty under their command are very eager affairs should turn out ill, and that there should be confusion in the kingdom." "And in our counties," said the duke, "of Derby and Leicester, there is not any commotion?" "My lord," replied the knight, "I have not heard they have behaved so outrageously as those of Lincoln and others."

The duke, having mused a little, took leave of the knight, and returned by the road he had come to Roxburgh Castle, where he was gladly received by the governor, whom he had placed there. The duke now weighed all matters, not knowing how affairs were going on in England, nor by whom he was beloved or hated, and whether he should signify his situation to the barons of Scotland, and entreat of them to send him an escort of men at arms, according to the passport they had given. He followed this last plan, and sent to the earl of Douglas at Dalkeith. The earl was greatly rejoiced at receiving the duke's letter, and much feasted the messenger. He instantly informed the earl of Moray and his brother the earl of Mar, of the business, and directed that without fail they and their men should be ready and mounted within three days at Lambir-law. These lords, on receiving this intimation, summoned their people and nearest friends, and came to Lambir-law, where they found the earl of Douglas. They then rode on together, amounting, in the whole, to full five hundred spears, to the abbey of Melrose, nine small leagues from Roxburgh. The barons of Scotland met the duke of Lancaster on their road, when they embraced each other, and showed every token of being glad at meeting. They continued their journey to Edinburgh in company, conversing all the way. This was the capital of the kingdom, and where usually the king resided: it has a strong castle and fair harbour; but the king was at that time absent, being in the Highlands on a hunting party. To pay greater honour to the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Douglas and the Scots barons delivered up to him the castle of Edinburgh, for which he was very thankful; and he resided there until he had received intelligence from England, which, however, was not so soon as he wished.

Now see how evil-minded persons and deceivers take on them to prate without any knowledge of facts. It was commonly reported through England, during the time of the rebellion, that the duke of Lancaster had become a traitor to his lord and king, and had turned to the Scots party. But this was soon known to be contrary to the truth: however, these wicked people, in order to stir up the commonalty, and to create confusion in the realm, had spread abroad such reports, which were acknowledged at their executions, by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball, Walker and Lister, who had been the chief leaders of the rebels in England, and who had intended to have had five parts of the kingdom under their command. They had a particular hatred to the duke of Lancaster, as they showed on their entrance into London; for they instantly went and burnt the fine palace of the Savoy, not leaving an utensil nor beam unburnt. In addition to this, they had published all over England that he had turned to the side of Scotland; for which, in several parts, they had reversed his arms, as if he had been a traitor. This was so severely punished that those who had done such things lost their heads.

We will now relate what vengeance the king of England took on his rebellious subjects during the time the duke of Lancaster was in Scotland.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—KING RICHARD JOURNEYS THROUGH ENGLAND FROM TOWN TO TOWN, PUNISHING THOSE WHO HAD BEEN PRINCIPALS OR ACTIVE IN THE LATE REBELLION.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER RETURNS FROM SCOTLAND TO ENGLAND.

After the executions of Tyler, Jack Straw, John Ball, William Lister, Walker and several others at London, the people being appeased, the king resolved to visit his bailiwicks, castlewicks and stewardships, in order to punish the wicked and to recover the letters of pardon which had been forced from him, as well as to place the realm in its proper situation. The king issued a secret summons for a certain number of men at arms to assemble at a fixed place, on a particular day, which was done. They amounted to five hundred spears and as many archers. When they were thus assembled, the king set out from London, attended only by his household, and took the road to Kent, for in that quarter the rebellion had first broken out.

These men at arms followed the king, but did not accompany him. The king entered the county of Kent, and came to a village called Comprinke *, when he had the mayor and all

* "Comprinke." It is so in lord Berners. Q. if not Ospringe. See additions at the end of this chapter.

the men of the village called before him. On their being assembled in an open space, the king ordered one of his council to remonstrate with them, how much they had erred against him, and that they had nearly thrown England into desolation and ruin; and because this mischief must have had some advisers who had encouraged them in their wickedness, and it must be supposed that all were not equally guilty, it was better that the ringleaders should suffer than the whole: his majesty demanded that those should be pointed out who had been so culpable, under pain of incurring his indignation for ever, and being considered as traitors.

When those present heard this harangue, and saw that the innocent might escape by pointing out the guilty, they looked at each other, and then said: "My lord, here is one by whom this town was first put into confusion and excited to rise." He was immediately seized, and hanged; as were seven others. The letters patent which had been granted were demanded back: when they were given up, the king's officers tore them in pieces before their eyes, and cast them away, and then said,—"We command all ye who are here assembled, in the king's name, and under pain of death, to depart, every one peaceably to his own home; and that you never rebel more against the king, nor against his ministers. By the punishment which has been inflicted, your former evil deeds are pardoned." The people cried out with one voice, "God bless the king and his good council." They acted in the same manner at Propinke *, Canterbury, Sandwich, Germanie †, Conculle ‡, and in the different parts of England where the people had rebelled; so that upwards of fifteen hundred were beheaded or hanged.

The king was advised to send for his uncle the duke of Lancaster, then in Scotland, as every thing was now quieted. He sent thither a knight of his household, called sir Nicholas Carnefelle. The knight set off, and continued his journey until he came to Edinburgh, where he found the duke and his attendants, who were very happy to see him, and entertained him handsomely. He delivered his credential letters from the king; and the duke made preparations to obey them, as was right, for he was very desirous to return to England and to his estates. On setting out for Roxburgh, he took his leave of the barons of Scotland, and thanked them for the honour and comfort they had given him, by maintaining him in their country the time he had wished to stay there. The earls of Douglas and Moray, with all the Scottish knights, escorted him as far as the abbey of Melrose, but did not cross the Tweed. The duke went to Roxburgh, from thence to Newcastle on Tyne, then to Durham and York; and, in all the towns and cities through which he passed, the inhabitants were drawn up to receive him.

At this period a gallant knight of England departed this life, sir Guiscard d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon and tutor to the king. He was buried with great pomp in the church of the Augustin friars. His funeral was attended by the king, the princess his mother, his two brothers, and by great numbers of prelates, barons and ladies of England. In truth, the gallant knight was very deserving of it, for he possessed all the virtues which a knight at that time ought to have: he was gay, loyal, gallant, prudent, secret, generous, bold, determined and enterprising. Thus died sir Guiscard d'Angle.

ADDITIONS, FROM A MS. IN THE HAFOD LIBRARY.

When these first examples had been made on the leaders of the rebellion in London, St. Alban's, Norwich, Suffolk and Glocester, the king determined to visit the whole of his kingdom, which he had not done since his coronation. His officers of justice had collected a body of evidence respecting the late rebellion from the confessions of those who had been beheaded. The king, when he set out, took the road towards Canterbury, under a pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Becket: he was attended by the earls of Salisbury, Suffolk and Devonshire, and travelled in grand array. He remained two days at Rochester; for Sir John Newtoun, whom these wicked people had forced to be their captain, had, by the king's command, made exact researches after the first instigators of this mischief.

* Q. If not Rochester. † "Germanie." Q. ‡ "Conculle." Q.

He had found out some of the most culpable, who, without form of law, had their heads cut off and placed on the gates and bridge, and their quarters hung on the gibbet. The king departed from Rochester and came to Ospringe, where four were executed. He came thence to Canterbury; but why should I make a long story of it? There were put to death, in the different towns and bailiwicks, upwards of five hundred rebels; for they were eager in accusing each other.

During this progress of the king, which he continued far into his realm, several of the great barons, such as the earls of Warwick and Kent, sir John Holland, sir John Beauchamp, spoke to the king and to the earl of Salisbury, in favour of the duke of Lancaster; as did also the Londoners. The king readily consented that two knights should be sent to the duke, for him to return into England and to his presence; for that he would not listen to any complaints against him or his other uncles. The earl of Northumberland was commanded to go himself in search of him.

The two knights journeyed on until they arrived at Newcastle on Tyne, where they found the earl of Northumberland. He had been informed of their coming, and received them handsomely. They produced their letters, when he took from the packet what was addressed to him; and, having read it through, was much pleased with the commission to seek the duke of Lancaster; for he had heard the duke was very angry with him. He therefore wrote letters of excuse; and, when these two barons met, peace was made between them. They returned together to England, and found the king arrived at his manor of Eltham, a few miles from London. At this time also, the earl of Buckingham came back from Wales, and went to Pleshy, where he resided as formerly. The king and his uncles dissembled their sentiments of each other for some time; but at last it broke out, as you will hear in the continuance of this history.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—THE DUKE OF LANCASTER CONCEIVES ANGER AGAINST THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, FOR THE REFUSAL OF ADMITTANCE INTO BERWICK.

When the duke of Lancaster was returned from Scotland, and had explained to the council the truce he had negotiated between the two kingdoms, he did not forget to mention how sir Matthew Redmayne, governor of Berwick, (though he blamed not that knight) had shut the gates of Berwick against him, by orders from the earl of Northumberland. It was such an act, he said, as he could never forgive; and thus spoke of it, with the intent to see if the king his nephew would own it. This the king did, but it seemed to the duke as if it were faintly. The duke was appeased for that time; but he waited for the feast of our Lady at mid-August, when the king was to hold a solemn court at Westminster. There were at this court great numbers of the nobles and barons of England; the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, with many barons from the north. The king created, this day, the young earl of Pembroke, sir Robert Mowbray, sir Nicholas Twiford and sir Adam François, knights. He did so because he intended, after the feast, to march towards Reading, Oxford, and through those parts of the country, to punish the rebels in the same manner as he had done in Kent and the other counties.

During this feast, and after the dinner, high words passed between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland. The duke said,—"Harry Percy, I did not think you was so great a man in England, that you would dare to order any cities, towns or castles, to be shut against the duke of Lancaster." The earl respectfully answered, "My lord, I do not deny the knight's act at Berwick: but I was ordered by strict commands of my lord the king, who sits there, on my honour and under pain of death, not to suffer any one, lord or otherwise, to enter the cities, towns or castles of Northumberland, if he were not an inhabitant of those places; and the king, if he please, or the lords of his council, may make my excuses: for they well knew you were in Scotland, and you ought to have been excepted out of these orders."

"How, earl of Northumberland," replied the duke, "do you think it was necessary there should have been a reservation in regard to me? who am uncle to the king, and who have

my inheritance to guard, which, next to the king's, is the greatest, and who for the good of the realm have made this journey into Scotland? Your answer does not excuse you from having much wronged my honour, in thus giving credit to the reports in circulation that I wished to commit treason with the Scots, by shutting against me the king my lord's towns, and in particular that in which my provision and stores were. For which reasons I tell you, you have ill behaved; and for the blame you have thus cast on me, and to clear myself in the presence of my lord the king, I throw down my glove: take it up if you dare." Upon this, the king stepped forth and said,— "Fair uncle of Lancaster, whatever has been done I avow as my orders. Take up your glove, and recal your words. I must excuse the earl of Northumberland; for strictly, and on his life, did we order him to keep every town close shut that was on the borders of Scotland: and know, that our kingdom was in such confusion and peril, when you were in those parts, that it could not support itself. It must, therefore, have been through the fault of the secretary, or the neglect of our council; for, in truth, you ought to have been excepted. I therefore beg of you, and will, that you lay aside your ill humour: I take all on myself, and clear the earl of Northumberland."

The earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Suffolk, Stafford and Devonshire, cast themselves on their knees to the duke, and said,—"My lord, you hear how amicably the king speaks to you: you ought to condescend to what he requests." The duke, who was much inflamed, said, "I will not say more about it." He was silent a short space, when, raising the barons, and thanking them, he said: "Fair gentlemen, there is not one of you, if such an affront had happened to him, who would not have been as much angered as I am; but since the king wishes otherwise, it is but right that I should comply."

Peace was made between the duke of Lancaster and the earl of Northumberland by means of the king and the barons, who interceded for it. On the second day, the king began his journey, as before mentioned, attended by five hundred spears and as many archers, through different counties, where he executed justice on the ill-intentioned and on those who had rebelled against him.

We will now leave the king of England, and speak of his uncle, the earl of Cambridge, and of his voyage to Portugal.

CHAPTER LXXX.—THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE AND HIS ARMY ARRIVE AT LISBON.

You have before heard how the earl of Cambridge with five hundred men at arms and as many archers were lying in the harbour of Plymouth, waiting for a wind to carry them to Portugal. At last, a favourable wind came, when they heaved their anchors, and the whole fleet made sail as straight as they could for Lisbon. They coasted, the two first days, the shores of England: on the third, they entered the Spanish main, when they had a very severe gale; insomuch that the fleet was in great danger from the tempest, more especially those vessels in which the Gascons were, such as sir John de Chateauneuf, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord de la Barde, with about forty men at arms, knights and squires, who were driven out of sight of the English fleet.

The earl of Cambridge, sir William Beauchamp marshal of the army, sir Matthew Gournay constable, and the canon de Robesart, with others, escaped through good fortune, the bad effects of the storm, and, sailing by the stars, arrived in the harbour of Lisbon. News of this was instantly carried to the king, who was daily expecting the English: he immediately sent his knights and ministers to welcome them, by whom they were most respectfully received, and the earl of Cambridge, with the English and foreign knights, conducted to the king. The king advanced out of his palace to meet the earl, and received them all most honourably one after the other: he led them to the palace, where wine and spices were set before them. John of Cambridge, the earl's son, was with him, which much pleased the king, who said, "He is my son, and shall have my daughter." This was very proper, for they were of the same age. The children were much pleased, and conversed with each other arm in arm.

Whilst the king of Portugal and his knights paid every attention to the earl and his

companions, and lodged them in the town, the others, on disembarking, were also well quartered; for the city of Lisbon is large, handsomely built, and well furnished with every thing: the stewards of the household of the king had also been careful to provide it with all things necessary against the arrival of the English. They found it, therefore, amply stored; and the lords were comfortable and in high spirits, though at times they were very uneasy about the lord de Châteauneuf, the souldich de l'Estrade and the lord de la Barde, and their men, whom they looked upon as lost, or that the tempest had driven them among the Moors in the kingdoms of Granada or Benmarine: if it should have so happened, they might as well have perished at sea. All this gave them great concern, and they bitterly lamented them. In truth, they were to be pitied; for they suffered so much in the tempest none ever endured the like and survived it. They were driven through the straits of the Moors, near to the kingdoms of Benmarine and Tremeçen, and were in great danger of being taken by the Saracens; so that they considered themselves as dead men, never expecting to land nor to get into any safe harbour, and they were forty days in this extreme peril.

At last, they had a wind which drove them back again into the Spanish main, whether they would or not. When the wind became calm, they anchored, and, by good fortune, fell in with two large ships, going, as the crews said, to Lisbon, from Flanders, laden with merchandise and wines. These knights tacked about, and, having hoisted their pennons, followed the Lisbon ships, who having only merchants on board, were not perfectly easy on seeing this armed vessel approach, with the banners of St. George displayed in various parts of it. However, when they came nearer, finding who they were, they rejoiced to see them. These merchants put the knights once more in great peril, and I will tell you how.

The knights inquired if they could give them any intelligence; and they, in answer, said, that the king of Portugal and the English were in Spain, and had besieged the king of Castille. They were delighted with this news, and declared they would go thither, as they were now near the shores of Seville. They then left the wine-merchants, and ordered their mariners to make sail for Seville, as their friends were there at the siege. They answered, "In God's name, will we obey you;" and, having steered for Seville, came very near the harbour. The sailors, who were prudent and wished not to run their masters into any danger, ordered a boy to climb the mast, and see if there were any appearance of a siege, either by land or water, before Seville. The boy, who had a good sight, answered he saw nothing like it. The sailors then, addressing their lords, said,—"Listen, fair gentlemen: you have had false information, for certainly there is not any siege before Seville, either by land or water: had there been any appearance of it, the harbour would have shown it. We have no occasion to go thither, unless we wish to be made prisoners; for the king of Castille is surely there, as it is a city in which he delights to dwell preferably to any other." The sailors were with difficulty believed: however, they were so at last, when, quitting the coast of Seville, they entered the sea of Portugal, and arrived in the port of Lisbon precisely at the very hour when their obsequies were performing in the church of St. Catherine at Lisbon. The barons and knights were all clothed in black, for they considered them as having perished at sea. You may suppose the joy was great when they learnt their safe arrival, and that they had escaped shipwreck. They enjoyed themselves much together, and the Gascon knights soon forgot their misfortunes.

We will leave the affairs of Portugal, as no deeds of arms were done, and return to Flanders, and say what happened there at this period.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS AGAIN LAYS SIEGE TO GHENT.

While the affairs you have heard were passing in England, there was no intermission in the wars which the earl of Flanders was carrying on against Ghent, and which those citizens waged against him. You know that Philip von Artaveld was chosen commander in Ghent, through the recommendation of Peter du Bois, who advised him, when in office, to become cruel and wicked to be the more feared. Philip did not forget this doctrine, for he had not long been governor of Ghent before he had twelve persons beheaded in his presence: some

said, they were those who had been principally concerned in the murder of his father, and thus he revenged himself on them.

Philip von Artaveld began his reign with great power, and made himself beloved and feared by many, more especially by those who followed the profession of arms: for, to gain their favour, he refused them nothing; every thing was abandoned to them. I may be asked how the Ghent men were able to carry on this war; and I will answer to the best of my ability, according to the information I received. They were firmly united among themselves, and maintained the poor, each according to his means: thus, by being so firmly united, they were of great force: besides, Ghent, taken all together, is one of the strongest towns in the world, provided Brabant, Zealand, and Holland, be not against it; but, in case these countries were leagued with Flanders, they would be shut up, surrounded and starved. These three countries, however, were never their enemies; so that their warfare with the earl of Flanders was more strenuously carried on, and longer continued. At the commencement of Philip von Artaveld's government, the deacon of the weavers was accused of treason. He was arrested and committed to prison. In order to know the truth of the accusation, his house was searched, wherein was found some saltpetre in powder *. The deacon was beheaded, and dragged through the town by the shoulders, for a traitor, and to serve as an example to others.

The earl of Flanders resolved to lay siege again to Ghent: he therefore issued his summons to a number of knights and squires, and to the inhabitants of the principal towns. He sent to Mechlin, from whence he had many men. He wrote to his cousins, sir Robert, and sir William de Namur, at that time count d'Artois, the countess, his mother, being lately dead, who brought a number of knights from Artois. In this summons, the lord de Dampierre was not forgotten: he came to offer his services, with as many as he could collect, and was handsomely attended by knights and squires from Hainault. The earl advanced to invest Ghent, on the side towards Bruges and Hainault. During the time it lasted, there were many skirmishes; and the Ghent men made frequent sallies in search of adventures, in which sometimes they were repulsed, at others they conquered. But the person who gained the greatest renown was the young lord d'Anghien: all the young knights desirous of glory cheerfully followed his banners.

The lord d'Anghien marched with full four thousand men, well mounted, without counting those on foot, to besiege Grammont, which was attached to Ghent: he had before harassed them much, but could not win it. This time, however, he came in greater force, and, on a Sunday, had it stormed at upwards of forty places: he did not spare himself, but was one of the most active, and the first who placed his banner on the walls. This attack was so sharp and well fought that, about four in the afternoon, the town was taken, and the troops of the lord d'Anghien entered it through the gates, which had been destroyed. When the inhabitants saw their town was lost without hope of recovery, all that could escape did so through those gates where there were no enemies; but few were so fortunate. The slaughter was very great of men, women and children, for to none was shown mercy. There were upwards of five hundred of the inhabitants killed, and numbers of old people and women burnt in their beds, which was much to be lamented. The town was set on fire at more than two hundred places, which reduced the whole to ashes, churches and all: nothing remained entire.

Thus did Grammont suffer by fire and flame; and the lord d'Anghien, after this exploit, returned to the army before Ghent. The earl of Flanders was much pleased when he heard it, and said, "Fair son, you are a valiant man, and, if it please God, will be a gallant knight, for you have made a handsome commencement." During this destruction of Grammont, which happened on a Sunday in the month of June, the siege of Ghent still continued. The lord d'Anghien, whose name was Walter, was there, but never rested long

* Lord Berners, who agrees with D. Sauvage, here adds, "*wherewith he had done no help to the town at siege nor otherwise of all the hole year passed.*" This explains his crime, for the mere possession of saltpetre could not be treason. It is probable that this *powder of saltpetre*, as Lord Berners has it, (not saltpetre *in powder*) was gunpowder, which the cunning deacon had concealed to make the greater profit when the supply of that scarce commodity should run short.—Ed.

in his quarters: he was every day out in search of adventures, at times well accompanied, at others so thinly that he was unable to prosecute his plans. Some adventures, however, daily befel him or the Haze of Flanders.

One Thursday morning the lord d'Anghien left his quarters, in company with the lord de Montigny, sir Michael de la Hameide his cousin, his brother the bastard d'Anghien, Julien de Toisson, Hutin Donay, and several more of his household, in order to skirmish before Ghent as they had formerly done: they this time advanced so far that they suffered for it, for those of Ghent had placed in ambuscade more than two hundred men beyond the walls of the town. They were armed with long pikes. Some said, this ambuscade was formed of the greater part of those who had fled from Grammont, in the hope of surrounding and making prisoner the lord d'Anghien, in revenge for the mischief he had done them. They knew him to be young, courageous and apt to venture himself foolishly, which gave them hopes of the success they had. It was unfortunate for him, as well as for those who accompanied him. The lord d'Anghien and his company were quite off their guard when they found themselves surrounded by the Ghent men, who advanced boldly up, crying out, "Surrender, or you are all dead men:" the lord d'Anghien, perceiving his situation, asked advice from the lord de Montigny, who was beside him: he replied,—"Sir, it is too late: let us defend ourselves, and sell our lives as dearly as we can: there is nothing else to do, and we have not a moment for delay."

The knights then made the sign of the cross, and recommending themselves to God and St. George, dashed among their enemies; for they could noways retreat, being in the midst of their ambuscade. They behaved very gallantly, and did every thing that could be done in arms; but they were out-numbered by their opponents, who, having long pikes, gave such strokes as were but too mortal, as the event showed. The lord d'Anghien was slain; as were the bastard d'Anghien his brother, and Julien de Toisson by his side. Other valiant knights from Hainault, such as the lords de Montigny and de St. Christopher, suffered similar fates. Sir Michael de la Hameide was severely wounded, and would certainly have lost his life, if Hutin Donay had not saved him by dint of arms and prudence: he had great difficulty in doing it.

While the Flemings were employed in pillaging and disarming these knights, to convey them into Ghent, where it was known they had slain the lord d'Anghien, which gave them great joy, Hutin Donay, seeing no hopes of succour, carried sir Michael de la Hameide out of the crowd and danger. Such was the end of this unfortunate day to the lord d'Anghien. You may well suppose the earl of Flanders was much grieved at it: indeed, he showed it plainly; for, out of his affection to him, he raised the siege of Ghent. The earl could not forget him, but regretted his loss; saying,—"Ah, Walter, Walter, my fair son, how unfortunate hast thou been, to be thus cut off in thy youth. I wish every one to know, that the Ghent men shall never have peace with me until I have greatly revenged myself." Things remained in this situation, when he sent to demand the body of the lord d'Anghien, which they had carried into Ghent to please the town; but they refused to deliver it up until they should be paid a thousand francs in hard cash. They divided this booty between them, when the body was conveyed to the army, and from thence to Anghien, of which town he was the lord.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS RAISES THE SIEGE OF GHENT.—TWO RICH CITIZENS, DESIROUS OF NEGOTIATING A PEACE BETWEEN THE EARL AND THE TOWN, ARE PUT TO DEATH BY PETER DU BOIS AND PHILIP VON ARTAVELD.

Out of affection to the lord d'Anghien, the siege of Ghent was raised, and the earl returned to Bruges. He then dismissed his army, ordering it to the different garrisons in Flanders, and to the castles of Gavre, Oudenarde, Dendremonde, Courtray, and every place near to Ghent. The earl requested the Liegeois not to continue sending stores and provision to Ghent as they had done. The men of Liege returned a haughty answer to the messengers, saying they would consult with those of St. Tron, Huy, and Dinant, how to act. The earl sent to

his cousins the duke of Brabant and duke Albert, and to the bailiffs of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, special ambassadors, chosen from among his principal counsellors, to remonstrate with them touching the conduct of the town of Ghent, which still continued in its rebellion, chiefly owing to the provision and stores which it received from their countries, and to request that a stop might be put to it.

These two lords would have been very sorry to do anything which might displease the earl: they excused themselves handsomely, saying, that until that moment they were ignorant of it, but that henceforward they would issue such orders that it should be discontinued. This answer was agreeable to the earl of Flanders. Duke Albert, who at that time resided in Holland, wrote to his bailiff in Hainault, sir Simon de Lalain, inclosing him a copy of the letter from the earl of Flanders, adding his positive commands against any provision or stores being furnished Ghent from Hainault, or any other thing to be done which might displease his cousin the earl, under pain of his highest displeasure. The bailiff issued a proclamation through Hainault, forbidding any provisions to be carried to Ghent. A similar proclamation was made in Brabant: so that none dared to go to Ghent but privately, which much surprised the inhabitants; for provision began to be very scarce, and there would have been a famine, if the Hollanders had not assisted them: an act of friendship which they would not be restrained from doing by any injunctions that duke Albert could lay on them.

Citizens of Ghent begging a Peace of the Earl of Flanders. From a MS. Froissart of the Fifteenth Century.

About this period, through the means of the counsels of Brabant, Hainault, and Liege, there was a great assembly appointed to be holden at Harlebecque, near Courtray: the men of Ghent sent thither twelve of their principal inhabitants, who had in general shown themselves desirous of peace, whatever it might cost them from the populace that sought only confusion. All the magistrates of the chief towns in Flanders were at Harlebecque, even the

earl himself; and there were some also from Liege, Hainault, and Brabant. Matters were so ably conducted, that the deputies from Ghent returned home with propositions for a peace. It happened that those inhabitants who wished for an end of the war, namely, the prudent and quiet ones, went to the houses of the deputies who had been at this conference, and who were two of the richest and most peaceable citizens, such as sir Guisebert Gente and sir Symon Bete, and asked them what news they had brought. They discovered themselves too soon; for they replied, "Good people, we shall have, if it please God, an excellent peace for those who are well inclined and wish for quiet; and some of the wicked ones in the town will be punished."

It is commonly said, if there be those who talk, there are those who act. Peter du Bois, not thinking his life in safety, had spies everywhere to give him intelligence. Some of them brought him the reports of the town, respecting a peace, and assured him the words came from sir Guisebert Gente and sir Symon Bete. Peter, on hearing this, was like a madman, and, applying them to himself, said, "If any are to be punished for this war, I shall not be one of the last; but it shall not go thus. Our gentlemen who have been at the conference may think what they will, but I have no desire to die yet. The war has not lasted half so long as I intend it shall; and my good masters John Lyon and William Craffort, have not hitherto been sufficiently avenged. If the affairs be now in confusion, I will trouble them still more."

Peter du Bois was as good as his word, and I will show how. That same evening, the morrow of which the council were to meet in the council-chamber, to hear the report of the deputies, he came to the house of Philip von Artaveld, and found him musing and thoughtful, leaning against a window of his apartment. The first word he uttered was, "Philip, have you heard any news?" "None," replied Philip, "except that our deputies are returned from the conference at Harlebecque, and that to-morrow we are to hear in the council-chamber what they have done." "That is true," answered Peter; "but I know what they have done, and the terms of the treaty; for they have opened themselves to some of my friends. Be assured, Philip, that our heads will pay for all the treaties they make, or have made; for there will not be any peace between my lord and the town, but that you, the lord de Harzelles, myself, and all the captains our allies in this war, will be first put to death, and the rich citizens pardoned. They wish to free themselves by delivering us up; and this was the opinion of John Lyon, my master. Besides, the earl, our lord, has his base flatterers always with him; such as Gilbert Matthew and his brothers, the provost of Harlebecque, who is their relation, and the deacon of small crafts who fled away with them. It therefore behoves us to consider awhile on this business."

"How shall we act?" asked Philip. "I will tell you," replied Peter: "we must send orders to all our leaders and captains, to be ready armed, and in the market-place to-morrow, and to keep near us: when we will enter the council-chamber, with a hundred of our men, to hear the treaty read. Leave me to manage the rest; but only avow what I shall say; for whoever wishes to preserve his life and power with the commonalty, if he do not make himself feared, does nothing." Philip willingly assented; and then Peter du Bois, taking his leave, departed. He instantly sent his servants and scouts to the different captains under him, to order them and their men to be in the market-place on the next day, well armed, to hear the news. They all obeyed, for none dared to refuse, and were ready for any mischief*.

* Lord Berners relates this conversation a little differently. According to his version, the plan of action was arranged by Philip von Artaveld, not by Peter du Bois. "The same proper euenyng that the counsayle shulde haue ben the next day in the counsayle-hall, there to hear reported the treatie that was taken at Harlequebecque, Peter de Boyse came the same euenyng to Philyppe Dartuel's house, and found him in his chambre lyenge in a wyndowe musynge and studyeng. And the first worde he spake, he sayd, 'Philyppe Dartuel, here you any tidynges?' 'Nay, trulye,' quoth he, 'but that I here say our men are returned fro the counsayle at Harlequebecque, and to-morrow we shall here in the hall what tidynges they have brought.' 'That is true,' quoth Peter, 'but I knowe allready what wayes they haue taken and purpose to take. For suche as haue been there hath shewed it to some of my frendes. Certaynely, Philyppe, the treatie that they haue made, and wolde make, lyeth on the ieopardy of our heeds, for if there be peace taken betwene the erle and this towne, knowe for trouthe that you and I, and the lord of Harsel's, and all such captains as have ayded us in this warre, shall be the first that shall dye, and the rich men shall go quite. They will bring us into daunger and goe themselfe free; and this was euer the opinion of Johan Lyon my maister. Alwayes the erle hath these *marmosettes* about him, as Gylbert Mathew and

The ensuing morning, at nine o'clock, the mayor, sheriffs, and rich men of the city, came to the market-place and entered the town-hall: then came those who had been at the conferences at Harlebecque; and last came Peter du Bois and Philip von Artaveld, well attended by those of their party. When they were all assembled and seated, for every one who chose it sat down, they found the lord de Harzelles was not present: they sent to him, but he excused himself by saying he could not come, for he was unwell: "Proceed," cried out Peter du Bois; "I will answer for him, and we are full enough: let us hear what these gentlemen have brought from the conferences at Harlebecque."

Upon this, Guisebert Gente and Simon Bete rose up, as being the principal deputies; when one of them spoke thus: "Gentlemen of Ghent, we have attended the conferences at Harlebecque; and we have had much labour and difficulty, in conjunction with the good men of Brabant, Liege, and Hainault, in making up our disputes with the earl our lord. However, at the entreaty of the duke and duchess of Brabant, who had sent thither their council, as well as duke Albert, the good town of Ghent is at peace with the earl, on condition that two hundred men at arms, whose names he will send within fifteen days in writing, shall surrender themselves to his prison in the castle of Lille, to his pure will: he is so noble and generous that he will show them mercy and pardon." At these words, Peter du Bois advanced, and said, "Guisebert, how have you dared to enter into any treaty that should put two hundred men at arms into any of the enemy's prisons? Ghent would be indeed disgraced, and better would it be for it, if completely overturned, than to be reproached for having so scandalously concluded the war. We know well among ourselves, and understand that neither you nor Symon Bete will be of the two hundred. You have made your own choice; but we shall carve and cut out for ourselves. Advance, Philip, on these traitors, who want to betray and dishonour the town of Ghent."

On saying this, Peter du Bois drew his dagger, and, coming up to Guisebert, struck him into the belly, so that he fell down dead. Philip drew also his dagger, and with it struck Symon Bete and slew him. They then began to cry out "Treason, treason!" They had their partisans all round about them, so that many of the richest and greatest men in the town dissembled, to save their lives. At that time only those two were killed; but to satisfy the people, and to turn the affair to their advantage, they sent their scouts to cry through the town, that Guisebert and sir Symon Bete, like false traitors, wanted to betray the good town of Ghent. Thus the matter ended: the dead were dead; and no one was called to any account for it, nor any penalty exacted. When the earl of Flanders, who was at Bruges, heard of this, he was sorely enraged, and said, "At the entreaties of my cousins of Brabant and Hainault, I too easily acceded to their wishes of making peace with Ghent, and more than once have they, in return, thus acted: but I will have them know, they shall never have peace, until I have had given up to me such a number of the inhabitants as will satisfy me."

In this manner were slain two valiant and rich men in the town of Ghent, for having acted according to the intentions of many of their fellow-citizens. Each of them had for his patrimony two thousand francs of yearly revenue. They were much pitied in secret; but no one dared to do so publicly, unless he wished to lose his life. Things remained in this state, and the war was more bitter than before. The garrisons round Ghent were night and day in the field, so that no provision could enter the town. The Brabanters and Hainaulters were afraid of venturing themselves; for, whenever they were met by the earl's men, the best that could befal them was the slaughter of their horses, sending them prisoners to Dendremonde or to Oudenarde, or making them pay ransom. By these means, the victuallers were afraid to risk bringing supplies to the town.

his bretherne, and the prouost of Harlequebecque, *who is of the lynage of the alderman of the mean craftes* who fled away with them. We ought wysely to loke on this matter and to see what were best to do.' *Philyppe* answered and sayd, 'Peter, I shall shewe you my mynde. Let us giue knowledge of this to all oure aldermen and capitaynes that they be to-morowe all redy aparalled in the market-place; and then let us two entre into the hall with a hundred with us to here the content of the treatie, and then let me alone, so ye wyll auowe my dede and abyde puissantly by me, for without we be feared among the commons it is nothing.' And so they agreed. Then Peter de Boyse departed and sende to all the rulers and capitaynes under hym, commaunding them and all their men to be redy in the mornynge in the market-place to here tidynges. They all obeyed, they durste do none otherwyse; and also they were euer redy to do yuell."—Ed.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—AN INSURRECTION IN PARIS, ON ACCOUNT OF THE INTENDED TAXES.—THE LORD DE COUCY APPEASES IT.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR HIS JOURNEY TO NAPLES.

At this period, the Parisians rose up in rebellion against the king and his council, because they wanted to introduce generally through the kingdom those taxes, impositions, and excises which had been raised during the reign of king Charles, father of the present king. The Parisians opposed them, by saying, the king of happy memory had acquitted them from these payments during his lifetime, and that the present king had confirmed this grant at his coronation at Rheims. The young king and his council quitted Paris, and went to reside at Meaux in Brie. No sooner had the king left Paris than the inhabitants rose, and, having armed themselves, slew all who had been assisting in proposing or collecting these taxes. They broke into the prisons and different houses in the town, taking whatever they could find. They went to the palace of the bishop of Paris, and, having broken open his prisons, set at liberty Hugh Aubriot *, who had been governor-general of the police during king Charles's reign, and had been condemned to the dungeons for several bad actions which he had done or consented to, many of which were deserving the stake: to this man the mob gave liberty, which he owed solely to their insurrection. He immediately set out from Paris, for fear of being retaken, and went into Burgundy, whence he came, and related to his friends his adventures.

The Parisians, during their rebellion, committed many outrages; but fortunately it was not general: had it been so, affairs would have been bad indeed. The king resided all this time at Meaux, attended by his uncles of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, who were much alarmed and vexed at this rebellion. They resolved to send the lord de Coucy, who was a prudent knight, to treat with and endeavour to appease them; for he knew better how to manage them than any other. The lord de Coucy, whose name was Enguerrand, came to Paris simply attended by his household. He dismounted at his hôtel, and sent for those who had been the most active, and remonstrated with them wisely and prudently on the wickedness of their conduct in killing the officers and ministers of the king, in breaking open his prisons, and setting those who were confined in them at liberty; for all which, if the king willed it, they would dearly pay. But this he was not desirous of doing; for the king much loved the town of Paris, because he had been born in it, and also from its being the capital of his kingdom: he was therefore unwilling to destroy its well-intentioned inhabitants.

He told them, his reasons for coming to Paris were to endeavour to make up matters between them, and that he would entreat the king and his uncles mercifully to pardon them their evil deeds. They answered, that they wished not any harm to the king their lord, nor to make war against him, but that these taxes should be repealed as far as related to Paris: and that, when exempted from such, they would assist the king in any other manner. "In what manner?" demanded the lord de Coucy. "We will pay certain sums into the hands of a proper receiver every week, to assist with the other cities and towns in France in the payment of the soldiers and men at arms." "And what sum are you willing to pay weekly?" "Such a sum," replied the Parisians, "as we shall agree upon." The lord de Coucy managed them so well, by handsome speeches, that they consented to tax themselves, and pay weekly into the hands of a receiver whom they would appoint ten thousand florins. Upon this, the lord de Coucy left them and returned to Meaux in Brie, to lay before the king and his uncles the propositions they had made.

The king was advised to accept this offer of the Parisians, as the best thing he could do; for from this beginning, though small, all the other towns would follow the example, and when times should alter they might then change their measures. The lord de Coucy returned to Paris, and brought with him the king's pardon to the Parisians, on condition of

* "Hugh Aubriot?"—had the management of the finances under Charles V. He built the Bastille, as a fort against the English. He owed his disgrace and imprisonment to the clergy, who accused him of heresy, &c.: he was shut up between four walls: but the Orleans party hated him, because, being a Burgundian, he was attached to the duke of Burgundy.

their observing the propositions they had made. This they promised, and appointed a receiver, to whom was paid, every week, the fixed sum in florins; but it was not to be carried from Paris, except for the payment of those men at arms who should be in actual service, and neither the king nor his uncles were to have any concern with it, nor was it to be otherwise employed. Affairs remained thus for some little time, and the Parisians were quiet: but the king did not return to Paris, which much displeased the inhabitants.

Rouen likewise was in a state of rebellion, and from the same cause: the populace rose, killed the king's governor and all those who had any concern in the collecting or valuing these taxes. The king, on hearing this, during his residence at Meaux, was much angered, and his council were doubtful if all the other towns would not follow this example. The king was advised to march to Rouen, which he did, and appeased the commonalty, who were very riotous. He also pardoned them the death of the governor, and whatever else they had done. They appointed a receiver from among themselves, to whom they were to pay a certain sum in florins every week; and, on this being settled, they continued quiet. Now remark the great evils that were beginning to disturb France: all took rise from the conduct of the men of Ghent; for the common people said everywhere publicly, they were good men, who so valiantly maintained their liberties, and for which they ought to be loved and honoured by the whole world.

We will return to the duke of Anjou, who had a great desire to visit the kingdom of Naples, of which he signed himself king, as well as of Sicily, and duke of la Puglia and Calabria; for pope Clement had invested him with them, by virtue of the deeds which the queen of Naples had given to him. The duke of Anjou was prudent, of a warm imagination, bold and enterprising: he plainly perceived, that according to the establishment he had supported hitherto, and which he would have been sorry to have seen lessened, he would be a poor lord in France, unless he should conquer such rich and noble heritages as the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchies of la Puglia, and Calabria, as well as the county of Provence. They would come to him very opportunely; for those counties, of which he called himself lord by virtue of the gift made him, abounded in all sorts of wealth. He was therefore occupied day and night in devising means to perform this journey; he well knew he could never accomplish it without a large sum of money, and a numerous body of men at arms to resist those who might wish to oppose him. The duke, in consequence, amassed so great a quantity of money, under pretence of this journey, that it was marvellous to behold; and he kept the Parisians in as good humour as he could, for he knew there were in Paris large deposits of cash, of which he got the greater part, and sent it to the earl of Savoy, in whom he had great confidence; adding, that on his arrival in Savoy, he would make arrangements by which there should be regular payments for a thousand spears, or more, for one whole year. The earl of Savoy was much pleased at this intelligence, for he greatly loved arms: he therefore replied to the messengers, that he would willingly serve the duke on the terms proposed. This answer was highly agreeable to the duke, as he had an affection for the company of the earl of Savoy.

The duke retained men in all parts, so that he had collected full nine thousand men at arms, ready prepared and under his obedience. He ordered the most sumptuous equipages to be made for him and his household at Paris that any lord had ever commanded, such as tents, pavilions and other things suitable for a king when about to make a long journey. We will now leave the duke of Anjou, and speak of the earl of Cambridge and his men, who were in Portugal near the king's person.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—THE ENGLISH MAKE AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SPANIARDS, CONTRARY TO THE ORDERS OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL.—THE CASTLE OF FIGHIERE * IS TAKEN.

THE earl of Cambridge and his army remained for a considerable time with the king of Portugal at Lisbon; during which the English and Gascons reconnoitred the country, for they had never before been there. It seems to me, that about this time a marriage was agreed on between the daughter of the king of Portugal, who was ten years old, and the son of the earl of Cambridge, of the same age. He was a fine child, and his name was John; the lady's name Beatrice. There were great feasts at the betrothing of these two children, and much joy; all the barons and prelates of the realm were present; and, young as the married couple were, they were both laid in the same bed. This marriage and the consequent feasts being over, which lasted for eight days, the council of Portugal ordered the men at arms who were in Lisbon to march to other quarters on the frontiers. The earl of Cambridge and a part of his army were sent into quarters at a very handsome town in Portugal called Estremoure †, and the remainder of the English and Gascons to Besiouse ‡. John of Cambridge remained with the king.

When the canon de Robersac, and the English and Gascon knights, took leave of the king, he said to them "My friends, I order you not to make any attacks on the enemy without my knowledge; for, if you do, I shall be much angered. They swore, "They would not, by God, and, whenever they had such an inclination, would send to inform him, and have his permission." They then departed and marched towards Besiouse, which is situated in the upper part of the country, two days' journey from Lisbon and as many from Seville, where the king of Spain resided.

The king of Spain had been early informed of the arrival of the English under the command of the earl of Cambridge, and had sent intelligence of it to those knights in France on whose services he depended. On hearing this, and that there were expectations of war in Spain, they were much rejoiced: many who wished to advance their fame made ready, and took the road thither. The canon de Robersac §, who was with his English and Gascon companions in Besiouse, one day said: "My dear gentlemen, I think we remain here not much to our honour, when we have never as yet made any attempt on our enemies; they will not think the better of us for it. If you will take my advice, let us send to entreat the king to allow us to attack them." They all replied, "We are perfectly willing to do so." Sir John Canbouich || was ordered to carry this message, which he cheerfully undertook. He came to the king at Lisbon, where he punctually delivered his message. The king replied, he was unwilling for them to undertake any expedition; and, whatever the knight might urge he could never make him change his opinion. He returned, therefore, to his friends, telling them the king would not comply with their request. They were much enraged at it, and said among themselves, that it was not becoming men at arms to continue so long in garrison without attempting some feats of arms: they mutually agreed to make an excursion. In consequence, they took the field with full four hundred men at arms and as many archers. They resolved to attack a large town which belonged to the commander of St. James; but, on their march, they found a nearer way to arrive at the castle of Fighiere, in which were about sixty Spanish men at arms in garrison, under the command of Peter Gousses and his brother.

The canon de Robersac, being very proud of this expedition, as it had been by his means undertaken, rode forward in front. There were sir Oliver Beauchamp, sir Matthew Gournay, Miles Windsor, the lord Talbot, sir Adam Symon, sir John Sounder, bastard brother to the

* This must probably mean Figueiro dos Vinhos, a town in Estremadura, for Figuera is in Catalonia.

† "Estremoure." Q. if not Estremoz.

‡ "Besiouse." Q. if not Villa Viciosa, a town near Estremoz; for D. Sauvage, in a marginal note, says la Salle calls it Vesiouse, which seems a corruption of Viciosa, and confirms me it must be Villa Vicioea.

§ The canon de Robersac's name was Theodore. He was governor of Ardres in the 45th of Edward III. and, in the 3d of Richard II. was employed by the king to treat with the duke of Juliers concerning his homage.—*Cartes Rolles François.*

|| "Canbouich." Q. Lord Berners spells the name *Chaudonich.*

king of England, the souldich de l'Estrade, the lord de Châteauneuf, the lord de la Barde, Raymond de Masson, and several more. They arrived at the castle of Fighiere, which they surrounded, and drew up in order of assault, making all preparations necessary for it. When the garrison saw they were to be attacked, they also made ready for their defence. About four o'clock in the morning, a very vigorous attack commenced, and the English entered the ditch, which being dry, they advanced close to the walls, bracing their targets over their heads, to guard themselves from the stones which might be thrown on them from the walls, and there made good use of their pick-axes and iron crows: while thus employed, the garrison threw on them beams and bars of iron, that wounded many.

The canon de Robersac was present: he had the courage of a knight, and performed that day many gallant deeds; as did also Esperons his valet. The archers of England, who were drawn up on the ditches, shot so well and rapidly that scarcely any dared to show themselves on the battlements; and one half of the garrison were either slain or wounded. The brother of Peter Gousses, the governor of the castle, was there slain by an arrow; he was called Bartholomew, and was an able and expert man at arms; but, through his own imprudence and rashness, he lost his life. The assault continued from four o'clock until high noon; and I must say that the English and Gascon knights did not spare themselves, but fought with courage and a thorough good will, because they had undertaken this expedition without the consent of the king of Portugal: they were, therefore, determined to conquer this castle, that the fame of it might reach Lisbon, and show what success they had met with on their first attempt.

The canon de Robersac said,—"Ha, ha, my gentlemen, we shall this day win the castle; but if so many gallant men at arms as we are, take as much time to conquer all the other towns in Spain and in Gallicia, we shall never be masters of them." The knights and squires, on hearing this speech, began to exert themselves the more: the canon de Robersac, although covered by his shield, received such a blow that he was much wounded. There was present a young knight from Hainault called Froissart Meulier, who very gallantly behaved himself at this assault, as indeed did the others.

The garrison artillery, as well as the machines for casting of stones and iron bars, began to tire and grow weaker in the castle. Considering that of twenty-five men * (the force within the place), there were not three unhurt, and some dangerously wounded, they could not prevent it from being taken by storm. The brother of their captain lay dead, from whom no further help could come. They resolved to give themselves a little respite, and during that time treat for a peace. They made a signal to parley with the English. The assault was stopped, and those who were in the ditches employed against the walls were ordered out: it was high time, for there were many who had been wounded, and others much fatigued. Sir Matthew Gournay, constable, and sir William Windsor, marshal of the army, advanced, and demanded what they wanted. The governor, Peter Gousses, addressed them in these words,—"You are resolved not to leave this place without conquering it: you wound our men, and we do the same to yours. We have therefore consulted together; and I, as governor, speak their sentiments, which are, that we will surrender to you the fort, our lives and fortunes being spared. Accept, therefore, these terms, which are just: you are at present the strongest, so that we must submit."

The English knights replied, they would advise upon it, which they did. When they had held a council, they sent for answer to the garrison, that those within the castle might retire whither they pleased; but the stores must be left behind, and they were not to carry away any thing with them. When Peter Gousses saw he could not obtain better terms, he consented, but it was much against his will. Thus was the castle of Fighiere surrendered to the English. The Spaniards marched away, under a safe-conduct †, to Esteris, where the commander of St. James usually resided. They, however, did not find him there; for, having learnt that the enemy had taken the field, he had done the same with full four hundred men at arms, Spaniards and Castillians, in hopes, if he could meet with the English in a favourable situation, to combat them to his honour.

* In preceding page (678), it is said the garrison consisted of about *sixty* men at arms.

† Lord Berners says *without* any safe-conduct.—Ed.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—AFTER THE CONQUEST OF THE CASTLE OF FIGHIERE, THE CANON DE ROBERSAC, RETURNING TO HIS GARRISON, IS IN GREAT DANGER.—SUCCOURS COME FROM FRANCE TO CASTILLE.

When the knights of England and the canon had got possession of the castle of Fighiere, they were much rejoiced. They had it repaired in every part; and leaving forty men at arms as a garrison, they stored it well with provisions and other necessaries, and also with a sufficient body of archers. Having placed a good captain as governor, they held a council, when they resolved to return to their quarters. The English and Gascons, on their departure, divided themselves into three bodies; the last of which remained in the plain, under the command of the canon. Some English, Gascons, and Germans, desirous of feats of arms, had continued with him: in all about sixty spears and as many archers: they marched one whole day with the canon's company on their return to Besiouse.

On the second day, early in the morning, they discovered some ambuscades *, and marched on in good array. They were then between a large town in Portugal, called Huenca † and the castle of Concrelet ‡. On the outskirts of a wood nearer to the castle of Concrelet than to Huenca, was the grandmaster of St. James § posted with full four hundred men at arms. The English no sooner perceived them than they closed their ranks, showed no signs of fear, and marched on at a good pace.—The Spaniards, notwithstanding their numbers, made not any appearance of quitting their ambuscade; for they imagined the English had near at hand their large battalion, and for that reason were afraid to attack them; had they been better informed, there would have been a combat. They thus separated from each other without any thing being done.

The Spaniards returned that evening to Esteris, and the canon to Besiouse, when he related to his companions how he had seen the Spaniards in ambuscade between Huenca and Concrelet, adding, "If we had been all together, we could have fought with them." The knights, therefore, much repented that they had not kept all in one body. Thus ended this excursion of the English and Gascons; and when news was brought of it to the king of Portugal, he pretended to be much enraged, because they had done it without his consent. The English and Gascons remained the whole winter in their garrisons, without performing any thing worth mentioning, which wearied them much: it was not their fault no deeds of arms were done.

Don John of Castille, however, was not idle in making his preparations. He had sent to the king of France and to his uncles for succour, and had informed them of the arrival of the earl of Cambridge in Portugal. He also said, that it was universally reported throughout Castille and Portugal that the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Buckingham, with a powerful force, were to reinforce them the ensuing summer. For which reasons, he required from the king, in conformity with the treaties between France and Spain, and their mutual affection, that sufficient forces should be sent to him in the course of the spring and summer, to enable him to oppose his enemies with effect. The king's council assented to this, for they clearly saw the king of Spain had a right to demand it. Permission was granted to all knights and squires desirous of advancing themselves to join don John: and the king of France lent them wherewith to perform their journey. It seems to me, that sir Oliver du Guesclin, brother to the late constable of France, made preparations to go thither in the spring. Many knights and squires from Brittany, Beauce, Picardy, Anjou, Berry, Blois and Maine did so likewise, and went thither in companies to perform the journey more comfortably. A passage was open to them through Arragon, and all kinds of provision were prepared for them, for ready money. But you must know they did not pay for all they took in the low countries, which made the poor inhabitants suffer great losses.

* "*A heure de prime que les embusches se decouvrent*," (the text, according to D. Sauvage,) should rather be translated "*at the hour of prime, as soon as ambuscades can be discovered*," that is to say, at early dawn, than, as Mr. Johnes has rendered it, "*they discovered some ambuscades and marched on in good array*," which appears absurd. He probably understood it as referring to the adventure about to be related, but on that occasion only *one* ambuscade was discovered. —Ed.

† "Huenca." Q. ‡ "Concrelet." Q.

§ I suspect it must have been the grand master of the order of Alcantara, and not of St. James, and that there must have been a castle of Fighiere in the province of Estremadura; for it is not possible, from the shortness of their march, they could have gone to Catalonia. See Note, p. 678.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE EMPEROR WINCESLAUS SENDS HIS SISTER ANNE TO KING RICHARD OF ENGLAND, WHO MAKES HER HIS QUEEN.

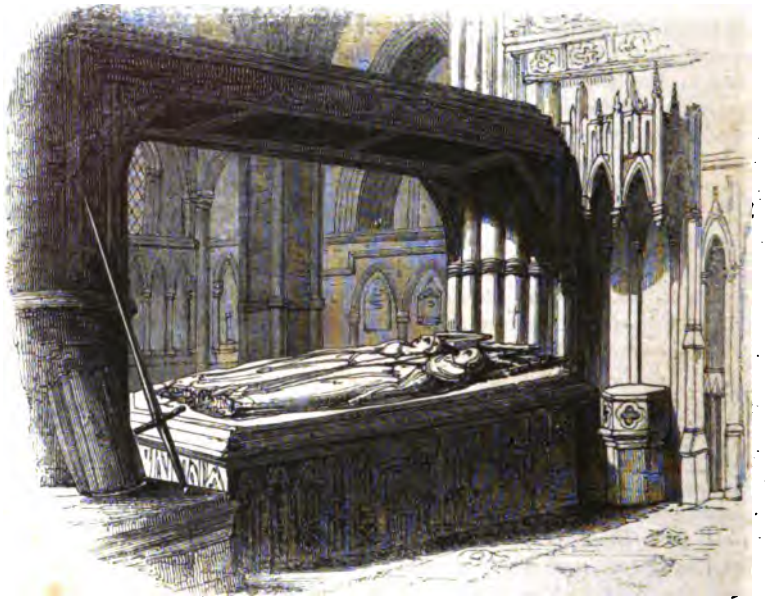
You have heard how king Richard of England had for upwards of a year been in treaty with Winceslaus king of Bohemia, who at this period had taken the title of emperor of Rome, to obtain his sister the lady Anne in marriage; and how one of his knights, sir Simon Burley, had much laboured in this business; and also that the duke of Saxony had been in England to confirm the marriage. This affair had been so well conducted that the emperor sent his sister to England, attended by the duke of Saxony and great numbers of knights and damsels, with a suitable state becoming such a lady. They came through Brabant to Brussels, where the duke and duchess received the young queen and her company very grandly; for the duke was her uncle, she being the daughter of the emperor Charles his brother. The lady Anne of Bohemia remained with her uncle and aunt at Brussels upwards of a month. She was afraid of moving, for she had been informed there were twelve large armed vessels, full of Normans, on the sea between Calais and Holland, that seized and pillaged all that fell into their hands, and it was indifferent to them who they were. The report was current, that they cruised in those seas waiting for the coming of this lady; and that the king of France and his council were desirous of carrying her off, in order to break the match, for they were very uneasy at this alliance of the Germans with the English. When it was said to be dishonourable to carry off ladies in the wars of men, they replied,—"How, have you not seen the prince of Wales, father to the present king of England, consent to a similar action in the person of the duchess of Bourbon, mother to the queen of France, when she was made prisoner by the soldiers of the prince, shut up in the castle of Belleperche, and afterwards conducted into Guyenne and ransomed? If, therefore, to revenge themselves, the French should commit such an act on the intended queen of England, they ought not to be blamed for it." On account of these suspicions and fears, the young lady remained in Brussels one whole month. The duke of Brabant, by advice of his council, sent to France the lords de Rousselans and de Bousquehoir, to remonstrate on this subject with the king and his uncles, who were also his nephews, being his sister's sons.

The knights of Brabant managed so well with the king and his council that their request was complied with, and passports granted for the lady and her attendants to travel through any parts of France she might choose, as far as Calais. The Normans were remanded into port. This answer the knights carried to Brabant to the duke and duchess. The king and his uncles wrote to say, they had granted this favour to their cousin the lady Anne, at their solicitation alone, and for no other reason whatever. Such information was very pleasing to the duke and duchess of Brabant, as well as to those who were to cross the sea. Preparations were immediately made for their departure from Brussels; and the young lady took leave of her uncle, her aunt, and the ladies and damsels of the country who had accompanied her.

The duke had her escorted with one hundred spears. She passed through Ghent, where she reposed herself for a day, and the citizens did every thing in their power to show her honour. She then came to Bruges, where the earl of Flanders received her very magnificently, and stopped for three days. She continued her journey until she came to Gravelines, where the earls of Salisbury and Devonshire were waiting for her, with five hundred spears and as many archers. They conducted her to Calais, when the Brabanters returned, after they had delivered her to the barons of England. The young lady made no stay at Calais but until the wind became favourable. She embarked on a Wednesday morning when the vessels were manned, and the same day arrived at Dover, where she halted to repose herself two days: on the third, she set out for Canterbury, where the earl of Buckingham received her very grandly. The lady pursued her journey unto London, and was most honourably received by the citizens, the ladies and damsels of the town and country, who were all assembled to meet her. She was married to the king, in the chapel of the palace of Westminster, the twentieth day after Christmas. On the wedding-day, there were great feastings. That gallant and noble knight sir Robert de Namur had always accompanied her,

from the time she quitted Germany until she was married, for which the emperor and king of England held themselves much obliged.

The king carried his queen to Windsor, where he kept an open and noble house. They were very happy together. She was accompanied by the princess of Wales and the duchess of Brittany, aunt to the king, who at that time was separated from the duke her husband; for the barons and council of England would not consent to her return into Brittany, because



Good Queen Anne.—Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

he had changed to the French interest. The barons and knights were accustomed to say,—"Since the duke of Brittany has so ill and so treacherously acquitted himself to the earl of Buckingham, and to our men, the last time they were in France, whenever he shall demand back his duchess, let us not consent to it, but send him his two enemies, John and Guy of Brittany, children to St. Charles de Blois, and who have a better right to the duchy than himself: he is duke through our power, and an ungrateful return does he make for what he has had from us: we ought therefore to act in like manner to him, for his disgraceful conduct." True it is, that these two lords, John and Guy de Bretaigne, sons of St. Charles of Blois, who were prisoners in England, and confined in a strong castle, under the guard of sir Peter d'Ambreticourt, were sent for, and brought before the council of the king of England; when they were informed, that if they would hold the duchy of Brittany from England, and acknowledge it by doing homage to the king, their inheritance should be recovered for them, and John should have the lady Philippa of Lancaster to wife. But they replied, they would not have any thing to do with it, and would prefer remaining in prison until death to acting otherwise than as good Frenchmen. Affairs continued on this footing, and they were never afterwards in any way spoken to on the subject, since they had shown the firmness of their intentions.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—THE KING OF FRANCE CANNOT OBTAIN MONEY FROM THE RECEIVER AT PARIS.—THE DUKE OF ANJOU MARCHES INTO ITALY WITH A NOBLE ATTENDANCE OF KNIGHTS.

You have before heard how Paris had made its peace with the king, on its agreement of paying a certain sum of florins. The florins were paid weekly to a receiver whom they had appointed, but none came to the coffers of the king, nor were any of them sent out of Paris. It happened that the king was in great want of money to pay the men at arms he was sending to Castille, which by treaty he was bound to do. He ordered the receiver at Paris to prepare a sum of one hundred thousand francs; for he was anxious to assist, in his necessity, don John of Castille, and clearly showed for what use he intended this money. The receiver replied to the letters from the king, and to those who had brought them, in a very civil manner, saying, that in truth he had money sufficient, but that he could not pay any of it without the consent and permission of the town of Paris. These words did not please the king, who declared he would remedy all this as soon as he should be able. He found the money elsewhere, through the assistance of the principal towns in Picardy. This caused a great coolness between the king and the Parisians. He never came to Paris, but resided at Meaux, Senlis, Compiegne, and in those parts, to the great displeasure of the Parisians. The greatest resource they had was in the duke of Anjou for their safety: he already signed himself king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and had borne the arms.

The duke commonly resided at Paris, because there was much money kept there; and to prevent the king from receiving any of it, that he might be the better supplied for his projected enterprise in Italy, he was collecting money from all parts, and it was said the sum he had at Roquemaur*, near Avignon, was not less than two millions of florins. He treated with the Parisians, and used such fine language, having words at command, and besides being from his birth the regent of the kingdom, as the eldest of the king's uncles, that he obtained one hundred thousand florins, when the king and his two uncles of Berry and Burgundy could not procure one penny from them. The duke of Anjou, having now finished his preparations and collected all his stores, began his march early in spring, and the magnitude of his array surprised every one. He passed through France to Avignon, where he was much feasted by the pope and cardinals. The barons and principal lords of Provence came thither to wait on him as their lord, did him homage, and put themselves under his obedience.

The gallant earl of Savoy, his cousin, came to meet him, attended by barons and knights, who were also well received by the pope and cardinals. During his stay at Avignon, he arranged and settled the pay and stores for the Savoyards, who were in considerable numbers, and delivered the money to the earl of Savoy. This being done, the duke of Anjou and the earl of Savoy took their leave of the pope, and set off from Avignon, following the road to Savoy and Piedmont. The earl was the duke's conductor, and paid him the utmost respect in all the great towns through which they passed. Men at arms were continually advancing, or followed in their rear, so that Lombardy was quite open and ready to receive them. On the duke's entrance into Lombardy, he was most honourably received in all the principal towns, more especially in Milan, where sir Galeas and sir Bernabo Visconti loaded him with honours: he received from them such rich presents and jewels as would astonish, if related. The duke of Anjou kept a kingly state: he had his mint with him, where he coined florins and white money, with which he made his payments all through Lombardy and Tuscany.

When they began to approach Rome, they marched in a more compact body than they had hitherto done; for the Romans, being informed of the duke's march, had thrown up strong fortifications to oppose him. They had for commander a valiant English knight, called sir John Hawkwood†, who had resided a long time in that part of Italy: he was well acquainted with the frontiers, and had under him a large body of men at arms, of

* "Roquemaur,"—two leagues from Avignon.

† "Sir John Hawkwood."—See his life in Nichol's Bib. Top. Brit.

Germans, English and other nations in the pay of the Romans, for the defence of Urban, at that time called pope, and who resided at Rome. This pope was not alarmed at the arrival of the duke of Anjou. When they told him he was on his march, attended by the earl of Savoy and the count of Geneva, with full nine thousand lances of good men at arms, and that it was uncertain if he would not come to Rome to dethrone him, for they were all Clementines, he replied by saying, "CHRISTUS protegat nos." That was all the alarm they gave him, and the only answer he made to those who spoke to him on the subject.

The duke of Anjou, who styled himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, duke of Calabria and la Puglia, accompanied by the earl of Savoy, continued the march of his army through Tuscany, the territory of Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter, but did not enter Rome; for the duke wished not to make war on Rome, nor on the Romans, but solely aimed to accomplish his enterprise on the terms according to which he had left France. He kept up kingly state wherever he passed, and all men at arms praised him for the punctuality of his payments.

At this period his adversary, the lord Charles de Durazzo, resided in the city of Naples. He also signed himself king of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem, duke of la Puglia and Calabria, and considered himself as the lawful king, since the queen of Naples was dead without leaving any heirs by marriage. He looked on the gift which the queen had made to the pope as null, and maintained this opinion by two arguments: the first was, that besides being supported and obeyed by the Neapolitans and Sicilians, the queen of Naples could not resign the inheritance of another; secondly, that supposing this resignation to have been good and the gift in force to the court of Rome, and that the popes were entitled to it, she had not legally done it, for those kingdoms considered Urban as the true pope, and not Clement.

This is the question which they disputed, and the defence Charles de Durazzo made. He also at the beginning took very wise precautions, for he amply provided with stores the castel del Ovo, which is one of the strongest castles in the world, and stands by enchantment in the sea, so that it is impossible to take it but by necromancy or by the help of the devil *.

CASTEL DEL OVO, NAPLES. From an Old Print in the King's Library, B. Museum.

* Denys Sauvage adds a marginal note, that "if the good man Froissart believes this, his mind must be very simple.

When he had provided this castle with a sufficiency to last three or four years, he collected a body of men at arms and threw himself into it, having made all the entrances very secure, leaving the duke of Anjou to act as he pleased. He well knew the Neapolitans would never desert him, and that, if la Puglia and Calabria should be lost for two or three years, they could easily regain it. He expected the duke of Anjou would soon find himself at the end of his resources in maintaining such a large army as he had brought, and which it was impossible for him to continue to support. They would be in want of provision or pay, which would tire them out in the course of two or three years; and, when they should be well worn down, he might combat them to his advantage. Charles de Durazzo was full of these ideas, some of which were afterwards realised. In truth, no prince in Christendom, except the kings of France or England, would have been able to have kept up such an immense force as the duke of Anjou did, without hurting his finances; for they reported he had brought over the mountains thirty thousand combatants: and the undertaking such an enterprise required much thought and consideration.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—THE EARL OF SAVOY, WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED THE DUKE OF ANJOU TO NAPLES, ORDERS A MAN TO BE BEHEADED, WHO HAD BOASTED THAT HE WOULD GIVE THEM POSSESSION OF THE CASTEL DEL OVO BY ENCHANTMENT.

When the duke of Anjou and his army entered la Puglia and Calabria, the whole country was their own, and the people testified that they wished not for any other lord than him: in a short time, all the barons, principal towns and others, put themselves under his obedience. Those who have been in these countries, which are the richest in the world, report, that from the great abundance of everything, the people are perfectly indolent, and do no manner of labour. The men at arms, on entering so rich a country, felt themselves very comfortable; but the duke of Anjou, the earl of Savoy, the count of Vendôme, the count of Geneva *, and all the knighthood of France, Savoy, and Brittany, marched on into the territories of Naples.

The citizens of Naples, not fearing these men at arms, deigned not to shut their gates, but kept them always open, as they never imagined the duke of Anjou could reside there longer than it was agreeable to them; for the moment they should be inclosed in the town, whatever numbers they might be, they would be lost, as the houses were not easy to be taken, having before their doors planks which may be removed, and the sea underneath, on which they would not perhaps like to adventure themselves.

An enchanter, master of necromancy, who had resided for some time in the Neapolitan territory, came to the duke of Anjou, and said, "My lord, if you will, I can cause the castel del Ovo and its garrison to surrender to you." "How can that be?" replied the duke. "My lord, I will tell you," answered the enchanter: "I can, by enchantment, make the air so thick over the sea, that those in the castle shall think it a large bridge, on which ten men may march in front: and, when they shall see this bridge, they will be so frightened they will surrender themselves to you, lest, if you attack them, they be taken by storm." The duke, much astonished at what he had heard, called his knights, the count de Vendôme, the count de Genéve, sir John and sir Peter de Beuil, sir Morice de Maumi, and others, to whom he related what the enchanter had just told him. They were very much surprised, but seemed willing to give him faith for it. The duke then asked, "Fair master, can our people march on this bridge of which you speak as far as the castle, and attack it?" "My lord," replied the magician, "of this I dare not assure you; for if any one of them, while on this bridge, should make the sign of the cross, all would disappear, and those on it would fall into the sea." The duke, upon this, began to laugh, and some of the young knights present said, "Ha, my lord, for God's sake, let him do it: we will not make any sign of the cross, and by this means we shall easily capture our enemies." The duke said he would consider of it.

The earl of Savoy was not present at this conversation, but came soon afterwards. When the earl entered the duke's tent, the magician had just left it; but the duke told him all that had passed, and what offers he had made. The earl, having mused a while, said, "Send

* "Count of Geneva." Giannone says he was brother to pope Clement.

him to my quarters, and I will examine him. He is that master magician by whose means the queen of Naples and sir Otho de Brunswick were taken in the castel del Ovo, for he caused the sea to swell so high that it seemed as if it would swallow the castle: those within it were so much frightened they looked on themselves as dead. One ought never to put too great a confidence in such people; for you see the wickedness of the wretches in this country: in order to please you, and to obtain your benefactions, he will betray Charles de Durasso, to whom he formerly gave up the queen of Naples and her husband." "Well," replied the duke, "I will send him to you." The conversation took another turn, and, after they had well considered their situation, the earl returned to his quarters.

On the morrow morning, when the lords were risen, the magician waited on the duke, bowing most lowly. As soon as the duke perceived him, he ordered a valet to conduct him to the earl of Savoy. The valet, taking his hand, said, "Master, my lord's will is, that you go to the earl of Savoy." He answered, "God's will be done." When arrived at the tent of the earl, the valet said, "My lord, here is the doctor whom my lord sends to you." The earl was much pleased on seeing him, and said, "Doctor, do you assure us for a certainty, that you will gain us the castel del Ovo at so cheap a rate?" "Yes, by my troth, my lord," replied the enchanter, "for by a similar trick I got it for him who is now within it, namely, the lord Charles de Durazzo, from the queen of Naples, her daughter and husband, sir Robert d'Artois * and sir Otho de Brunswick. I am the man in the world of whom the lord Charles has the greatest dread." "By my faith," replied the earl, "you speak well; but I wish the lord Charles to know, that he is in the wrong to fear you so much, for I will make him easy on that head: you shall not henceforward perform any enchantment to deceive him or any one else. I will not have it reproached to us in times to come, that such knights and squires and valiant men at arms here assembled should have been obliged for our success to magic, nor do we desire to conquer our enemies by such means." He then ordered a servant to call the headsman, and have his head struck off. The earl's commands were instantly obeyed, and his head was cut off on the outside of the tent. Such was the end of this enchanter, and such his recompense.

We will now leave the duke of Anjou, his army, and his marches, and return to the affairs of Portugal, and relate how the English and Gascons prospered.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE CANON DE ROBERSAC MAKES ANOTHER EXCURSION CONTRARY TO THE WILL OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL, AND TAKES SEVERAL PLACES ADJOINING TO SEVILLE.

The knights in garrison at Besiouse, and who had been there for so considerable a time, having made but one excursion, when they took the castle of Fighiere, resolved, about the middle of April, to make another: for they were very much surprised at the conduct of the king of Portugal and earl of Cambridge, who had let them remain idle the nine months they had now been in Portugal, without having formed any expedition but the one for which they had been blamed. They determined to send to and remonstrate with the earl of Cambridge on this subject: I believe the envoy was the souldich de la Trane. He came to Estremoz, where the earl was quartered, and said to him, "My lord, my companions send me to you, to know what you would wish them to do; for they much wonder why they have been brought to this country, to remain so long in indolence, which displeases them much. You will let me know what you would have them do, for they are very desirous of making an excursion."

"Souldich," replied the earl, "you know, that when I left England, my lord and brother the duke of Lancaster promised me, on his faith, that on his return from Scotland, whither he was then going, he would join us with men at arms, to the amount of three thousand, and as many archers. Upon this engagement, I came merely to reconnoitre the country. In a

* "Robert d'Artois." Denys Sauvage, in his 24th annotation, says, "The history of Naples often speaks of this Robert d'Artois, making him the husband of Mary, daughter to Joan queen of Naples; but no mention whatever is made of these enchantments. They seem to come from the romances of Morgante and Urganda; so that I am surprised Froissart could suffer himself to be thus deceived, and wish to deceive posterity."

short time we shall have intelligence from him; for it is equally unpleasant to me to have remained so long in this country. You will therefore salute your companions in my name, and tell them what I have just said to you. I cannot wish to prevent them from making an excursion, since they have such an inclination for it; but you know the king of Portugal gives us our pay, and therefore we ought to conform to his orders."

"By my faith, my lord," answered the souldich, "he pays badly, and our companions complain much of it; he owes us now six months' pay." "He will pay you well," replied the earl: "money never comes disagreeably." On this, the souldich left the earl, and returned to his companions, to whom he related what you have heard. "Gentlemen," said the canon, "I will not desist from making an excursion, notwithstanding what has been said, for I see clearly they wish to put off all such attempts. They do not desire we should commit hostilities, that we may not have cause to demand our pay: but my opinion is, that we take the field." They selected those who should form this expedition, and resolved to undertake it on the morrow, having their arms quite ready.

The lord John de Ferrande, one of the knights of the king of Portugal, who had learnt they were desirous of performing some enterprise, came to them, and brought letters to the canon de Robersac. He read them, and found that the king of Portugal forbid him to quit his quarters; adding, that he was well informed it was through his means all these expeditions were thought of. The canon was much enraged at this order, and said to the knight, "John, I see plainly the king will not permit me to make any excursion. Now, suppose I remain in my house, do you think that the others, who are better knights and more valiant than I, will also stay at home and give up their enterprise? Oh no, by my troth, as you will see to-morrow; for they are determined and prepared to take the field." "My lord," replied Ferrande, "command them, in the king's name, not to do so." "By my faith," said the canon, "I will do no such thing: do you, who belong to the king, order them yourself."

Things remained in this state all night. In the morning, the trumpets sounded, when the knights and squires, being armed and mounted, came before the canon's house, who had not put on his armour. On the English and Gascon knights drawing up, he came to the window, and told them the king of Portugal would not allow him, nor any of his party, to make an excursion. "By my faith," answered they, "we will have a ride, since we are so well inclined to it: and so shall you too, for it shall never be reproached you, that when we had taken the field, you staid at home." The canon was then obliged to arm himself, and mount his horse. The Portuguese knight, the lord Ferrande, was obliged to do the same; so much was he pressed by the others, but it occasioned him to stand in the ill graces of the king, and he was near being hanged. They marched out of Besiouse to the amount of about four hundred spears and as many archers; and, taking the Seville road towards a castle and town called Ban *, continued their march until they arrived, and surrounded the part which seemed most easy to be taken. They dismounted, formed themselves in order of attack, entered the ditches, which were dry, and began the assault vigorously.

At this time, there were no men at arms in the town of Ban. The inhabitants, though badly armed, mounted the walls and defended themselves as well as they were able with lances and javelins, but this could not last long. They therefore began to treat with the assailants, and at length surrendered, on having their lives and fortunes spared, declaring they would put themselves under the obedience of don Fernando, king of Portugal. They were well received in the town, which they entered to refresh themselves; when they began to examine by what means they could gain the castle. They saw it might be taken; and that same evening, some of the army began to skirmish. On the morrow, a more regular attack commenced.

The governor of the castle was a gentleman of the country, called Peter Jagouses, but he was not an able man at arms, as he showed; for as soon as he saw himself thus attacked, and so many men at arms advancing, he took fright, entered into terms, and surrendered the castle on his and the garrison's lives being spared. They strengthened it with good men at arms and archers, and then departed towards another castle, seven leagues distant, called la Courtisse †. On their arrival, they instantly began the attack very sharply; but those within defended themselves to the utmost of their power, and disdained to surrender. At the first

* "Ban." Q. † "Courtisse." Q

attack, which was severe, the governor of the castle, called Radulph, was slain. He was an expert and valiant man at arms, but, having adventured himself too rashly on the bulwarks, was killed by an arrow. On his death the others lost courage: the castle was taken, and the greater part of the garrison put to the sword. Thus did the canon and his companions gain the castle of la Courtisse. They strengthened it with a new garrison; and, having well supplied it with everything, they marched towards the city of Seville the grand.

CHAPTER XC.—THE CANON AND HIS COMPANIONS GAIN MUCH BOOTY FROM THE KING OF CASTILLE.—THEY MUTINY AGAINST THE KING OF PORTUGAL, WHO ORDERS THEIR PAY TO BE INSTANTLY DELIVERED TO THEM.

These English and Gascon men at arms continued marching until they came to Jaffre, ten leagues from Seville. It is a badly-inclosed town; but there is a very strong monastery which those of the town and country had fortified, and they had retreated thither trusting to its strength. On their arrival, the town of Jaffre was immediately taken and burnt. They soon attacked the monastery; but it was an hour before it was taken, when those who first entered it gained great pillage: many were there slain. Having received intelligence that there were in some marshy grounds, in an adjoining valley, upwards of twenty thousand head of cattle, pigs, cows, and sheep, they pushed forward; and, having entered the marsh, ordered their infantry to drive out the cattle. They then resolved to return to their quarters in Besiouse, and set out accordingly. They arrived there on the evening of the ensuing day with all their booty; by which they had provisions in abundance, and for a long time.

Thus ended this expedition. When the lord Ferrande returned to Lisbon to the king, and reported to him what they had done against their enemies, and the great booty they had made, he imagined the king would have been well pleased; but no, for he said to him, "How, thou stinking rascal, hast thou dared, after the positive denial I sent them, to consent to their making an excursion, and to accompany them thyself? By St. Jacob, I will have thee hanged." The knight, on this, cast himself on his knees, and said, "My lord, their captain acquitted himself dutifully and loyally; but the others by force made him go with them, as well as myself, to show them the country. When the expedition has so well succeeded, you ought to pardon it." Notwithstanding this speech, the king ordered him to prison, where he remained until the earl of Cambridge delivered him when he came to Lisbon on the business of which you shall hear.

After the English and Gascons were returned to the town of Besiouse, and had remained there some time, they resolved to send to the king of Portugal to demand their pay. They chose unanimously the lord Talbot, a baron from Wales, as their ambassador. When the lord Talbot was come to Lisbon, and had remonstrated with the king on the subject of his mission, the king only made for answer, "that they had twice made excursions contrary to his orders, which had much displeased him, and had been the cause of the delay in their payment." As he could not obtain any other answer, lord Talbot returned to his companions, and related what the king had said, which much angered them.

This same week, the earl of Cambridge quitted Estremoz and came to Besiouse, where he took up his lodgings, in a monastery of monks on the outside of the town. The knights in garrison were rejoiced on hearing this; for there were among them some who were unable to wait so long for their pay from the king, and said among themselves, "We are marvellously well taken care of: we have been in this country almost a year, and have never received any money. It is impossible but our commander must have had some, for he would never have borne it for so great a length of time." These murmurings increased so much that they declared they would not longer suffer such treatment, and fixed a day to debate the matter among themselves. The place of conference was appointed in a handsome church situated without the town of Besiouse, and opposite to the Cordeliers, where the earl of Cambridge had his residence. The canon of Robersac promised to attend: indeed, it was well he did, for otherwise it would have turned out badly.

About eight o'clock, they were all assembled, except the canon, such as sir William

Beauchamp, sir Matthew Gournay his uncle, the lord Talbot, sir William Hermon *; and, of Gascons, the souldich de la Traue, the lord de la Barde, the lord de Châteauneuf, and several more, who began to speak and make their complaints known to each other. There was among them a knight, bastard brother to the king of England, called sir John Sounder †, who was louder than all the rest, and said, "The earl of Cambridge has brought us hither: every day we venture our lives, and are willing so to do, for his service, and yet he keeps our pay. I therefore advise, that we form a strict union among ourselves, and unanimously agree to display the pennon of St. George, declaring ourselves friends to God, and enemies to all the world; for if we do not make ourselves feared, we shall not have anything." "By my faith," replied William Helmon, "you say well, and we will do it." All agreed to the proposal, and considered whom they should choose for their leader: they thought they could not have a better than Sounder, for he would have more leisure to do mischief, and had greater courage for it than the others. They hoisted the pennon of St. George, and cried out, "A Sounder, a Sounder, that valiant bastard! Friends to God, and enemies to all mankind." They were then well inclined to attack the town of Besiouse, and declare war against the king of Portugal.

Sir Matthew Gournay and sir William Beauchamp had long argued against attacking Besiouse, but had been little attended to. At the moment they had displayed the pennon of St. George, and were quitting the church, the canon arrived, and, pushing through the crowd, got up to the head altar, when he cried aloud, "My fair sirs, what are you going to do? Be orderly and temperate, I conjure you; for I see you are much disturbed." Sir John Sounder and sir William Helmon then advanced to him, and related what they had done and what were their intentions. The canon, by fair language, restrained them: "Consider, gentlemen, what you are about: that which you intend is folly and madness. We cannot destroy ourselves more effectually. If we make war on this country, our enemies will hear of it, and will gain courage when they see we cannot oppose them. We shall thus ruin ourselves two ways; for our enemies will be rejoiced and assured of what at present they may only suspect, and we shall forfeit our loyalty to the earl of Cambridge."

"And what would you have us do, canon?" said Sounder: "we have expended much more than our pay, and since our arrival in Portugal we have not had any loan or any payment whatever. If you have been paid, we have not, and your complaints will be vain." "By my faith, Sounder," replied the canon, "I have not received more than you have, nor will I receive anything without your knowledge."

Some of the knights present answered, "We firmly believe you: but all things must have an end. Show us how we may get clear of this business with honour, and that as speedily as may be; for if we be not well paid, and in a short time, matters will go ill." The canon de Robersac then replied, "Fair sirs, I would advise first of all, in the situation we are in, that we wait on the earl of Cambridge, and remonstrate with him on these matters of which he ought to be informed." "And who is there among us," said some one, "who will remonstrate with him?" "I will," replied Sounder, "but you must all avow what I shall say." The whole company promised to do so. They then departed with the pennon of St. George, which they had that day displayed, carried before them, and came to the Cordeliers, where the earl of Cambridge was lodged.

Just as he was going to dinner, these companions, to the amount of about seven hundred, entered the court, and demanded the earl, who, having quitted his chamber, came into the hall to speak with them. The knights had advanced with Sounder at their head, and remonstrated in an agreeable manner and speech, saying, "My lord, it was you who assembled us in England; and we came hither according to your entreaties, as well as the others who are now without; we have left our country to oblige you. You are therefore our chief, and we must look to you for our pay, of which hitherto we have not received anything: for, as to the king of Portugal, we should never have come to his country nor entered his service, if you had not been our paymaster. However, if you say that the war concerns only the king of Portugal, and that you are not interested in it, we will soon pay

* "Hermon." Q. Froissart calls him afterwards Helmon.

† In chap. 85, this knight is called by Froissart Messire Jehan Fondrec, and here Messire Jehan Soultier.—Ed.

ourselves our subsidy, for we will overrun the country, let the consequences be what they may." "Sounder," replied the earl, "I do not say that you ought not to be paid; but, that if you overrun this country, you will throw great blame on me, as well as on the king of England, who is so strictly allied to the king of Portugal."

"And what would you have us do?" asked Sounder. "I will," replied the earl, "that you choose three of our knights, an Englishman, a Gascon and a German, and that these three set out for Lisbon, to explain to the king this business, and the length of time he has delayed payment to our companions. When you shall thus have summoned him, you will have a better right to follow your own inclinations." "By my faith," said the canon de Robersac, "my lord of Cambridge says well, and speaks wisely and boldly." They all agreed to this last proposal; but, notwithstanding, they would not take down the pennon of St. George, saying that since they had unanimously raised it in Portugal, they would not lower it as long as they should remain there. They then selected those who were to wait on the king of Portugal: sir William Helmon was chosen by the English, sir Thomas Simon by the Germans, the lord de Chateauneuf by the Gascons.

These three knights set out, and continued their journey until they came to Lisbon, where they found the king, who received them handsomely, asked from them the news, and what their companions were doing? "My lord," they replied, "they are all in very good health, and would willingly make some excursions, and employ this season otherwise than they do; for long idleness is not agreeable to them." "Well," said the king, "they shall very shortly make an excursion, and I will accompany them, and you will let them know this from me." "My lord," answered sir William, "we are sent hither by their orders, to tell you, that since their arrival in this country, they have neither had loan nor payment from you, and that they are not satisfied; for whoever wishes to obtain the love and service of men at arms must pay them better than you have hitherto done, the neglect of which they have for some time taken to heart; for they know not on whom they depend, and have thrown the blame on our captains, so that the affair was on the point of taking a very disagreeable turn. Our chiefs excused themselves, as it was known they had not received anything. Now, know for a truth, they will be paid their full pay, if you wish their services; and if you will not pay them, they assure you by us, that they will pay themselves from your country. Therefore consider well this business, and give us such an answer as we may carry back; for they are only waiting our return." The king mused a little, and then said, "Sir William, it is but just they should be paid: but they have much vexed me, by disobeying my orders, in making two excursions, which if they had not done, they should long ago have been fully satisfied in every respect." "Sire," replied sir William, "if they have made any excursions, they have turned out to your advantage: they have taken towns, castles, and overrun the territories of your enemy, even as far as Seville: all this has been gallantly performed. They ought not to lose this season, which, indeed, they are determined not to do; for they declare, on our return, they will pay themselves, unless they shall receive by us a more gracious answer, than as yet they have obtained from you." "Well," said the king, "inform them, that within fifteen days at the latest, I will give orders for their pay to be delivered to them, to the utmost farthing; but tell the earl of Cambridge that I wish to speak with him." "Sire," replied sir William, "I will do so, and you say well."

As he finished these words, dinner was served, when they dined together, and the king made the three sit at his table, and feasted them much. Thus passed the day, and on the morrow they returned to their friends. As soon as their arrival was known, the knights crowded about them, to learn what they had done: they related to them the answer, and the king's promise, with which they were all well satisfied. "Now see," said Sounder, "if riot be not sometimes of use: we have advanced the delivery of our pay, by having been a little riotous: he fares well who is feared."

The three knights waited on the earl of Cambridge, and reported to him what they had done, and that the king wanted to speak with him. He set out from the town in the morning, and rode to Lisbon, where he was joyfully received by his son and daughter-in-law. The king had a long conference with him, when they determined on certain expeditions.

The king, in consequence, issued his summons throughout the realm, for every one to be prepared for the field by the seventh of June, and to assemble between the towns of Badajos and Clemence. This summons was published throughout the kingdom of Portugal, when all descriptions of men armed and prepared themselves in the best manner they were able, to be at the rendezvous on foot, by the appointed day.

On the arrival of the earl of Cambridge at Lisbon, don Ferrande obtained his liberty, with whom the king had been much angered, on account of those before mentioned excursions. The earl took his leave, returned to his companions in high spirits and ordered them to be in readiness by the day which had been fixed on. Soon after money arrived for the pay of the troops, the captains first, so that every one was contented; but the pennon of St. George was still displayed.

CHAPTER XCI.—THE KINGS OF CASTILLE AND PORTUGAL ASSEMBLE THEIR FORCES.—PEACE MADE BETWEEN THEM AGAINST THE WILL OF THE ENGLISH.

Don John of Castille was not idle in collecting numbers of men at arms. Two thousand spears, knights and squires, and four thousand infantry, had come to him from France: he had, besides, in his own country, ten thousand horse, and as many foot. As he resided at Seville, he was not ignorant of the summons which the king of Portugal had issued: he therefore, finding himself the strongest, thought he should act more honourably in this war, if he sent to the king of Portugal, to ask him to fix on any spot in his dominions, where the two armies could meet, and fight it out; and that, if he would not, he would offer a place in Spain for the combat. He therefore sent a herald with this message, who rode on until he came to Lisbon, where he delivered it to the king, word for word. The king replied to the herald, that he would maturely consider the option given to him, and would send to the king of Spain his final answer. The herald, having executed his commission, took leave of the king, and returned to Seville

He found there the king and his barons, as well as those who had come from France, Arragon and Galicia, to whom he reported all he had heard or seen. No long time passed before the king of Portugal was advised by the councils of the English to offer a place in his own country, for the two armies to combat. Sir Thomas Simon and the souldich de la Traue, were ordered on the part of the king to seek for a proper situation: they chose a spot between Elvas and Badajos, where there was room sufficient for the battle. As they were going to execute this order, the two knights and their men skirmished with some advanced forces of the king of Castille: the engagement was severe, and several were slain and wounded on both sides. They, however, returned to the king of Portugal, and related where they had chosen a fit situation, and also the name of the place.

A German knight, called sir John Coustedor, was ordered to carry this intimation, attended by a herald, to the king of Spain. The knight set out, and rode to Seville, where he found the king, and related what the king of Portugal had instructed him to say, that he accepted his offer of combat, and had fixed on a place for the field of battle, between Elvas and Badajos; and that within five days after his return from Seville, he would there find the king of Portugal with his whole army, who desired nothing better than to give him battle. The Spaniards were much pleased with this news, as were also the French. Sir Tristan de Roye, sir John de Vernettes, sir Peter de Villames, and others, taking with them the knight from Portugal, entertained him magnificently for one whole day in Seville, and showed him as much respect as possible. They escorted him as far as Jaffre, when they returned; and the knight continued his journey to the king of Portugal and his knights, and told them how he had delivered his message, and the answer he had received, which gave them great satisfaction.

It was not long before the king of Portugal came and encamped where his army was, between Elvas and Badajos. It was a handsome plain below some olive trees; and he had brought thither the greater part of his subjects from whom he could expect assistance they might amount to about fifteen thousand men. On the fourth day afterwards, the earl of

Cambridge arrived with the English, in handsome array: they were about six hundred men at arms and as many archers: they encamped themselves together, separate from the king's army.

When the king of Spain heard that the king of Portugal was encamped on the field where the battle was to be fought, he seemed delighted, and said,—"Come, let us make haste: our enemies are waiting: it is time for us to set out. We have offered them battle, which they have accepted, and are ready by the day appointed, so that an engagement must ensue: let us therefore march thither." The men at arms were then ordered to advance with their men, for the king was setting out. All the knights, squires and men at arms, in consequence, broke up their quarters, both Spaniards and French, and followed the banners of don John of Castille, who encamped two short leagues from Badajos, in the plains of Elvas. The king of Spain had in his army upwards of thirty thousand fighting men, including those mounted on genets: they were in the whole sixty thousand. In this situation, the two armies remained opposite to each other. There was only between them the mountain of Badajos, which is a large town belonging to the king of Spain, and where his men went whenever they were in want of provision. The city of Elvas was on the opposite side, and belonged to the king of Portugal.

On the plain there were daily skirmishes; for the young bachelors who were desirous to advance themselves went thither, when some gallant feats were continually performed: they then returned to their quarters. Things remained in this state for upwards of fifteen days; and it was not any fault in the king of Spain that the combat did not take place, for it depended solely on the king of Portugal, who, not being in sufficient force to meet the Spaniards, was afraid of the event. He well knew, that if he were defeated, his kingdom would be lost, and that whole season he had been expecting the duke of Lancaster, with the great aid he was to bring him from England of four thousand men at arms and the same number of archers. The earl of Cambridge had assured the king of Portugal, that he might depend on this, and thought nothing could prevent it; for the duke of Lancaster, when he was setting out for Scotland, had sworn to him by his faith, that on his return, he would think of nothing else, and would instantly come to Portugal with such an army as should enable him to engage with the king of Castille. True it is, that the duke of Lancaster did every thing in his power to prevail on the king and his council to listen to this business; but on account of the internal troubles which had happened this year, and some events which had fallen out in Flanders, the king and his council would not consent to this expedition to Portugal, so that all the men at arms were detained in England.

When the king of Portugal heard this, and found that he must not expect any succours from England, he began to open a treaty: the grand master of Calatrava, don Pedro de Modesque, the bishop of Burgos and the bishop of Lisbon, entered into negotiations for peace between Portugal and Spain. These were carried on so successfully, that peace was made, without any notice being taken of the English. The earl of Cambridge was very melancholy on learning this news, and would willingly have made war on the king of Portugal, if he had been strong enough in the country; but he was not: he was therefore obliged to endure this peace whether he would or not. The English complained that the king of Portugal had behaved ill to them, from the beginning to the end, and that he had always dissembled with the Spaniards, for he had never had any inclination to fight with them. The king excused himself, by throwing all the blame on the duke of Lancaster, and the English, for not coming according to their promises, and assured them that at that moment he could not act otherwise.

CHAPTER XCII.—A JOUST BETWEEN A FRENCH KNIGHT AND AN ENGLISH SQUIRE.—THE EARL OF CAMBRIDGE LEADS BACK HIS ARMY TO ENGLAND, WITH HIS SON, WHOSE BETROTHED WIFE, THE INFANTA OF PORTUGAL, IS AFTERWARDS MARRIED TO THE KING OF CASTILLE.

In the army of the king of Castille was a young knight from France, called sir Tristan de Roye, who was desirous of displaying his courage. When he saw, that as peace was concluded, there would not be any engagement, he determined not to quit Spain, without doing something to be talked of. He sent a herald to the English army, requesting, that since peace had put an end to the combat, some one would have the kindness to tilt with him three courses with the lance before the city of Badajos. When this request was brought to the army, they consulted together, and said it ought not to be refused. A young English squire then stepped forth, called Miles Windsor, who wished honourably to be created a knight, and said to the herald, "Friend, return to thy masters, and tell sir Tristan de Roye, that to-morrow he shall be delivered from his vow, by Miles Windsor, before the city of Badajos, according to his request."

The herald returned, and related the answer to his masters, and sir Tristan de Roye, who was highly pleased. On the morrow morning, Miles Windsor left the army of the earl of Cambridge, and went towards Badajos, which was hard by, as there was only the mountain to cross, well accompanied by his friends; such as sir Matthew Gournay, sir William Beauchamp, sir Thomas Simon, the souldich de la Traue, the lord de Châteauneuf, the lord de la Barde, and several more; there were upwards of one hundred knights on the spot, where the tournament was to be performed. Sir Tristan de Roye was already there, accompanied by French and Bretons.

Miles was created a knight by the souldich de la Traue, as being the most accomplished knight there, and the person who had been in the greatest number of brilliant actions. When the combatants were completely armed, with lances in their rests, and mounted, they spurred their horses, and, lowering their spears, met each other with such force that their lances were twice broken against their breast-plates, but no other hurt ensued. They then took their third lance, and the shock was so great that the heads of Bordeaux steel pierced their shields, and through all their other armour even to the skin, but did not wound them: the spears were shattered, and the broken pieces flew over their helmets. This combat was much praised by all the knights of each side who were present. They then took leave of each other with much respect, and returned to their different quarters, for no other deeds of arms were performed.

Peace being now restored, both Spaniards and Portuguese returned to their own homes. In such manner was this great assembly of Spaniards, English and Portuguese broken up.

At this time, news was brought to the army of the king of Spain, that the king of Granada had declared war against the kings of Barbary and Tremeçen, and that all men at arms who might wish to go thither would be received into pay. The king of Granada had sent passports, and ordered his messengers to say, that to those who arrived in Granada, he would advance a quarter's pay. Several French knights who wished to advance themselves, as sir Tristan de Roye, sir Geoffry de Chargny, sir Peter de Clermont, took leave of don John of Castille, and went to those parts in search of deeds of arms. Some English went thither also, but they were few in number; for the earl of Cambridge conducted them to England, carrying his son with him. He showed how much dissatisfied he was with the king by not leaving this son behind, who had been betrothed to the infanta of Portugal. The earl said the air of Portugal did not agree with his son's health; and, in spite of every thing the king could urge, he would not permit him to stay, adding, that he was too young to remain in Portugal, from which the following consequences ensued.

About a year after the conclusion of this peace, when the English were returned home with the earl of Cambridge, the queen of don John of Castille died: she was daughter to the king of Arragon. The king being thus a widower, it was considered by the barons and prelates of Spain and Portugal, that the properest alliance which could be made with the

lady Beatrice of Portugal was the king of Spain, who could not more nobly connect himself than with the infanta. In order to confirm the peace between the two kingdoms, the king of Portugal consented, and broke off the match with the son of the earl of Cambridge, by a dispensation from the pope, who confirmed this new alliance. Thus became the infanta of Portugal queen of Spain, Gallicia and Castille; and she brought the king a son the first year of her marriage, to his great joy.

The king of Portugal died soon after this event: but the Portuguese were unwilling to submit themselves to the dominion of the Spaniards, and gave the crown to a bastard brother of the king, who was grand master of the order of Avis *, and called the bastard of Portugal He was a valiant man, had always borne arms, and much beloved by the Portuguese, as they showed; for they crowned him king, and chose him their lord for his valour. This transaction was the cause of great wars between the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, as you shall hear related in the course of this history.

When the earl of Cambridge, the canon de Robersac, and the English knights were returned from Portugal, and had waited on the king and duke of Lancaster, they were very graciously entertained, as was right, and then they were asked for news: they told them a sufficiency, and the history of their whole campaign. The duke of Lancaster, whom this business touched more essentially than any other, on account of the claim he made to Castille, in right of his wife, the lady Constance, eldest daughter to don Pedro, inquired of his brother every particular, and how they had conducted themselves in Portugal. The earl told him that the armies remained upwards of fifteen days opposite to each other: "and because, my fair brother, there came no intelligence of you, the king of Portugal hastily made peace, and, in spite of every thing we could say, he would not consent to a battle: our men were much concerned thereat, for they would willingly have hazarded it. Seeing, therefore, that affairs were not on a very sure foundation, I have brought home my son, although he has been betrothed to the infanta." "I believe you were in the right," replied the duke; "but perhaps they may break this marriage, if they shall find a more agreeable alliance." "By my faith," said the earl, "happen what may, I have done nothing that I repent of." Thus ended this conversation between the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge, when they entered on other matters. We will now leave them, and the wars of Spain and Portugal, to return to those of Ghent, the earl and country of Flanders, which were very destructive.

CHAPTER XCIII.—GHENT IS IN GREAT DISTRESS FOR PROVISIONS; THEY ARE SUCCOURED BY THE INHABITANTS OF LIEGE.

Ever since the burning of Grammont, and the breaking up the siege of Ghent, through the grief of the earl of Flanders for the death of his cousin, the young lord d'Anghien, as you have before heard, the war was carried on solely by the garrisons in the different towns. The whole country was for the earl, except the Quatre Metiers, whence provisions were sent into Ghent, as well as from the county of Alost. But the earl of Flanders, on hearing that cheese, butter and other things were sent to Ghent from Alost and the adjacent villages, soon put a stop to it, by ordering the garrison of Dendremond to burn and destroy the whole of that flat country: which orders being obeyed, the poor people who lived on the produce of their cattle, were forced to fly into Brabant and Hainault, and the greater part to beg their bread. There still, however, remained a country dependent on the Quatre Metiers, whence Ghent drew all its provision, which their enemies could not prevent.

This whole winter of 1382, the earl and country of Flanders had so much constrained Ghent that nothing could enter the place by land or water: he had persuaded the duke of Brabant and duke Albert to shut up their countries so effectually, that no provisions could be exported thence, but secretly, and with a great risk to those who attempted it. It was thought by the most intelligent, that it could not be long before they perished through

* "Avis." Froissart calls him master Denys. For particulars of the order of the Bird, see the Histoire des Ordres de Chevalerie.

famine, for all the store-houses of corn were empty, and the people could not obtain bread for money: when the bakers had baked any, it was necessary to guard their shops, for the populace who were starving would have broken them open. It was melancholy to hear these poor people, (for men, women and children, of good substance, were in this miserable plight,) make their daily complaints and cries to Philip von Artaveld, their commander in chief. He took great compassion on them, and made several very good regulations, for which he was much praised. He ordered the granaries of the monasteries and rich men to be opened, and divided the corn among the poor, at a fixed price. By such means he gave comfort to the town of Ghent, and governed it well. Sometimes there came to them in casks flour and baked bread from Holland and Zealand, which were of great assistance; for, had they not been thus succoured by those countries, they would have been much sooner defeated.

The duke of Brabant had forbidden any of his subjects to carry provisions to the inhabitants of Ghent, under pain of death; but, if they would run the risk of coming to seek them, they might sell or give. When Lent came, they were in the greatest distress; for they had not any provision suitable to that time: insomuch that a body of soldiers and other persons, to the amount of twelve thousand, driven desperate by famine, left the town and went to Brussels. On their arrival, the gates were closed, for they were doubtful of their intentions, not knowing what to think of them. When they were near to Brussels, they sent a party unarmed to the gates, in search of provision, begging, for the love of God, they would have pity on them, and let them have victuals for their money, as they were dying of hunger, and would not do any harm to the country. The good people of Brussels had compassion on them, and carried them food sufficient to satisfy their hunger. They remained there to recruit themselves about three weeks, but did not enter any of the principal towns: they advanced as far as Louvain, the people of which place also took pity on them, and gave them many things. The leader and conductor of these men of Ghent was Francis Atremen, who advised them how to act, and also made for them their agreements with the different towns. During the time they were refreshing themselves in the country round Louvain, he went to Liege, accompanied by twelve others, where he remonstrated so effectually with the magistrates that they consented, with the approbation of their bishop, the lord Arnold d'Ercle, to send to the earl of Flanders, and use their utmost endeavours to make a peace between them: adding, that if Liege had been as near to them as Brabant and Hainault, they would have more effectually assisted them in their rights, and in defending their privileges. However, they said, "We will now do every thing we can for you, and, as you are merchants, and merchandise ought to pass freely everywhere, we have determined that you may contract at this moment for five or six hundred cart loads of corn and flour, which we will allow you to have, provided the good people from whom this provision comes can be satisfied. Our commerce will be suffered to pass through Brabant, for that country is in friendship with us; and, notwithstanding Brussels is shut against you, we know it is more through fear than inclination. The Brusselers have great compassion on your sufferings; but the duke and duchess of Brabant, at the solicitations of the earl of Flanders, are more his friends than yours, as it is natural that great lords should support each other."

The men of Ghent were much pleased with the affectionate offers the Liegeois made them; they warmly thanked them, and said, that with such allies and friends, the town of Ghent might do much. Francis and the citizens of Ghent who had accompanied him into Liege, having finished their business, took leave of the magistrates, who ordered certain persons to attend them through the country to collect carts and horses. In two days they had six hundred loaded with corn and flour, for such stores were then more necessary to them than any others. They set out on their return, passing between Louvain and Brussels. When Francis Atremen was returned to his men whom he had left in the neighbourhood of Louvain, he related to them the love and courtesy which those of Liege had shown, and the offer they had made of their friendship. He added, that they would go to Brussels to speak with the duchess of Brabant, and beg and entreat of her, on the part of the good town of Ghent, to condescend to mediate between them and the earl their lord, so that they might obtain peace. They replied, "God's will be done," and marched to Brussels.

The duke of Brabant, at this time, was at Luxembourg on his affairs; and Francis, by

permission of the duchess, who was desirous to see him, entered the town, attended only by two other persons. They waited on her at her hôtel at Colleberge, where the duchess had assembled part of her council; and, throwing themselves on their knees, Francis, who spoke for all, said,—"Much honoured and dear lady, may it please you, out of your great humility, to have compassion on the inhabitants of Ghent, who are not able, by any means hitherto employed, to obtain the pardon of their lord; but if you, very dear lady, would mediate between our lord and us, so that he would hear but reason and have mercy on his vassals, you would do a most charitable act, and our good friends and neighbours of Liege would unite to assist you at any time and in any manner you shall please."

The duchess replied with much gentleness, "that she had long been sorry for the dissensions which had arisen between her brother * the earl and them, and would willingly have put an end to them for some time past, had she been able or had she known how to do it: but you so often oppose him, and are so obstinate in your opinions, that it keeps up his anger and hatred against you. Notwithstanding all this, for love of God and through compassion, I will cheerfully undertake this business, and send to request he will have the goodness to come to Tournay, where I will order my privy council. You will also exert yourselves to gain the council of Hainault, to accompany that of Liege, which you say is ready to serve you." "Yes, madam, for they have so promised us." "Well," said the duchess, "I will do something that you shall hear of." They replied, "God preserve, madam, your soul and body." At these words they took leave of the duchess and her council, departed from Brussels, and returned to their men and carriages, which were waiting for them, and then continued their road to Ghent.

When the news arrived that their people were returning, and bringing with them six hundred cart-loads of provision, of which they were in such great want, they were highly delighted: these provisions, however, from Liege were not sufficient to maintain the town fifteen days; but to those who are comfortless a little thing gives hope. They made a numerous procession to meet this convoy, and, by way of humbling themselves, they fell on their knees when they met it, and with uplifted hands, said to the merchants and drivers,—"Ah, good people, you do an act of great charity: you bring comfort to the lower classes in Ghent, who would not have had wherewithal to eat, if you had not come. Let us first give our thanks and praises to God, and then to you." In this manner were the provisions attended to the market-place, and there unloaded: they were then delivered out in small proportions to those who were in the greatest want; and five thousand men were ordered to arm themselves, and to escort back these carts as far as Brabant, and out of all danger.

The earl of Flanders, who resided at Bruges, had information of all this, and how Ghent was so much straitened that it could not hold out for any length of time. You may imagine he was not very much vexed at their poverty, any more than those of his council, who would, with pleasure, have seen the town of Ghent destroyed. Gilbert Matthew and his brothers, the deacon of small trades of Ghent, and the provost of Harlebecque, were in high spirits at what they heard. All these events happened in Lent, during the months of March and April 1382†. The earl of Flanders determined to lay siege to Ghent once more, but with a much superior army to what he had hitherto brought against it; for he declared he would invade the Quatre Metiers, and burn and destroy them, as they had been too active in assisting Ghent. The earl therefore signified his intentions to all the principal towns in Flanders, that they might be ready in time. Immediately after the procession at Bruges, he was to march from thence, to lay siege to Ghent and destroy it. He wrote also to those knights and squires who were dependent on him in Hainault, to meet him at Bruges at the appointed day, or even eight days before.

* *Her brother.* He had married one of her sisters.

† "1382." That is, beginning the year at January, otherwise 1381.

CHAPTER XCIV.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS SENDS A HARSH ANSWER TO THOSE WHO WISHED TO MEDIATE A PEACE BETWEEN HIM AND GHENT.—THE POPULACE, UNDER THE NAME OF MAILLOTINS, RISE AGAIN AT PARIS.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these summons, levies and orders, which the earl of Flanders was issuing, the duchess of Brabant, duke Albert and the bishop of Liege, exerted themselves so much, that a meeting of their councils, to consider of the means of establishing a peace, was ordered to be held in the city of Tournay. The earl of Flanders, at the request of these lords, and the duchess of Brabant, although he intended to act contrary, gave his terms of accommodation; and these conferences were fixed for the end of Easter, at Tournay, in the year 1382.

Twelve deputies came from the bishopric of Liege and the chief towns, with sir Lambert de Perney, a very discreet knight. The duchess of Brabant sent her council thither, and some of the principal inhabitants from the great towns. Duke Albert met likewise his council from Hainault, his bailiff, sir Simon de Lalain, with others. All these came to Tournay in Easter-week; and Ghent sent also twelve deputies, of whom Philip von Artaveld was the head. The inhabitants of Ghent had resolved to accede to whatever terms their deputies should agree on, with the exception that no one was to be put to death; but that if it pleased the earl, their lord, he might banish from Ghent, and the country of Flanders, all those who were disagreeable to him, and whom he might wish to punish, without any possibility of their return. This resolution they had determined to abide by; and Philip von Artaveld was willing, if he should have angered the earl ever so little, during the time he was governor of Ghent, to be one of the banished men, for life, out of the regard he had for the lower ranks of people. Certain it is, that when he set out from Ghent for Tournay, men, women and children cast themselves before him on their knees, and with uplifted hands, besought him, that at whatever cost it might be, he would bring them back peace; and, from the pity he felt for them, he had agreed to act as I have just related.

When the deputies from Liege, Brabant and Hainault, who had been sent to Tournay as mediators, had resided there three days expecting the earl, who neither came nor sent; they were much surprised, and, consulting together, resolved to send to him at Bruges. In consequence, they dispatched thither sir Lambert de Perney, the lord de Compellant from Brabant, sir William de Hermen * from Hainault, and six citizens from the three countries. The earl of Flanders entertained them handsomely, as was right, but told them, "that at that moment, it was not agreeable to him to come to Tournay; yet, in consideration for the cause which had brought them thither, and the trouble they had taken to come to Bruges, as well as out of respect to their lords, the duchess of Brabant his sister, duke Albert his cousin and the bishop of Liege, he would instantly send his council to Tournay with his final declaration, and what were his future intentions." They therefore returned to Tournay, and related what the earl had said.

Six days afterwards, arrived at Tournay, by orders of the earl, the lord de Raseflez, the lord de Gontris, sir John Villame and the provost of Harlebecque, who made excuses from the earl why he came not in person. They then delivered the earl's determination, that the inhabitants of Ghent were not to expect peace from him, unless all persons, from the age of fifteen to sixty, submitted to come out of that city, bare-headed in their shirts, with halters about their necks, on the road between Ghent and Bruges, where the earl would wait for them, and grant them pardon or put them to death, according to his pleasure. When this answer was carried by the deputies of the three countries to those of Ghent, they were more confounded than ever. The bailiff of Hainault, then addressing them, said,—"My good gentlemen, you are in great peril, as you may each of you judge, and we can assure you of it: now, if you accept these terms, he will not put all to death that shall present themselves before him, but only some who have angered him more than the rest; and means may be found to mollify him, and excite his compassion; so that those who may think themselves certain of death will be pardoned: accept, therefore, these offers, or at least consider well before you refuse them; for I believe you will never have such made to you again."

* "Hermen," Q. Helmon, see p. 689.—ED.

Philip von Artaveld replied,—"We are not commissioned to treat on such terms by our townsmen, nor will they ever accept them; but if the citizens in Ghent, upon our return, after having informed them of the answer from the earl, shall be willing to submit themselves, it shall not be our fault that peace is not made. We give you our best and warmest thanks for the great trouble and pains you have taken in this business." They then took leave of those well-intentioned persons, and the other deputies from the principal towns of the three countries, and showed plainly that they would not accept of the offered terms for peace. Philip von Artaveld and his companions went to their hotels, discharged their bills, and returned through Brabant to Ghent.

Thus was this conference broken up, which had been assembled with the best intentions, in the town of Tournay, and each man returned to his home. The earl of Flanders never made an inquiry what was the answer of the Ghent deputies, so very cheap did he hold them. He wished not for any treaty of peace; for he well knew he had pushed them so hard they could not hold out against him much longer, and that the end must be honourable to him: he was also desirous to reduce Ghent to such a situation that all other towns might take warning from it.

About this period the Parisians again rose, because the king did not reside among them. They were afraid lest he should order his men at arms to force the gates of the city in the night-time, overrun it, and put to death whomsoever he pleased. To avoid this danger, which they dreaded, they kept great guards in all the streets and squares every night, and barricaded the streets with chains, to prevent any cavalry from passing; nor would they suffer any one on foot to pass: and those found in the streets after nine o'clock, who were not acknowledged by them or their partisans, were put to death. There were in the city of Paris upwards of thirty thousand rich and powerful men, armed from head to foot, and so handsomely arrayed that few knights could afford to rival them. They had, in like manner, armed their servants, who had mallets of iron and lead for the bruising of helmets. They said in Paris, when they were mustering their men, that they were sufficient in number and strength to fight their own battles, without the aid of the greatest lord on the earth. These people were called the army of mallets.

CHAPTER XCV.—THE CITIZENS OF GHENT, AFTER HAVING HEARD FROM PHILIP VON ARTAVELD THE TERMS OF PEACE WHICH HE HAD BROUGHT FROM THE CONFERENCES AT TOURNAY, MARCH OUT, TO THE NUMBER OF FIVE THOUSAND, TO ATTACK THE EARL OF FLANDERS IN BRUGES.

When Philip von Artaveld and his companions returned to Ghent, great crowds of the common people, who only wished for peace, were much rejoiced on his arrival, and hoped to hear from him good news. They went out to meet him, saying, "Ah, dear Philip von Artaveld, make us happy: tell us what you have done, and how you have succeeded." Philip made no answer to these questions, but rode on, holding down his head: the more silent he was, the more they followed him, and were the more clamorous. Once or twice, as he was advancing to his house, he said, "Get you to your homes, and may God preserve you from harm: to-morrow morning be in the market-place by nine o'clock, and there you shall hear every thing." As they could not obtain any other answer, the people were exceedingly alarmed.

When Philip von Artaveld had dismounted at his door, and his companions were returned to their homes, Peter du Bois, anxious to learn what had been done, came in the evening to Philip, and, having shut himself in a chamber with him, asked what success he had met with. Philip, who wished to hide nothing from him, replied,—"By my faith, Peter, from the answer which my lord of Flanders has given by those of his council whom he sent to Tournay, he will not pardon a soul in Ghent; no not one." "By my troth," said Peter du Bois, "he is in the right, and has been wisely advised to send such an answer; for we are all equally implicated one as much as another. I have succeeded in my expectation; for the town of Ghent is in such confusion that it cannot well be appeased. We must become

desperate, and it shall be seen if there be not prudent and valiant men in Ghent. In a few days, the town of Ghent shall be the most respected town in Christendom, or the most humbled. However, if we do perish in this quarrel, we shall not die alone. You must now, Philip, consider how you will relate the conferences of Tournay to-morrow, so that every one may be satisfied with your conduct. You are at this moment in high favour with the people, for two reasons; one, on account of the name you bear, for Jacob von Artaveld, your father, was formerly much beloved in this town; the other, from the gentle and friendly manner with which you address them, which they publicly praise: they will therefore firmly believe every thing you shall tell them; and, towards the end, you shall add, 'If I were to advise, I would do so and so:' but it is necessary you consider this well, so that you stand on sure grounds and gain honour by it." "Peter," said Philip von Artaveld, "you speak truth; and I think I shall be able to explain and harangue in such a manner on the affairs of Ghent that, between ourselves, we who are the governors and leaders in Ghent shall live and die with honour." Nothing more was said or done at that time, for they separated: Peter du Bois returned to his house, and Philip remained where he was.

You may easily imagine, when the day so eagerly expected was come, in which Philip was to report what had passed in the conferences at Tournay, that all the inhabitants of Ghent were early in the market place. It was on a Wednesday morning, and the time of meeting nine o'clock. Philip von Artaveld, Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre, Francis Atremen, and the other chiefs came there; and, having entered the town-hall, they ascended the staircase, when Philip, showing himself from the windows, thus spoke: "My good friends, it is true, that through the entreaties of the very noble lady the duchess of Brabant, the most puissant and noble prince duke Albert, regent of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, and of my lord the bishop of Liege, a conference was appointed to be holden at Tournay these last days, which the earl of Flanders was personally to attend, and which he had promised to the noble persons just mentioned, who have indeed most handsomely acquitted themselves. They sent thither their most able counsellors, and the principal inhabitants from the greatest towns, who waited several days in expectation of the earl of Flanders; but he came not, nor indeed sent any excuses. When they perceived this, they resolved to choose three knights from the three countries, and six citizens, and send them to him. Out of affection to us they undertook the business, and went to Bruges, where they found my lord of Flanders, who entertained them well, as they said, and willingly listened to them: he then declared, that out of respect to their lord, and to his sister-in-law, madame de Brabant, he would send his council to Tournay in the course of five or six days, so well instructed, that they would clearly explain his determined intention, which when they should hear, they would know how to act: not obtaining any other answer, they returned on the day appointed. In consequence of this, the lord de Raseflez, the lord de Gontris, sir John Villames, and the provost of Harlebecque, came to Tournay, where they very graciously informed us of the will of the earl, and the only means of putting an end to this war. They declared his final terms for peace between him and the inhabitants of Ghent were, that every male inhabitant, excepting priests and monks, from the age of sixteen to that of sixty, should march out of the town in their shirts, with bare heads and feet, and halters about their necks, and should thus go two leagues or more to the plains of Burlesquans, where they would meet the earl of Flanders, attended by such whom he may choose to bring with him; and that, when he should see us in this situation, with joined hands, crying out for mercy, he would, if he pleased, take compassion on us. But I could not learn from his council, that there was the least plea of justice to put to death such numbers of people as would be there that day*. Now, consider if you will have peace on these terms?"

* "Mais je ne puis veoir, n'entendre, par la relation de son conseil, qu'il ne convienne mourir honteusement par punition de justice et de prison, la greigneur partie du peuple qui là sera en ce jour," are the words of Froissart, according to D. Sauvage, which are well rendered by Lord Berners: "But, sirs, I cannat knowe by the relacion of any of his counsayle, but that by shamefull punycion of iustyce, and by imprisonment, there shall suffre dethe the moost part of the people that appere there that day."—Mr. Johnes appears to have followed another copy, but the version which he has adopted does not appear very intelligible.—Ed.

When Philip had done speaking, it was a melancholy sight to behold men, women, and children, bewailing, with tears, their husbands, fathers, brothers, and neighbours. After this tumult and noise had lasted some time, Philip again addressed them, and cried out, "Silence, silence!" when, on his beginning to speak, they ceased lamenting,—"Worthy inhabitants of Ghent, you who are here assembled, are the majority of its citizens, and you have heard all I had to report to you: I see no means of remedy but a determined conduct. You know how very much we are straitened for all sorts of provision, and that there are thirty thousand persons in this town, who have not eaten bread for fifteen days. In my opinion, we have but the choice of three things; the first, that we close all our gates, and then, after having confessed ourselves, most fully, retire into the churches and monasteries, and there die confessed and repentant, like martyrs, to whom no mercy has been shown. In this state God will have pity on us, and on our souls; and wherever this shall be told or heard, they will say that we died nobly, like loyal men at arms. Or, let us resolve to march out, men, women, and children, with halters about our necks, bareheaded, and with naked feet, and implore the mercy of my lord the earl: he is not so hard-hearted, nor so obstinate, but when he shall see us in such a humiliating condition, he will be softened, and take pity on his subjects; and I will be the first to offer him my head, in order to assuage his hatred, and sacrifice myself for the city of Ghent. Or, let us choose from five to six thousand of the most determined men in the town, and instantly march to attack the earl in Bruges; we will give him combat; and if we should be slain in the attempt, at least we shall die with honour, and God will have mercy upon us; and the world will say, that we have gallantly and valorously maintained our quarrel. If however, in this battle we be victorious, and our Lord God, who in ancient times delegated his power into the hands of Judas Maccabeus, the chief of his Jewish people, so that the Syrians were defeated and slain, would be indulgent enough to grant us this kindness, we should be everywhere the most honoured people since the time of the Romans. Now consider which of these three propositions you will make choice of, for one of them must be adopted."

Those who were near to him, and had most distinctly heard what he had said, replied, "Ah, dear lord, we put our whole confidence in you: what would you advise us? for we will do whatever you think will be most for our advantage." "By my faith, then," said Philip, "I would advise that we all march in arms against my lord. We shall find him at Bruges; and, when he hears of our coming, he will sally forth and fight with us: for the pride of those in Bruges and about his person, who excite him day and night against us, will urge him to the combat. If God shall, through his mercy, grant that we gain the field, and defeat our enemies, our affairs will be instantly retrieved, and we shall be the most respected people in the universe. If we be defeated, we shall die honourably, and God will have pity on us; and thus the remainder of the inhabitants of Ghent will escape and be pardoned by the earl our lord."

At these words, they all shouted out, "We will follow this plan, and no other!" Philip then said, "My good gentlemen, since you are thus resolved, return home and get ready your arms; for in the course of to-morrow, I am determined to march for Bruges: the remaining longer here will not be to our advantage. Within five days we shall know if we be to die, or to live with honour. I will order the constables of the different parishes to go from house to house, and choose the best armed and those most fit for the service."

Immediately after the meeting broke up, and every one returned home to make ready, each according to his abilities, they kept the gates of the town so closely shut that no person whatever was suffered to come in or go out before Thursday afternoon, when those who were to march on this expedition were prepared: in all about five thousand men, and not more. They loaded about two hundred carts with cannon and artillery, and only seven with provisions; that is, five with bread and two with wine, for there were but two tuns of wine in the town. You may judge from this to what straits they had been reduced.

It was a miserable spectacle to see those who went and those who remained. These last said to them, "Good friends, you see what you leave behind; but never think of returning unless you can do so with honour, for you will not find anything here. The moment we hear of your defeat or death, we will set fire to the town, and perish in the flames, like men in

despair." Those who were marching out, replied, by way of comforting them, "What you say is very just. Pray God for us; for we place our hopes in him, and trust he will assist you, as well as us, before our return."

Thus did these five thousand men of Ghent march off with their slender stores, and encamped about a league from Ghent, but touched not their provision, taking up with what they could find in the country. On Friday, they marched the whole day, and then meddled not with their stores; but their scouts picked up some few things in the country, with which they made shift, and fixed their quarters that evening a long league from Bruges. They halted there, considering it a proper place to wait for their enemies, for there were in front two extensive marshes, which were a good defence on one side; and they fortified themselves on the others with the carriages, and thus passed the night.

CHAPTER XCVI.—THE ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE GHENT MEN.—THEY DEFEAT THE EARL OF FLANDERS AND THE MEN OF BRUGES.—THE MEANS BY WHICH THIS WAS BROUGHT ABOUT.

THE Saturday* was a fine bright day, and, being the feast of the Holy Cross, the inhabitants of Bruges, according to custom, made their usual processions. News was soon brought to Bruges, that the Ghent army was near at hand; so that every one began to murmur until the earl heard it, as well as those about his person. He was much surprised, and said, "See how the wickedness of these mad and foolish people of Ghent leads them to their destruction: indeed it is time this war should be put an end to." His knights, and others, instantly waited on him, whom he very graciously received, and said, "We will go and fight these wicked people; however, they show courage in preferring death by the sword rather than famine." They determined to send out three men at arms to examine the force and situation of the enemy. The marshal of Flanders ordered three valiant squires on this service, whose names were Lambert de Lambres, Damas de Buffy, and John de Béart: they set out, mounted on the finest horses in the town, and advanced toward the Ghent army. While this was going forward, every person in Bruges made himself ready, and showed the most eager desire to sally forth and combat the men of Ghent; of whom I will now say a word, and of the manner in which they had drawn themselves up.

On the Saturday morning, Philip von Artaveld ordered his whole army to pay their devotions to God, and masses to be said in different places; (for there were with them several monks,) that every man should confess himself, and make other becoming preparations, and that they should pray to God with that truth, as people looking to him alone for mercy. All this was done, and mass celebrated in seven different places. After each mass was a sermon, which lasted an hour and a half: the monks and priests endeavoured, by their discourses, to show the great similitude between them and the people of Israel, whom Pharaoh king of Egypt detained so long in slavery, and who, through God's grace, were delivered, and conducted by Moses and Aaron into the land of promise, whilst Pharaoh and the Egyptians were drowned. "In like manner, my good people," preached the monks, "have you been kept in bondage by your lord, the earl of Flanders, and by your neighbours of Bruges, whom you are now to meet, and by whom you will, without doubt, be combated, for your enemies are in great numbers, and have little fear of your force; but do not you mind this; for God, who can do all things and is acquainted with your situation, will have mercy on you: therefore, think of nothing but what you have left behind; for you well know, that everything is lost, if you be defeated. Sell yourselves well and valiantly; and if you must die, die with honour. Do not be alarmed if great numbers issue forth from Bruges against you, for victory is not to the multitude, but whither God shall please to send it; and, by his grace, it has been often seen, as well by the Maccabees as the Romans, that those who fought manfully, and confided in God, discomfited the greater number. Besides, you have justice and reason on your side in this quarrel, which ought to make you feel yourselves bold and

* "The 3rd of May."—See *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates.*

better comforted." In such words as these the priests had been ordered to preach to the army, and with these discourses they were well pleased. Three parts of them communicated, and all showed great devotion and much fear in God.

After the sermons, the whole army assembled round a small hill, on which Philip von Artaveld placed himself, in order to be the better heard, and harangued them very ably, explaining to them every point in which they were justified in this war; and how Ghent had frequently sought pardon from the earl, and never could obtain it, without submitting to conditions too hard for the town and its inhabitants: that now they had advanced so far they could not retreat; and that, if they would consider, they would see nothing could be gained were they to return, for all they had left behind were in sorrow and misery. They ought not, therefore, to think of Ghent, their wives and children who were in it, but to act in such manner as was becoming their honour. Philip von Artaveld addressed many more fine speeches to them; for he was very eloquent, and had words at command, which was fortunate for him, and towards the end he added, "My good friends, you see here all your provision: divide it among you fairly, like brethren, without any disturbance; for when it is gone, you must conquer more, if you wish to live."

At these words they drew up very regularly, and unloaded the carts, when the bags of bread were given out, to be divided by constablewicks, and the two tuns of wine placed on their bottoms; and there they moderately breakfasted, each man having a sufficiency at that time; after which breakfast they found themselves more determined and active on their feet than if they had eaten more. This repast being over, they put themselves in order, and retired within their ribaudeaus. These ribaudeaus are tall stakes, with points shod with iron, which they were always accustomed to carry with them. They fixed them in front of their army, and inclosed themselves within.

The three knights who had been sent by the earl to reconnoitre, found them in this situation: they approached the entrances of these ribaudeaus; but the Ghent men never moved, and rather seemed rejoiced to see them. They returned to Bruges, where they found the earl in his palace, surrounded by many knights, waiting for them, to hear what intelligence they had brought back. They pushed through the crowd, and came near the earl, when they spoke aloud, for the earl wished all present to hear, and said, "they had advanced so close to the Ghent army, that they might have shot at them, if they had so chosen, but they left them in peace; and that they had seen their banners, and the army inclosed within their ribaudeaus." "And what are their numbers, think ye?" said the earl. They answered, "that as near as they could guess, they might be from five to six thousand." "Well," said the earl, "now let every one instantly get ready; for I will give them battle, and this day shall not pass without a combat." At these words the trumpet sounded in Bruges, when every one armed himself, and made for the market-place. As they came, they drew up under their proper banners, as they had usually done, in bands and constablewicks.

Many barons, knights, and men at arms, drew up before the palace of the earl. When all was ready, and the earl armed, he came to the market-place, and was much pleased to see such numbers in battle-array. They then marched off, for none dared disobey his commands; and, in order of battle, made for the plain: the men at arms afterwards issued forth from Bruges. It was a handsome sight, for there were upwards of forty thousand armed heads; and thus horse and foot advanced in proper order, near to the place where the Ghent men were, and then halted. It was late in the afternoon when the earl and his army arrived, and the sun going down. One of the knights said to the earl, "My lord, you now see your enemies: they are but a handful of men in comparison with your army, and as they cannot escape, do not engage them this day; but wait for to-morrow, when you will have the day before you: you will, besides, have more light to see what you are about, and they will be weaker, for they have not anything to eat."

The earl approved much this advice, and would willingly have followed it; but the men of Bruges, impatient to begin the fight, would not wait, saying, they would soon defeat them and return back to their town. Notwithstanding the orders of the men at arms, for the earl had not less than eight hundred lances, knights, and squires, the Bruges men began to shoot and to fire cannons.

The Ghent men, being collected in a body on an eminence, fired at once three hundred cannon; after which they turned the marsh, and placed the Bruges men with the sun in their eyes, which much distressed them, and then fell upon them, shouting out, "Ghent!" The moment the men of Bruges heard the cannon and the cry of Ghent, and saw them marching to attack them in front, they, like cowards, opened their ranks, and letting the Ghent men pass without making any defence, flung down their staves and ran away. The Ghent men were in close order, and, perceiving their enemies were defeated, began to knock down and kill on all sides. They advanced with a quick step, shouting, "Ghent!" and saying, "Let us pursue briskly our enemies, who are defeated, and enter the town with them: God eyes us this day with looks of pity."

They followed those of Bruges with so much courage, that whenever they knocked down or killed any one, they marched on without halting or quitting the pursuit, whilst the men of Bruges fled with the haste of a defeated army. I must say, that at this place there were multitudes of slain, wounded, and thrown down; for they made no defence, and never were such cowardly wretches as those of Bruges, or who more weakly or recreantly behaved themselves, after all their insolence when they first took the field. Some may wish to excuse them by supposing there might have been treason, which caused this defeat. This was not so; but such poor and weak conduct fell on their own heads.

CHAPTER XCVII.—BRUGES IS TAKEN BY THE GHENT ARMY.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS SAVES HIMSELF IN THE HOUSE OF A POOR WOMAN.

When the earl of Flanders and the men at arms saw that, by the miserable defence of the men of Bruges, they had caused their own defeat, and that there was not any remedy for it, for every man was running away as fast as he could, they were much surprised, and began to be alarmed for themselves, and to make off in different directions. It is true, that had they seen any probability of recovering the loss which the Bruges men were suffering, they would have done some deeds of arms, by which they might have rallied them a little: but they saw it was hopeless, for they were flying to Bruges in all directions, and neither the son waited for the father nor the father for his child.

The men at arms, therefore, began to break their ranks. Few had any desire to return to Bruges, for the crowd was so great on the road thither that it was painful to see and hear the complaints of the wounded and hurt. The men of Ghent were close at their heels, shouting out, "Ghent, Ghent!" knocking down all that obstructed them. The greater part of these men at arms had never before been in such peril: even the earl was advised to make for Bruges, and to have the gates closed and guarded, so that the Ghent men should not be able to force them and become masters of the town. The earl of Flanders saw no help for his men, who were flying on all sides, and, as it was now dark night, followed this advice and took the road to Bruges, his banner displayed before him. He entered the gates one of the first, with about forty others, for no more had followed him. He ordered guards to defend the gates if the Ghent men should come thither, and then rode to his palace, from whence he issued a proclamation, that every person, under pain of death, should assemble in the market-place. The intention of the earl was to save the town by this means; but it did not succeed, as you shall hear.

While the earl was in his palace, and had sent the clerks of the different trades from street to street, to hasten the inhabitants to the market-place, in order to preserve the city, the men of Ghent, having closely pursued their enemies, entered the town with them, and instantly made for the market-place, without turning to the right or left, where they drew themselves up in array. Sir Robert Mareschaut, one of the earl's knights, had been sent to the gates to see they were guarded: but, while the earl was planning means for defending the town, sir Robert found a gate flung off its hinges, and the Ghent men masters of it. Some of the citizens said to him, "Robert, Robert, return and save yourself, if you can, for the Ghent men have taken the town." The knight returned as speedily as he could to the earl, whom he met coming out of his palace on horseback, with a number of torches. The knight

told him what he had heard; but, notwithstanding this, the earl, anxious to defend the town, advanced toward the market-place, and as he was entering it with a number of torches, shouting, "Flanders for the Lyon! Flanders for the Earl!" those near his horse and about his person, seeing the place full of Ghent men, said, "My lord, return; for if you advance further you will be slain, or at the best made prisoner by your enemies, as they are drawn up in the square and are waiting for you."

They told him truth; for the Ghent men, seeing the great blaze of torches in the street, said, "Here comes my lord, here comes the earl: how he falls into our hands!" Philip von Artaveld had given orders to his men, that if the earl should come, every care was to be taken to preserve him from harm, in order that he might be carried alive and in good health to Ghent, when they should be able to obtain what peace they chose. The earl had entered the square, near to where the Ghent men were drawn up, when several people came to him and said, "My lord, do not come further; for the Ghent men are masters of the market-place and of the town, and if you advance, you will run a risk of being taken. Numbers of them are now searching for their enemies from street to street, and many of the men of Bruges have joined them, who conduct them from hôtel to hôtel to seek those whom they want. You cannot pass any of the gates without danger of being killed, for they are in their possession; nor can you return to your palace, for a large rout of Ghent men have marched thither."

When the earl heard this speech, which was heart-breaking as you may guess, he began to be much alarmed and to see the peril he was in. He resolved to follow the advice of not going further, and to save himself if he could, which was confirmed by his own judgment. He ordered the torches to be extinguished, and said to those about him, "I see clearly that affairs are without remedy: I therefore give permission for every one to depart and save himself in the best manner he can." His orders were obeyed. The torches were put out and thrown in the streets; and all who were in company with the earl separated and went away. He himself went to a bye-street, where he was disarmed by his servant, and, throwing down his clothes, put on his servant's, saying, "Go about thy business, and save thyself if thou canst; but be silent if thou fall into the hands of my enemies; and if they ask thee anything about me, do not give them any information." "My lord," replied the valet, "I will sooner die."

The earl of Flanders thus remained alone, and it may be truly said he was in the greatest danger; for it was over with him if he had at that hour, by any accident, fallen into the hands of the mob, who were going up and down the streets, searching every house for the friends of the earl; and whomsoever they found they carried before Philip von Artaveld and the other captains in the market-place, when they were instantly put to death. It was God alone who watched over him, and delivered him from this peril: for no one had ever before been in such imminent danger, as I shall presently relate. The earl inwardly bewailed his situation from street to street at this late hour, for it was a little past midnight, and he dared not enter any house, lest he should be seized by the mobs of Ghent and Bruges. Thus, as he was rambling through the streets, he at last entered the house of a poor woman, a very unfit habitation for such a lord, as there were neither halls nor apartments, but a small house, dirty and smoky, and as black as jet: there was only in this place one poor chamber, over which was a sort of garret that was entered by means of a ladder of seven steps, where, on a miserable bed, the children of this woman lay.

The earl entered this house with fear and trembling, and said to the woman, who was also much frightened,—"Woman, save me: I am thy lord, the earl of Flanders; but at this moment I must hide myself, for my enemies are in pursuit of me; and I will handsomely reward thee for the favour thou showest me." The poor woman knew him well, for she had frequently received alms at his door; and had often seen him pass and repass, when he was going to some amusement, or hunting. She was ready with her answers, in which God assisted the earl: for had she delayed it ever so little, they would have found him in conversation with her by the fire-side. "My lord, mount this ladder, and get under the bed in which my children sleep." This he did, while she employed herself by the fire-side, with another child in a cradle.

The earl of Flanders mounted the ladder as quickly as he could, and, getting between the

straw and the coverlid, hid himself, and contracted his body into as little space as possible. He had scarcely done so, when some of the mob of Ghent entered the house; for one of them had said, he had seen a man go in there. They found this woman sitting by the fire, nursing her child, of whom they demanded, "Woman, where is the man we saw enter this house, and shut the door after him?" "By my troth," replied she, "I have not seen any one enter here this night; but I have just been at the door to throw out some water, which I then shut after me; besides, I have not any place to hide him in, for you see the whole of this house; here is my bed, and my children sleep overhead." Upon this one of them took a candle, and mounted the ladder, and, thrusting his head into the place, saw nothing but the wretched bed in which the children were asleep. He looked all about him, above and below, and then said to his companions, "Come, come, let us go: we only lose our time here: the poor woman speaks truth: there is not a soul but herself and her children." On saying this, they left the house and went into another quarter; and no one afterwards entered it, who had bad intentions.

The earl of Flanders, hearing all this conversation as he lay hid, you may easily imagine, was in the greatest fear of his life. In the morning he could have said he was one of the most powerful princes in Christendom, and that same night he felt himself one of the smallest. One may truly say, that the fortunes of this world are not stable. It was fortunate for him to save his life; and this miraculous escape ought to be to him a remembrance his whole lifetime.

We will now leave the earl of Flanders, and speak of Bruges, and how the Ghent men prospered.

CHAPTER XCVIII.—THE GHENT MEN SPARE THE FOREIGN MERCHANTS IN BRUGES.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS QUITS BRUGES, AND RETURNS TO LILLE, WHITHER SOME OF HIS PEOPLE HAD ALREADY RETREATED.

Francis Atremen was one of the principal leaders of the mob. He was ordered by Philip von Artaveld and Peter du Bois, to search the town of Bruges, and guard the market-place, until they should find themselves complete masters of the town. He was particularly commanded to suffer no harm to be done to foreign merchants, or other strangers then at Bruges, for they had nothing to do with their quarrels. This order was very well observed, and neither Francis nor any of his company did the smallest hurt to a foreigner. The search of the Ghent men was especially directed to the four trades, of jerkin-makers, glassmen, butchers, and fishermen; for they had resolved to put to death all whom they should find of these different trades, because they had been partisans of the earl of Flanders at Oudenarde, and other places. They sought for them everywhere, and when they found any, they were killed without mercy. There were upwards of twelve hundred, one with the other, slain this night; and many murders and robberies committed, which were never known: several houses robbed, and women and girls violated; coffers broken open, and a variety of wicked deeds done; insomuch, that the poorest of the Ghent army became very rich.

On the Monday morning the happy news, of the defeat of the earl and his army, was brought to Ghent; that their men had not only conquered them, but also the town of Bruges, of which they were now masters. You may guess the joy the people felt, who had been so lately in the greatest tribulation: they made many processions to the church to return thanksgivings to God for the mercy he had shown them, and for the victory he had given to their army. Every day there came good news, which so much delighted them, they hardly knew what they were about. I mention this; for had the lord de Harzelles, who had remained in Ghent, marched that Sunday, or the Monday morning, with three or four thousand men to Oudenarde, he would instantly have conquered it: they were in such consternation at the success of the Ghent men, that they were on the point of quitting the town, to save themselves in Hainault, or elsewhere, and had made preparations for so doing. But when they perceived the Ghent people did not come, nor had any intelligence respecting them, they recovered their courage. The knights who were there, such as sir John Bernage,

sir Thierry du Ban, and sir Fleuriant de Heurlée, guarded and comforted them until the arrival of sir Damos de Haluin, who was sent thither by the earl, as I shall relate when I come to that period.

No people ever behaved themselves better towards their enemies than the men of Ghent did to those of Bruges, nor conducted themselves more graciously to a conquered town: they did no harm to any of the small tradesmen unless there were very strong accusations against them. When Philip von Artaveld, Peter du Bois and the other captains saw they were completely masters of the place, they issued out a proclamation in their name for all persons to retire to their houses, and that no one should break open or pillage any house, nor be any way instrumental in raising of riots, under pain of death.

They then inquired what had become of the earl: some said, he had left the town on Saturday night: others that he was yet in Bruges, but so closely hid that he could not be found. The captains of the Ghent army paid no great attention to him; for they were so rejoiced at their victory that they thought nothing of any earl, baron or knight in Flanders, and looked on themselves as so mighty that all the world must obey them. Philip von Artaveld and Peter du Bois considered, that when they had quitted Ghent they had left it destitute of all provision, for there was neither corn nor wine in the town: they instantly detached a large party to Damme and Sluys to gain those towns, and the provisions which were in them, in order to supply their fellow-citizens in Ghent. On the detachment arriving at Damme, the gates were thrown open, and the town with all in it surrendered. They ordered out of the fine cellars the wines of Poitou, Gascony, and la Rochelle, and from other distant countries, to the amount of six thousand tuns, which they loaded on carriages and sent by land to Ghent, and also by boats on the river Lis.

They then marched on to Sluys, which instantly submitted to them and opened its gates. They found there great quantities of casks of corn and flour, in ships and in the storehouses of foreign merchants, and having paid for the whole, sent it by land and water to Ghent. Thus was Ghent delivered from famine, through the mercy of God. It could not have happened otherwise, and well ought the Ghent men to remember it; for that God assisted them is very clear, when five thousand famished men defeated forty thousand, even before their own doors. They and their leaders ought to have humbled themselves; however they did not, but rather increased their pride, insomuch that God was angered with them, and punished their folly before the year was expired, as shall be related in the course of this history, for an example to the rest of the world.

I was informed, and believe my authority good, that on the Sunday evening, when it was dark, the earl of Flanders escaped from Bruges. I am ignorant how he accomplished it, or if he had any assistance, but some I believe he must have had. He got out of the town on foot, clad in a miserable jerkin, and when in the fields was quite joyous, as he might then say he had escaped from the utmost peril. He wandered about at first, and came to a thorn bush, to consider whither he should go: for he was unacquainted with the roads or country, having never before travelled on foot. As he lay thus hid under the bush, he heard some one talk, who by accident was one of his knights, that had married a bastard daughter of his: his name was sir Robert Mareschaut. The earl, hearing him talk as he was passing, said to him, "Robert, art thou there?" The knight, who well knew his voice, replied, "My lord, you have this day given me great uneasiness in seeking for you all round Bruges: how were you able to escape?" "Come, come, Robert," said the earl: "this is not a time to tell one's adventures: endeavour to get me a horse, for I am tired with walking, and take the road to Lille, if thou knowest it." "My lord," answered the knight, "I know it well." They then travelled all that night and the morrow until early morn, before they could procure a horse. The first beast they could find was a mare, belonging to a poor man in a village. The earl mounted the mare, without saddle or bridle, and travelling all Monday, came, towards evening, to the castle of Lille, whither the greater part of his knights who had escaped from the battle of Bruges had retired. They had got off as well as they could; some on foot, others on horseback, but all did not follow this road: some went by water to Holland and Zealand, where they remained until they received better news.

Sir Guy de Guistelles was fortunate in getting into a good situation; for he found the count Guy de Blois in one of his towns in Zealand, who handsomely entertained him, and gave him wherewithal to remount and equip himself again, retaining him with him as long as he chose to stay. In a similar manner were the discomfited knights remounted by those lords to whom they had fled: they took great compassion on them, which was but justice, for nobles and gentlemen ought to be assisted and comforted by each other.

CHAPTER XCIX.—THE CONDUCT OF THE GHENT MEN AT BRUGES.—ALL THE TOWNS IN FLANDERS SURRENDER TO THEM EXCEPT OUDENARDE.

News was spread through all countries of the defeat which the earl of Flanders and the city of Bruges had suffered from Ghent. Many were rejoiced at it, more particularly the common people. Those in the principal towns of Brabant and the bishoprick of Liege were so much connected with them that they were the more pleased, as it was partly their own concern. Those of Paris and Rouen were equally delighted, though they dared not show it openly. When pope Clement heard the news, he mused awhile and then said, that this defeat was a rod from God, to make the earl take warning, and that he had sent him this affliction, because he had rebelled against him. Several great lords in France, and other countries said, the earl was not much to be pitied if he suffered a little; for his presumption was such, that he never valued nor loved any neighbouring lord, however great, neither king of France nor other, if not agreeable to him; on which account they felt the less for his distresses. Thus it falls out; and as the proverb says, "On him to whom misfortune happens, every one turns his back."

The town of Louvain, in particular, showed great joy at the victory of Ghent, and the misfortunes of the earl; for they were quarrelling with the duke of Brabant, their lord, who was inclined to make war on them, and pull down their gates; but they thought he would do better to remain quiet. They publicly said in the town of Louvain, that if Ghent were as near to them as Brussels, they would be closely united. All these speeches were carried to the duke and duchess of Brabant; but it behoved them to shut their eyes and ears, for it was not the moment to notice them.

The Ghent men, during their residence at Bruges, made many innovations. They resolved to level two gates and the walls, and to fill up the ditches with them, that the inhabitants might be disabled from rebelling. They also determined, when they marched away, to take with them five hundred of the principal citizens to Ghent, to keep the town in greater fear and subjection. Whilst the leaders were thus employed in destroying the gates and walls, and filling the ditches, they sent detachments to Ypres, Courtray, Bergues, Cassel, Poperingue, Bourbourg, and to all the towns and castles, in Flanders, on the sea-coast, and dependent on Bruges, to place them under their obedience, and to bring or send the keys of the castles and towns, as a token of their submission. All obeyed; for none dared to oppose them: and, according to the summons, they waited on Philip von Artaveld, and Peter du Bois at Bruges. These two styled themselves commanders in chief in their proclamations; but particularly Philip von Artaveld, who took the lead in the government of Flanders, and, during his residence at Bruges, kept the state of a prince. He had his minstrels daily to play before him at his dinners and suppers; and was served on plate, as if he had been earl of Flanders. Indeed he might well live in this magnificent manner, for he had possessed himself of all the plate, both gold and silver, that had belonged to the earl, as well as the jewels and furniture of his apartments, found in his palace at Bruges, whence nothing had been saved.

A detachment of the Ghent men was sent to Marle, a handsome house belonging to the earl, situated half a league from Bruges, where they committed all sorts of outrages. They destroyed the house, and broke the font at which the earl had been baptised; and, having laden on carts every thing that was precious, of gold, silver or jewels, sent them to Ghent. During a whole fortnight, there were upwards of two hundred carts daily going and returning from Bruges to Ghent with the immense pillage which Philip von Artaveld and the

Ghent men had made by this conquest of Bruges; the value of which was so great, that it was difficult to estimate its worth.

When the Ghent men had done every thing they willed to the city of Bruges, they sent to Ghent five hundred of its principal citizens, to remain there as hostages. Francis Atremen and Peter le Nuitre, escorted them with a thousand of their men. Peter du Bois remained governor of Bruges, until the walls, gates and ditches, were completely levelled. Then Philip von Artaveld departed, taking the road towards Ypres; where, on his arrival, he was met by all manner of persons, and received with as much honour as if he were their natural lord, who had come, for the first time, to view his inheritance. All submitted to his obedience. He renewed the powers of the mayor and sheriffs, and established new laws. Then came those of the castlewicks, beyond Ypres, Cassel, Bergues, Bourbourg, Furnes, Poperingue, who submitted to him, and swore allegiance and homage, as to their lord, the earl of Flanders.

When he had fully assured himself of their submission, and had remained eight days at Ypres, he departed, and went to Courtray, where he was received with great joy. He continued there five days, and sent his summons to the town of Oudenarde, ordering the citizens to come and submit themselves to him; for they risked much, seeing the whole country had turned to Ghent, while they alone remained behind. The messengers also told them plainly, that if they did not do as the others had done, they might depend on having the town instantly besieged; and that the siege would not be broken up until it were conquered, and all put to the sword. When this summons was brought to Oudenarde, the governor, sir Damos de Halluin, was absent, and only the three knights before mentioned in the place. They replied, with warmth, "That they were not to be frightened by the menaces of the son of a brewer of metheglin; and that they would not, and could not, surrender, or any way diminish, the inheritance of their lord, the earl of Flanders, but would guard and defend it with their lives." This was the answer the messengers carried back to Courtray.

CHAPTER C.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD, ON HIS RETURN TO GHENT, LIVES IN GREAT POMP. —THE EARL OF FLANDERS RESIDES IN LILLE.

When Philip heard from the garrison of Oudenarde, that they neither cared for him nor for his menaces, he swore, that whatever it might cost the country of Flanders, he would not attend to any thing until he had taken and razed to the ground the town of Oudenarde. He was greatly enraged, and thought he might easily accomplish his threats; for all Flanders was inclined to serve him. After a residence of six days at Courtray, where he renewed the laws, and received the homage and allegiance of every one, just as if he had been earl of Flanders, he returned to Ghent. There came out a grand procession to meet him, and with such joy that the earl, their lord, was never received so honourably. The people adored him as if he had been their god, because, through his advice, their town enjoyed such power and wealth. It is impossible to tell the vast quantities of valuables which came thither by land and water from Bruges, Damme and Sluys. The bread, which three weeks before was sold for an old groat, was now not worth more than four farthings. The wine which was at twenty-four groats, was now sold for two. All things were much cheaper at Ghent than at Tournay or Valenciennes.

Philip von Artaveld, like a great prince, kept a magnificent establishment of horses, and was as grand in his hôtel, as the earl of Flanders was at Lille. He had his officers throughout Flanders, such as bailiffs, governors, receivers and serjeants, who every week brought considerable sums to Ghent, where he kept his state, and was clothed in scarlet robes lined with furs, like the duke of Brabant or earl of Hainault. He had also his exchequer-chamber, where the money was paid, like to the earl; and he gave dinners and suppers to the ladies and damsels of Ghent, as the earl used to do; and, like him, was not more sparing of his

money where his pleasures were concerned. When he wrote, he signed himself Philip von Artaveld, regent of Flanders*.

During this time, the earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, had reason to be thoughtful, seeing that his country was more than ever in rebellion against him, and that from himself alone he had not any hopes of recovering it; for all the towns were so much connected with each other that they could never be separated but by a very superior force. The whole country no more spoke of him, nor acknowledged him for their lord, than if he had never existed. He now remembered his connection with the duke of Burgundy, who had married the lady Margaret his daughter, by whom he had two fine children. He said he was happy king Charles was dead, and that there was a young king in France under the guardianship of his uncle the duke of Burgundy, who would manage and govern him according to his inclinations. "It will be therefore natural for the king of France, as I should suppose, to be enraged against my rebellious subjects; for he has good inclinations, and is desirous of signalising himself in arms. The duke of Burgundy will easily induce him to do so, when he explains to him their insolent pride, and that he is bound to assist his vassals when their subjects rebel."

But some imagine the king would not have interfered in the matter, if it had not been for the intrigues of the duke of Burgundy; for, if nothing had been done, he would have annexed Flanders to the crown of France by some means or other; for the earl of Flanders was not enough in his favour to induce him to exert himself in his aid. We will, however drop at present this subject until the proper time come, and speak of the earl of Flanders' conduct in Lille.

After his late great discomfiture before Bruges, he learnt that sir Thierri du Ban, sir Fleuriant du Heurlée and sir John Bernage, had entered Oudenarde, and kept possession of it during all the events which had followed the defeat at Bruges. He well knew that these knights were not in sufficient strength to oppose the force of Flanders, if they should lay siege to it, as it was expected they would instantly do. In order to reinforce and victual it, he called to him a knight, named sir Daniel de Haluyn†, and said to him, "Daniel, you will go to the town of Oudenarde: I appoint you its governor, and you shall take with you one hundred and fifty lances, good men at arms, one hundred cross-bows, and two hundred lusty varlets with pikes and shields. You will be careful of the garrison, for I give it loyally into your charge; and hasten to victual it with corn, oats, salted meats, and wines from our good friends and neighbours in the town of Tournay, who I trust will not fail us in this urgent necessity." "My lord," replied the knight, "your orders shall be obeyed; and I accept the guard of the town of Oudenarde, since it pleases you to command me. No accident shall happen to it through any fault of mine." "Daniel," said the earl, "you comfort me much by what you say."

Upon this, sir Daniel de Haluyn took leave of the earl and went to Oudenarde, which he reinforced with good men at arms, victualled it again, and made every other necessary preparation.

CHAPTER CI.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD AND THE GHENT MEN LAY SIEGE TO OUDENARDE.

PHILIP, who resided in Ghent, hearing that the garrison of Oudenarde had been reinforced with men at arms, said he would provide a remedy, for such things were not to be suffered: it was a disgrace to all Flanders that that town should continue thus disobedient. He declared he would lay siege to it, and never march away until he had destroyed it, and put to death all who should be found within, knights and others. He issued his summons

* "Regent of Flanders." In the original this stands, "*Regard* de Flandres," which D. Sauvage, on the authority of the fragment he distinguishes by the name of *Sala*, proposes to alter to Regent. Lord Berners' translation "the *overlooker* of Flanders" is probably a more correct interpretation of the title, than regent, which is only applicable to a governor acting as a deputy, reigning for another, whereas Von Artaveld now admitted no superior.—ED.

† "Daniel de Haluyn." This must be the person whom he before calls Damos, and Damaux de Haluin.

through Flanders, for every one to be ready prepared before Oudenarde on the 9th day of June. None dared disobey this summons: those in the principal towns of Flanders, of the Franconate and of Bruges, made themselves ready, and came before Oudenarde, where they extended themselves in the fields, meadows and marshes thereabouts. Philip, by whose orders every thing was done, lived in great state before Oudenarde. During this time, he laid a tax throughout Flanders of four groats on every fire, which were to be paid weekly, by all persons indiscriminately. Philip gained large sums by this tax, for no one was exempted. He had his serjeants in all parts of the country, who made both rich and poor pay it, whether they would or not.

It was said there were upwards of a hundred thousand men at this siege of Oudenarde. The Flemings drove into the river Scheld large stakes, so that no vessels could come from Tournay to Oudenarde, whilst they had in their army plenty of every thing necessary. They had halls for cloth, furs and merceries: every Saturday was the market, to which were brought from the adjacent villages all sorts of groceries, fruits, butter, milk, cheese, poultry, and other things. In their army there were taverns as plenty as at Brussels, where Rhenish wines, and those of France, Galrigaches*, Malmseys and other foreign wines were sold cheap. Every one might go thither, and pass and repass, without peril; that is to say, those of Brabant, Hainault, Germany and of Liege, but not those of France.

When sir Daniel de Haluyn entered Oudenarde, he laid in all his preparations of stores and provision, which were equally divided among the garrison, each according to a fixed ration. All the horses were sent away, and the houses near the walls pulled down, and covered with earth, to guard against the cannon, of which the enemy had abundance. The women and children who remained (for many were sent away) were lodged in the churches and monasteries. No dog was left in the town, but all were killed and thrown into the river. The garrison made many gallant sallies, both mornings and evenings, doing great execution to the army. There were among others two squires from Artois, brothers, called Lambert and Tristan de Lambres, who frequently performed very gallant deeds of arms, bringing back with them provisions from the enemy, whether they would or not, and even prisoners.

Thus they remained the whole summer. It was the intention of Philip and his council to continue until they should starve them out; for it would cost them too many men were they to attempt to carry it by storm. They with much labour placed on the hill of Oudenarde a prodigiously great engine, twenty feet wide and forty long, which they called a Mutton, to cast heavy stones and beams of timber into the town, and crush every thing they should fall on. They had also, the more to alarm the garrison, fired a bombard of a very great size, which was fifty feet in length, and shot stones of an immense weight. When they fired off this bombard, it might be heard five leagues off in the day-time, and ten at night. The report of it was so loud, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had broken loose.

The Ghent men made likewise another engine, which they pointed against the town, to cast large bars of hot copper. With such machines, as cannons, bombards, sows and muttons, did the Ghent army labour to annoy the garrison of Oudenarde. They, however, comforted each other as well as they could, and defended themselves against these attacks. They made sallies three or four times a week, in which they gained more honour than disgrace, and also more profit than loss.

CHAPTER CII.—A DETACHMENT OF THE GHENT ARMY FROM BEFORE OUDENARDE, IN OVERRUNNING THE LANDS OF THEIR LORD, BURN SOME VILLAGES ON THE FRONTIERS OF FRANCE, WHICH CAUSES A WAR BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND THEM.

WHILST the siege of Oudenarde was going forward, eleven hundred men left the army, with a determination to scour the country, and to ruin and destroy the houses of those knights who, having quitted Flanders, had established themselves, with their wives and

* "Galrigaches,"—a sort of strong white wine, or liqueur.

families, in Hainault, Brabant, and in Artois. They accomplished their purpose; for this detachment committed great damage throughout Flanders, not leaving any house of a gentleman unburnt, or standing. They then came again to Marle, the house of the earl, and completely destroyed it. They found there the cradle in which he had been nursed, and the bathing tub in which he had been washed, both of which they entirely demolished. They pulled down the chapel, carrying away with them the bell to Bruges, where they met Peter du Bois, and Peter le Nuitre, who entertained them well, and told them they had performed good services. When these men had refreshed themselves, they took the road to the bridge of Warneston, crossed the river Lis, and came before Lille, where they destroyed some windmills and set fire to other villages of Flanders. Upwards of four thousand of the inhabitants of Lille armed themselves, and sallied out on horseback and on foot, after these marauders, whom they soon overtook, slew many and seized others, who had afterwards their heads struck off in Lille; but, had they been well pursued, not one of them would have escaped. Notwithstanding this check, the detachment from the Ghent army entered the country of Tournay, where they did much mischief, and burnt the town of Sechlin, and some of the adjacent villages which belong to the kingdom of France. They then returned with a very considerable booty, to the siege of Oudenarde.

News was carried to the duke of Burgundy, at Bapaume in Artois, how the Ghent men had pillaged and burnt some villages in France. He instantly wrote an account of it to his sovereign, who at that time was at Compiegne, as well as to his brother the duke of Berry, to the duke of Bourbon, and to the king's council, that they might consider of it. The duke of Burgundy wished not the Flemings to have acted otherwise; for he thought it would be now necessary to call on the king for aid, otherwise his father-in-law, the earl of Flanders, would never regain his inheritance; besides, on every account, this war exasperated him most exceedingly, for he was, in right of his wife, the heir of Flanders.

The earl of Flanders resided at this moment at Hêdin. He there learnt that the Ghent men had destroyed his house at Marle, through spite to him, even the chamber wherein he was born, and had broken the font wherein he had been baptised, with the cradle of his childhood, which was of silver. The bathing tub wherein he had been washed was beaten to pieces and carried away. All this vexed him exceedingly. Whilst at Hêdin he thought of different plans: for he saw his country had turned against him, except Dendremonde and Oudenarde, and no succour to be looked for, but from France. Having weighed well all circumstances, he resolved to visit his son the duke of Burgundy, who lived at Bapaume, and explain to him his situation. He departed from Hêdin and went to Arras, where he reposed himself two days. On the morrow he came to Bapaume, and dismounted at the hôtel of the counts of Artois, which was now his own; for, by the death of his lady-mother, he was count of Artois. The duke of Burgundy took much compassion on him, and comforted him kindly, when he had heard his complaints, saying, "My lord, by the faith I owe to you, and to the king, I will not attend to anything but the recovery of your country. You shall be repossessed, or we will lose the remainder; for it is not to be suffered that such a set of scoundrels as are now in Flanders should govern that country, as in that case all knighthood and gentility may be destroyed and pulled down, and consequently all Christianity."

The earl of Flanders was much consoled by the duke engaging to assist him. He took leave of him, and went to the city of Arras. At this time, he held in prison upwards of two hundred persons from the chief towns in Flanders, who had only bread and water for food; and every day they were threatened to lose their heads. When the earl returned to Arras, he gave them all their liberties, in honour of God and the Virgin; for he found, from what had passed in Flanders after their imprisonment, that they were not any way to blame. He made them all swear to be true and loyal to him, and then gave them money to carry them to Lille or Douay, or wherever else they pleased. The earl gained much popularity by this measure. He then left Arras, and returned to Hêdin.

CHAPTER CIII.—THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY INSTIGATES HIS NEPHEW KING CHARLES TO MAKE WAR ON GHENT AND ITS ALLIES, AS WELL IN REVENGE FOR THE BURNT VILLAGES AS TO ASSIST IN THE RECOVERY OF FLANDERS FOR THE EARL, WHO WAS HIS VASSAL.

THE duke of Burgundy was not forgetful of the engagements he had entered into with his lord and father the earl of Flanders. He set out from Bapaume attended by sir Guy de la Trimouille and sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, who were very desirous the earl should be assisted. These two were the principal persons of his council. They continued their journey until they arrived at Senlis, where the king was with his two uncles of Berry and Bourbon. He was received with joy, and then was asked what was the news in Flanders, and how the siege of Oudenarde was going on. The duke of Burgundy made very prudent replies to these first questions of the king and his uncles; but when he found an opportunity, he drew his brother the duke of Berry aside, and explained to him how the Ghent men, in the insolence of their pride, were endeavouring to be masters everywhere, and to destroy all gentlemen; that they had already burnt and pillaged part of the kingdom of France, which was much to the prejudice and dishonour of the realm, and ought not to be patiently borne.

"Fair brother," said the duke of Berry, "we will talk to the king on this subject: you and I are the principal of his council. The king being made a party, no one will attempt to thwart our inclinations in fomenting a war between France and Flanders, which have hitherto been at peace with each other: it will be proper we give some good reasons for it, and that the barons of France be of our opinion; otherwise we may be blamed and the fault thrown on us; for the king is young, and every one knows that he will do whatever we shall tell him or advise him. If it turn out successful, it will be passed over; but, should it be otherwise, we shall be charged with it, and much more blamed, and with reason, than any of the other counsellors. Every one will say, 'See how badly the king's uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, have advised the king; they have engaged the nation in a war in which it had nothing to do.' I therefore say, my fair lord, that we must assemble the greater part of the prelates and nobles of the kingdom of France, and lay before them, in the presence of the king, who is personally interested in this business, all the events which bear any relation to the inheritance of Flanders: we shall then soon see what is the general wish of France."

The duke of Burgundy replied, "You say well, my fair brother, and what you have advised shall be done." At these words, the king entered the apartments where his uncles were, with a falcon on his wrist: he was struck with the duke's last words, and said with much good humour, "What were you speaking of, my fair uncles, at this moment with so much earnestness? I should like to hear it, if it be proper for me to know." "Yes, my lord," answered the duke of Berry; "for what we were discussing personally concerns you. Your uncle, my brother of Burgundy, has just been complaining to me of the Flemings: those villains of Flanders have driven the earl their lord out of his country, and all the gentlemen. They are now, to the amount of a hundred thousand men, besieging Oudenarde, under a captain called Philip von Artaveld, an Englishman for courage, who has sworn he will never break up the siege until he has had his will on those of the town, unless you shall force him to it. This reservation he has made. Now, what do you say to this? will you assist your cousin of Flanders to regain his inheritance, of which peasants, in their pride and cruelty, have deprived him?" "By my faith, my dear uncles," replied the king, "I have a very great inclination so to do, and in God's name let us march thither. I wish for nothing more than to try my strength in arms, for never hitherto have I had armour on. It is necessary, therefore, if I wish to reign with honour and glory, that I learn the art of war."

The two dukes, looking at each other, were much delighted with what the king had said; and the duke of Berry added,—"My lord, you have very properly spoken, and you are bound to do what you say; for the country of Flanders is a dependance on the domain of France; and you have sworn, and we also for you, that you will support in their rights your

vassals and liege men: the earl is also your cousin, you therefore owe him affection. Now, since you are in such good inclinations, do not change them, but say the same to all who shall speak to you on this subject; for we will assemble in haste the prelates and barons of your realm, and in your presence lay before them this business. Do you speak your mind then, as clearly and as loudly as you have done to us, and they all will say we have an enterprising and well-intentioned king." "On my faith, my fair uncle, I wish every thing were ready for us to march thither to-morrow; for from henceforward the greatest pleasure I shall have will be to abase the pride of these Flemings." The two dukes were well pleased at hearing the king thus speak out. The duke of Bourbon now came, having been sent for by them; and they related to him all you have heard, and how eager the king was to march to Flanders, with which he was much pleased.

Things remained in this state. The king and his uncles wrote letters to all the lords of the council, ordering them to come to Compiegne on a certain day, when there would be a council held on the affairs of the realm. Every one obeyed, as was right; but the king was so much rejoiced at what he had heard, and so much occupied was his mind with this subject, that nothing could put it out of his head. He frequently said, "The council would be too tedious to accomplish the business well;" adding, that "when any one wishes to perform an enterprise successfully, deliberations should not be too long; for at last the enemy gains information of it." He also said, when they laid before him the dangers that might happen, "Yes, yes; nothing venture, nothing gain." In this manner did the young king of France converse with the knights and squires of his chamber. I will now relate to you a dream which he had at this time at Senlis; and from which he took a flying hart for his emblem, as I was then informed

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CHAPTER CIV.—CHARLES THE SIXTH, KING OF FRANCE, FROM A DREAM, CHOOSES A FLYING HART FOR HIS DEVICE.

It happened that during the residence of the young king Charles at Senlis, as he was sleeping in his bed a vision appeared to him. He thought he was in the city of Arras, where, until then, he had never been, attended by all the flower of knighthood of his kingdom, that the earl of Flanders came there to him, and placed on his wrist a most beautiful and elegant pilgrim-falcon, saying, "My lord, in God's name, I give this falcon to you, for the best that was ever seen, the most indefatigable hunter, and the most excellent striker of birds." The king was much pleased with the present, and said, "Fair cousin, I give you my thanks." He then thought he turned to the constable of France who was near him, and said, "Sir Oliver, let you and I go to the plains, and try this elegant falcon which my cousin of Flanders has given me." When the constable answered, "Well, let us go." Then each mounted their horses, and went into the fields, taking the falcon with them, where they found plenty of herons to fly him at. The king said, "Constable, cast off the falcon, and we shall see how he will hunt." The constable let him fly, and the falcon mounted so high in the air, they could scarcely see him: he took the direction towards Flanders. "Let us ride after my bird," said the king to the constable: "for I will not lose him." The constable assented, and they rode on, as it appeared to the king, through a large marsh, when they came to a wood, on which the king cried out, "Dismount, dismount: we cannot pass this wood on horseback." They then dismounted, when some servants came and took their horses. The king and the constable entered the wood with much difficulty, and walked on until they came to an extensive heath, where they saw the falcon chasing herons, and striking them down; but they resisted, and there was a battle between them. It seemed to the king that his falcon performed gallantly, and drove the birds before him so far, that he lost sight of him. This much vexed the king, as well as the impossibility of following him; and he said to the constable, "I shall lose my falcon, which I shall very much regret; for I have neither lure, nor any thing else to call him back." Whilst the king was in this anxiety, he thought a beautiful hart, with two wings, appeared to issue out of the wood, and come to this heath and bend himself down before the king, who said to the

constable, as he regarded this wonder with delight, "Constable, do you remain here, and I will mount this hart that offers himself to me, and follow my bird." The constable agreed to it, and the young king joyfully mounted the hart, and went seeking the falcon. The hart, like one well tutored to obey the king's pleasure, carried him over the tops of the highest trees, when he saw his falcon striking down such numbers of birds, that he marvelled how he could do it. It seemed to the king that when the falcon had sufficiently flown, and struck down enough of the herons, he called him back, and instantly, as if well taught, he perched on the king's wrist, when it seemed to him, that after he had taken the falcon by its lure, and given him his reward, the hart flew back again over the wood, and replaced the king on the same heath whence he had carried him, and where the constable was waiting, who was much rejoiced at his return. On his arrival he dismounted: the hart returned to the wood, and was no more seen. The king then, as he imagined, related to the constable how well the hart had carried him: that he had never rode so easy before in his life; and also the goodness of his falcon, who had struck down such numbers of birds: to all which the constable willingly listened. The servants then seemed to come after them with their horses, which, having mounted, they followed a magnificent road that brought them back to Arras. The king at this part awakened, much astonished at the vision he had seen, which was so imprinted on his memory, that he told it to some of his attendants who were waiting in his chamber. The figure of this hart was so agreeable to him, that he could not put it out of his imagination; and this was the cause why, on this expedition to Flanders against the Flemings, he took a flying hart for his device.

CHAPTER CV.—DURING THE SIEGE OF OUDENARDE, THE REBELS ENTREAT KING CHARLES TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THEM AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS.—THE KING ANSWERS THEM WITH CONTEMPT.—THEY THEN ENDEAVOUR TO DRAW THE ENGLISH INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH THEM.

Philip von Artaveld, although he had been very successful at the battle of Bruges, and though fortune had smiled on him at his defeat of the earl and the citizens of Bruges, possessed not any abilities for war or sieges. When young he had not been educated for it, but in fishing with a rod in the rivers Scheld and Lis; and he clearly proved his incapacity during the siege of Oudenarde. He knew not how to take the town, and, through pride and presumption, thought that it must be his, and that the inhabitants ought to come and surrender it to him. They had no such inclination; but behaved themselves like valorous men, skirmishing frequently with these Flemings at the barriers, in which they slew many and wounded more, and then retired without loss into their town. In these sallies, Lambert de Lambres, Tristan his brother, and the lord de Lunelhein, gained great renown.

The Flemings observing that the ditches of Oudenarde were wide and full of water, and that they could not approach the place but with great peril, resolved in counsel to collect quantities of faggots and straw to fill them up to enable them to come near the walls and engage hand to hand. As it had been ordered, so it was executed; but the garrison held what they were about cheap, and said, that if there were no treason between them and the townspeople, they were not alarmed for the event of the siege. However, sir Daniel de Haluyn, the governor, to prevent any misconduct, had kept the citizens so much under command, that they had not any power whatever: and he had strictly ordered, that none of the inhabitants should dare to ascend the walls, by day or night, without being accompanied by some of the men at arms, otherwise, if found, they would risk the loss of their lives. In this manner was the siege continued. The Flemings had plenty of provision in their army, which was brought to them by sea and land, as well as down the rivers, for they were lords of the whole of Flanders. They were also near the countries of Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and a part of Hainault, the inhabitants of which, through avarice of gain, privately brought their army provision in quantities.

This Philip von Artaveld had a courage more like English than French. He would have been glad if they had adhered more to the former, and made an alliance with England; for,

should the king of France, or duke of Burgundy, march an army against them to recover the country, they would have been assisted. Philip had already in his army two hundred English archers, who had stolen away from their garrison at Calais, and were paid every week.

Philip, to put a better colour on his actions, and to know what they said of him in France, resolved to send letters from himself and from the country of Flanders, to the king of France, humbly entreating the king to take the trouble of bringing about a sound reconciliation between them and the earl their lord. He had no sooner mentioned this idea than it was executed: he wrote amicable letters to the king of France and to his council, which he ordered a messenger to carry to France and deliver to the king. The messenger said he would willingly obey, and rode on with the letters until he came to Senlis, where the king was, to whom and to his uncles he gave the letters. The king took them, and had them read in the presence of his uncles and council. After they had been read and comprehended, the auditors burst out into laughter. The messenger, because he had come into the king's presence without a passport, was ordered to be arrested and put into prison, where he remained for upwards of three weeks.

When Philip heard of this, he was very indignant, and, having summoned the captains of the army to him, he said, "You see what honour the king of France pays to us, after we have so amicably written to him, for which he detains our messenger. We certainly make too many difficulties in connecting ourselves with the English, and may suffer for it. The duke of Burgundy is now in France and governs the king just as he pleases, for he is but a child. Do you think that he will leave things in their present situation? Certainly not. Take for example our messenger, whom he has detained. It will therefore be prudent in us to send to England, as well for the general good of Flanders as to secure ourselves and alarm our enemies. "I am desirous," said Philip, "that we send thither ten or twelve of our principal men, that the knowledge of it may be carried to France, and that the king and his council may think we intend to unite ourselves with his adversary the king of England. But I do not wish such alliances to be made in a hurry, nor at all if we were not thus circumstanced; but I would that our ambassadors should demand privately of the king of England and his council the sum of two hundred thousand old crowns, which we have a just right to, and which Jacob von Artaveld, my father, and the states of Flanders, lent to the king of England when before Tournay, to pay his troops. Let them also tell the king of England, his uncles and his counsellors, that the states of Flanders in general, and the chief towns who made this loan, demand the repayment of it; and that when this shall have been done, which the king of England is obliged to perform, he and his subjects shall have free entry into Flanders for the time to come. "It is much better," added Philip, "that we make use of what is our own, than that foreigners should do so; and we never can have a better opportunity than now to get it back again, for the king and realm of England will not hesitate to gain the entry, love, and alliance of such a country as Flanders now is: besides, the English have not in the whole coast from Bordeaux to Sluys any port, except Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, to gain entrance into France. Flanders, therefore, will open her ports to them very opportunely; for Brittany, excepting Brest, is quite shut against them, and the duke of Brittany has sworn to be a true Frenchman, which, if he were not, he would so become, through love to his cousin-german the earl of Flanders."

All who heard him answered, that he had well and wisely spoken, and what he had proposed should be followed; and that whoever was of the contrary opinion was not a wellwisher to the prosperity of Flanders. Philip did not delay executing it; he wrote on this subject to Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre, governors of Bruges, and also to those of Ypres and Courtray, who agreed to his proposal. One or two citizens were chosen from the principal towns, but from Ghent six. Among the first were Francis Atremen, Rasse de la Verdelle, Louis de Vaux, sir John Stotelare, Martin Blondel-Vatre, Jacob Bernare, and a clerk who had been nominated bishop of Ghent by pope Urban. Master John d'Albret, who had been dean of the church of our Lady at Tournay, had proposed to make a bishopric of the town of Ghent, which should enjoy the profits the bishop of Tournay ought to have.

When the twelve citizens had received their full instructions as to what they were to say

and do, they took leave of their friends, departed from the siege of Oudenarde, and continued their journey until they arrived at Calais. Sir John d'Albrenes *, the governor, received them very politely, when he understood they wanted to go to England, and provided them with ships and passage-boats. They remained there only three days, when they embarked, landed at Dover, and pursued their road to London.

At the time this embassy from Flanders arrived at London, the king of England with his council, sir John Montague, sir John Burley, and sir William Beauchamp, were at Westminster, occupied in the investing sir Perducas d'Albreth, with the whole barony of Chaumont in Gascony, which had reverted to the king, for him to do with it as he pleased; and I will tell you how this happened. King Edward, in former times, had given it to sir John Chandos, who had held it as long as he lived: after his death, he had given it to sir Thomas Felton. Now sir Thomas was lately dead, and the barony had reverted to the king of England. It was improper it should long remain without a lord who would reside on the spot; for it joined the lands of the lord d'Albreth, who at that period was a loyal Frenchman. The king's council considered that sir Perducas d'Albreth, having faithfully served the kings of England, Edward, Richard, and the prince, as well as the country of the Bourdelois for upwards of thirty years, was well deserving to have this estate, which he would defend against any one.

Sir Perducas d'Albreth, on receiving the investiture of the lands of Chaumont from the hands of the king, in the presence of the nobles of England, thus addressed his majesty: "Sire, I take and receive this inheritance for myself and for my heirs, on condition that I and my heir faithfully serve you against all mankind, except against the house of Albreth; for against that whence I am sprung, I will never make war as long as my inheritance is left in peace." The king and his council replied, "In God's name be it so;" and on these terms he was invested.

I will now relate what befel this sir Perducas d'Albreth. When he was returning to Gascony to take possession of his estate, and the seneschal of Bordeaux had given him seisin of the barony, the lord d'Albreth was much rejoiced; for he knew his cousin would not make war upon him, and that the lands of Albreth and of Chaumont would remain in quiet. The lord d'Albreth showed much affection to his cousin, for he expected that after his decease he would be put in possession of such of his castles as were in the barony of Chaumont. But Perducas had not any such intentions. It chanced that he fell sick; and, when he was lying on his death-bed and saw there were no hopes of recovery, he summoned all his vassals, and calling to him a young squire and good man at arms, named Perduch †, said to him, "I transfer to thee, in the presence of my vassals, my whole estate of Chaumont. Be therefore a true Englishman, and loyal to the king of England. But I will not, that against the house of Albreth, whence we are sprung, thou shouldest ever make war, unless they commit outrages against thee." The squire cheerfully answered, "Sir, I willingly accept it on these terms." Thus was Perduch d'Albreth lord of Chaumont in Gascony. Sir Perducas died soon after, which is all I know about it.

CHAPTER CVI.—THE AMBASSADORS FROM GHENT FAIL IN FORMING AN ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND.

When these Ghent men were come to London, their arrival was soon known, and information of it carried to the king and his council, who sent to them to know what they wanted. They came in a body to the palace of Westminster, where they were met first by the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Buckingham, the earl of Salisbury, and the greater part of the council; but the king was not present at this first interview. These ambassadors having made their obeisances to the English lords, the bishop elect of Ghent spoke for them all, saying, "My lords, we are come hither by orders from the town of Ghent, and from all Flanders, to request counsel, comfort, and assistance from the king of England, on account of certain articles, and for reason of ancient alliances which subsisted between England and

* "Sir John d'Albrenes." Q. † Sala calls him "Verduret de la Breth his nephew."

Flanders. We wish to renew them, as the country of Flanders now stands in need of assistance, being at this moment without a lord. The principal towns and the country have chosen a regent*, named Philip von Artaveld, who recommends himself particularly to the king, and to you all who are of his council. He entreats you to receive this commendation in good part; for if the king shall wish to come into Flanders he will find all its ports open, and the country well disposed towards him, where he may repose and refresh himself and people as long a time as he shall please; and he may call upon Flanders for one hundred thousand men, all armed. We are also ordered to request from you the two hundred thousand old crowns† which Jacob von Artaveld, and the chief towns of Flanders, formerly lent to king Edward, of good memory, at the sieges of Tournay and of Calais, and which they now desire may be paid back. It is the intention of the principal towns in Flanders, that before anything further be done in a treaty of alliance, this sum be paid down, by which means the king of England, and all his subjects, may say they are friends to the Flemings; and they shall have free entrance, at their pleasure, into Flanders."

When the lords had heard this speech and demand, they looked at each other, and some began to smile. The duke of Lancaster, addressing them, said, "My fair lords of Flanders, what you have said requires counsel. Go and return to London, and the king will consider your requests, and send you such answers as you shall be contented with." The Ghent men replied, "God will it be so." They then quitted the council chamber, leaving the lords of the council behind, who began to laugh among themselves, and say, "Did you notice these Flemings, and hear the request they made? They ask assistance, saying, they are in very great want of it, and, besides, demand our money. It is by no means reasonable that we should pay, and assist them into the bargain." They looked on the Flemings as proud and presumptuous, in thus demanding a debt of two hundred thousand old crowns of so very ancient a date as forty years.

Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the king of France, who was eager to invade Flanders; for if the Flemings had been silent respecting these crowns, and had only requested assistance from the king of England, he would have gone in person to Flanders, or would have sent thither such a powerful force, that the Flemings who were in the field might have resisted the greatest power on the earth. But it fell out otherwise, as you will hear related in this history.

CHAPTER CVII.—THE MESSENGER WHICH THE GHENT MEN HAD SENT TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE IS DELIVERED FROM PRISON.—SOME PRISONERS FROM TOURNAY AND COURTRAY ARE EXCHANGED FOR EACH OTHER.

Intelligence was carried to the king's council in France, that Philip von Artaveld, and the country of Flanders, had sent ambassadors to England to form an alliance. And it was commonly reported, that the king of England, with a large army, was about to come this season to Flanders, and that he would fix its quarters at Ghent. This news was very probable, for it was to be supposed the Flemings would strengthen themselves by some means or other. It was then thought proper to liberate the messenger of Philip. Indeed, to say the truth, they had not any right to imprison him. He was therefore set at liberty, and sent to Oudenarde, where the army lay.

At this time the citizens of Bruges had seized and imprisoned some from Tournay. The Flemings showed by this that they were indifferent as to war or peace with the French. Those of Tournay, in return, captured some citizens of Courtray, whom they carried away prisoners to their town. Thus was the hatred increased between the men of Tournay and the Flemings. The lords of Tournay, however, who wished not to make war on the Flemings, their neighbours, on their own account, without receiving orders from the king of France, resolved to send two of their citizens to Philip von Artaveld to make up matters between them, so that they might recover their townsmen who were prisoners, and render back, in

* "*Regard.*" See p. 709. † "Old crowns,"—each worth seven shillings and twopence.—*Cotgrave.*

exchange those whom they had taken. John Bon Enfant and John Picard were chosen to go on this business. They went to the siege before Oudenarde, and spoke with Philip, who, in honour of the city of Tournay, and not out of any respect to the king of France, as he told them, received them very amicably: for the king had not used him nor the country of Flanders well, when he had imprisoned a messenger whom he had sent to him on friendly terms.

"Sir," replied the two citizens, "you have received back your messenger." "That is true," said Philip; "but it was more through fear than otherwise. "Now tell me," added Philip, "what business has brought you hither?" "Sir," answered the citizens, "it is to have back our townsmen who are imprisoned at Bruges." "Ha," replied Philip, "if they are detained, you have also imprisoned some from Courtray. You must not lose anything for this journey, so do you return our men, and you shall have yours." The men from Tournay answered, "You say well, and we will cheerfully consent to it." The agreement was instantly made, and Philip von Artaveld wrote to Peter du Bois and to Peter le Nuitre, who resided in Bruges, to deliver up the citizens of Tournay whom they had thrown into prison; and that they would have in exchange those who had been detained from Courtray; for he declared the city of Tournay had written to request it.

When they took their leave, Philip thus spoke to them. "Gentlemen, mind my words: I do not wish to betray you; you are from the town of Tournay, which is a dependance on the king of France, with whom we will not enter into any treaty, until Dendremonde and Oudenarde shall be surrendered to us. Do not therefore come hither again, for those who do will be detained. Advise your countrymen and merchants not to pass through Flanders; for we well know, that the king of France, your lord, will make war on us, for which we are prepared."

These citizens of Tournay, after having heard this speech, returned to Tournay to relate all that had passed. A proclamation was made, that no one should have any intercourse or dealings with the Flemings, without incurring the indignation of the king. The citizens of Tournay, who had been imprisoned at Bruges, returned; and those from Courtray were sent back. They dared not deal openly with the Flemings; but, when they wanted any merchandise from Flanders, they applied to Valenciennes; for those of Brabant, Holland, Hainault, Zealand, and Liege, might travel and carry on their commerce through all Flanders with perfect security.

The siege of Oudenarde still went on in the same manner. Philip and his Ghent men were encamped on the hill of Oudenarde, on the side of Hainault, where they had planted bombards, cannons, and large machines, which made such a noise when fired that they could be heard upwards of six leagues. Near them, but below, on the banks of the Scheld, were encamped those from Bruges, as you ascend the river by the gate of Bruges. Those of Poperingue, Ypres, Cassel, and the Franconate, were quartered near them, so that they surrounded the town completely.

Oudenarde being thus surrounded, the Flemings thought they should starve those within it; but the garrison made frequent sallies, in which sometimes they gained the advantage, and at others lost it, as in such cases must happen. However, there were not any attempts made to storm it. Philip would not rashly risk the lives of his men, and said he would have it otherwise than by storm; and that it could not hold out much longer, since there was not a possibility of its being reinforced. A bird could scarcely fly into Oudenarde without being seen by the besieging army, so completely was it invested on all sides.

CHAPTER CVIII.—KING CHARLES ORDERS COMMISSIONERS TO ENTER INTO CERTAIN TREATIES WITH THE FLEMINGS.—THEIR MESSENGERS ARE IMPRISONED AT THE MOMENT THEY DEMANDED PASSPORTS.

We will now return to the king of France. His uncles and council thought it prudent to send to Tournay some knights and prelates of the realm to treat with the Flemings, and to learn more clearly their intentions. They therefore ordered sir Milles de Dormans bishop of Beauvais, the bishop of Auxerre, the bishop of Laon, sir Guy de Harcourt, and sir Tristan du Bois, to Tournay as commissioners from the king of France, where they found John Bon

Enfant and John Picard, just returned from the siege of Oudenarde. They told these commissioners that Philip von Artaveld had declared to them, on taking leave, that the Flemings would never enter into any treaty until Oudenarde and Dendremonde were in their power. "Well," replied the commissioners, "Philip, with all his pride and presumption, of which he has enough, is not master of all the great towns in Flanders. We will therefore write to Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and send to each town letters by a messenger. We must enter on this business by some means or others.

The commissioners wrote letters to the three principal towns in Flanders, and directed them to Philip von Artaveld as the chief leader. These letters contained as follows: "To Philip von Artaveld and his companions, and to the good people of the three towns of Flanders and the Franconate of Bruges. May it please you to know, that the king of France has sent us hither with the good intentions of establishing a peace, as lord paramount, between the noble lord of Flanders, his cousin, and the commonalty of Flanders. Public report says, that you seek to form an alliance with the king of England and the English; which will be unreasonable, and prejudicial to the kingdom of France, and which the king declares he will not suffer. We therefore entreat you, in the king's name, to send us passports, that we may endeavour to bring this peace to a good and solid conclusion, for which the king will thank you. You will write us word what are your intentions, and may the Lord keep you. Written at Tournay the sixteenth day of the month of October" (1382.)

When these three letters, which contained the same words, were written and sealed, they gave them to three men, to carry to Ghent, to Bruges, and to Ypres, and to bring back the answers. They replied, they would bring back an answer, if they could get one, and then departed, each following the road to the town he was sent to.

By accident, Philip happened to be at Ghent the day the messenger arrived with his letter; for otherwise those of Ghent would not have opened it in his absence. When he had read it, he did nothing but laugh, and set out soon after from Ghent, on his return to Oudenarde, carrying the letter with him; but the messenger remained in prison in Ghent. When arrived at Oudenarde, he called to him the lord de Harzelles and others of his companions: having read to them the letter from the commissioners, he said, "I think these French people wish to make a mockery of me and the country of Flanders. I told the citizens of Tournay when they were here the day before yesterday, that I would not listen to any proposals from France, nor enter into any treaty which they might offer, until Oudenarde and Dendremonde were surrendered to us." At these words, news came from the governors of Bruges and Ypres, that they had also received letters, and that the messengers who had brought these letters were detained and lodged in the town prisons. "This is well done," continued Philip. He then examined the letters for a while, and said he would write himself to the French commissioners. He did so, in consequence, and addressed them, "To the very noble and discreet lords the commissioners from France."

CHAPTER CIX.—THE ANSWER OF PHILIP VON ARTAVELD TO THE FRENCH COMMISSIONERS WHICH HE SENT BY A PRISONER OF WAR FROM OUDENARDE.

"VERY dear and potent lords, may it please you, in your noble discretion, to know that we have received very amicably the letters sent to us by the most excellent lord Charles, king of France, informing us that your very noble lordships are come by his orders into these parts, to negotiate a peace between us and the most noble prince my lord of Flanders and the country of Flanders, and that the king aforesaid and his council have authority to bring it to a conclusion, as the citizens of Tournay, our dear and good friends, testify to us by letters patent which we have seen. Now, since the king writes to us that he is much displeased that these discords have so long continued and still exist, we are much surprised that he should treat them so lightly, as in former times, when the town of Ghent had besieged that of Oudenarde, we, by the unanimous consent of the three great towns of Flanders, wrote to him, as to our sovereign lord, to request that he would make peace with us; but at that time he did not seem so willing to do what at this moment he is so desirous of.

"We have also received letters patent to say, that twice you have written to us, and that you have come twice hither commissioned by the king aforesaid, as is declared in these letters patent. But it seems to us, that in our answers, which we have sent, we have clearly explained our intention respecting a treaty, which is, that we are resolved no treaty shall be entered into by us and the country of Flanders, until those towns and fortresses which are shut against the towns and country of Flanders, and particularly and expressly against the good town of Ghent, of which we are regent, shall be thrown open to the will of us the regent and the good town of Ghent; and, if this be not done as a preliminary, we shall not treat in the manner you request. For it seems to us, that the king, according to you, means to assemble a large army to assist his cousin our lord. We know and feel that there are double dealings going forwards at this time, as was the case formerly. Our intention therefore is, to be on sure ground and prepared for our defence; for, if it should fall out as we expect, he will find our army ready to defend us against our enemies; and we hope, through God's assistance, to be as fortunate as formerly in gaining a victory.

"With regard to what you say of public rumour, that we, or some of our countrymen, have sought an alliance with the king of England, and that we are to be aided from thence; it is a truth that we are subjects of the crown of France, and that the king is our lord paramount, to whom we are bounden in allegiance. This we ever have performed. And even in these last days we sent him our letters, as to our sovereign lord, to entreat he would conclude a peace, to which he not only made no reply, but detained and imprisoned our messenger. This seems to us a blameable conduct in such a lord, and still greater in him, for we wrote to him as to our lord paramount, and he never condescended to send us any answer. Since therefore he has thus acted, we thought ourselves justified in seeking advantage for the country of Flanders from whatever persons we pleased, which has been the cause of the embassy to England, but nothing hitherto has been concluded. The king may not therefore be too late, provided all the strong places shall be laid open to us. Notwithstanding, we had forbidden those of Tournay, the last time they came to our army, in future to dare to carry any letters or verbal message, without proper passports; yet letters and messages have been carried to Bruges and Ghent; for which reason we have imprisoned the messengers, and we will teach them not to carry such letters, that others may take warning from their example. We know well that you are seeking to sow dissentions among us, and especially against me, Philip von Artaveld, (whom God guard and preserve) and that you wish to stir up treason where at this moment there is peace. We therefore warn you not to continue such practices, until the before mentioned towns be opened unto us, which, with God's help, they shall shortly be, and to whose protection we commend you.

"Written before Oudenarde the 20th day of October, in the year 1382, Philip von Artaveld regent of Flanders."

When Philip had written the above, in the presence of his council, they thought it could not be amended, and sealed it. They then considered to whom they should give it to carry. Philip asked, "Have we no prisoners from Oudenarde?" "Yes," they replied, "we have a varlet who was taken yesterday in a skirmish, who is from Artois." "Send for him hither." On his coming, Philip said, "Thou art my prisoner, and I may, if I choose, put thee instantly to death, but thou hast had a narrow escape; for since thou art here thou shalt have thy liberty, on condition that thou pledge thy troth to carry these letters to Tournay, and deliver them into the hands of the king's counsellors whom thou wilt find there." The varlet was never so happy in his life as when he was promised his liberty, for he considered his death as certain, and replied, "I swear my lord, on my troth, that I will carry them whithersoever you please, were it to hell." Philip, bursting out into laughter, said, "Thou hast well spoken." He ordered two crowns to be given to him, and had him escorted out of the camp, and put in the road to Tournay.

When he arrived at Tournay they showed him the hôtel of the bishop of Laon, whither he went, and falling on his knees, punctually delivered his message to the bishop. They asked him news of Oudenarde and of the besieging army, when he told them all he knew. He was invited to dinner, and was, during dinner-time, closely questioned by the attendants of the bishop. The bishop of Laon went away, being unwilling to open the letters without his

companions. When the three bishops and the knights were assembled they opened the letters, read them attentively, and considered them maturely. They then delivered their sentiments, saying, "This Philip von Artaveld seemeth full of pride and presumption, and little loves the royal majesty of France." Having consulted together, they added, "The provosts, jurats and council of Tournay know that we have sent to Philip and the towns of Flanders: it is just they should learn the answer Philip has sent us." They sent for the provost, had the town-hall opened, and sounded the bell which called the council together. When they were all assembled, they read to them the letters they had received. The wisest were astonished at the presumptuous expressions they contained. It was resolved that copies of these letters should remain at Tournay. The council then broke up, and every man returned to his home.

CHAPTER CX.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD WRITES AFFECTEDLY CIVIL LETTERS TO TOURNAY.—THE FRENCH COMMISSIONERS RETURN TO THE KING.

PHILIP continued with the army before Oudenarde, as you have before heard. He did not repent having sent such harsh and pointed answers to the commissioners of the king of France, but was sorry he had not written cajoling letters of civility to the provost and jurats of Tournay, pretending to show them honour, though he had very little respect for them; for he was not willing to increase the hatred and ill will they bore him.

Philip therefore wrote in manner and form following: the superscription was, "To our honourable, wise and good friends, the provosts and jurats of the good town of Tournay. "Very dear and good friends, may it please you to know that we have received your letters, wherein mention is made of the two citizens of your town, ill intentioned carriers of letters to Ghent and Bruges, from the commissioners of the king of France, who have been arrested and detained by us, and whom you entreat to be set at liberty; by which means the love and affection (which, through God's grace, subsists between us) may be continued uninterrupted between you and the country of Flanders. This love, very dear friends, does not appear to us to be very great: for we have received information that the king of France, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, are assembling their forces to come to the assistance of my lord, the earl, against the country of Flanders, to regain that country, and to fight with us, notwithstanding the letters which they have sent us to treat of peace and concord, which to us does not seem to be a conduct becoming such persons; and for which reason we are upon our guard, and shall continue so henceforth day and night. With respect to the prisoners, your townsmen, we shall detain them until we know for a certainty the truth of this assembling of forces, and until it shall please us to set them at liberty. You know, that when your citizens were lately in Flanders seeking peace, it was then ordered that no person whatever should bring messages or letters without a proper passport. This however is what the lords commissioners, being with you, have done, in order to excite discord and dissentions in the country. We therefore entreat of you, dear friends, that you will not in future send any of your citizens or townsmen to Flanders by order of these commissioners. But if there should be any thing that we can do, affecting your town or its citizens, we will attend to it in the same manner as we should wish our affairs might be attended to by you, in whom we have the greatest confidence, such as good neighbours ought to have for one another. And it is the general intention of all Flanders, that merchants and merchandise pass safely from country to country, without suffering the smallest injury. May God take you into his holy keeping!

"Written at our army the 22d day of October, in the year 1382, Philip von Artaveld regent of Flanders."

Three days after the first letter had been sent to the commissioners from France, and while these lords were assembled in council in the hall, this second letter was brought by a varlet from Douay, who said, that those who were before Oudenarde had sent it to them. It was carried to the hall where the commissioners were, and read and considered at leisure. At length the commissioners replied to those of Tournay, who requested their advice on the

occasion; "Gentlemen, we would advise you not to have any acquaintance or dealings with the Flemings, for you will not be thanked for it in France. Neither receive nor open any letters which may come from them; for, if it should be known in the king's council that you do so, you will be blamed, and suffer for it. Affairs will not long remain in the state they are now in." Those of Tournay answered, "They would follow this advice, and, if it pleased God, they would never do any thing to deserve a reprimand."

The French commissioners staid but three days longer at Tournay, when they set out on their return to the king, whom they found at Peronne, and his three uncles, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, with him.

CHAPTER CXI.—KING CHARLES, AFTER HEARING THE REPORT OF HIS COMMISSIONERS, AT THE INSTIGATION OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS WHO WAS PRESENT, ASSEMBLES HIS ARMY IN ARTOIS, AGAINST THE FLEMINGS.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD GUARDS THE PASSES INTO FLANDERS.

THE day before the return of the commissioner, the earl of Flanders arrived at Peronne, to lay his affairs before the king and council, and to do hómage for the county of Artois, which he was bounden to do and had not performed since the decease of his mother, who had died this year. On the arrival of the commissioners, the council was assembled in the presence of the young king, when the letters before mentioned were read; that of Philip to them, and the one he had sent to Tournay. They considered them in an unfavourable light, and declared that such pride and presumption in Flanders ought not to be suffered. The earl of Flanders was not, as may be supposed, displeased on hearing this: he therefore laid his grievances before the king and council very opportunely, when they were heard and attended to with pleasure. The king was advised to make the following answer: "Earl of Flanders, you will return to Artois; and in a short time we will ourself be at Arras, where you will perform your duty in the presence of the peers of France. I cannot better show you that I make the quarrel my own, than by my intention to march against our enemies."

The earl was satisfied with this answer. Three days afterwards, he left Peronne, and, returning towards Artois, came to Hêdin. But the king of France, like one who was desirous of marching to Flanders to abase the pride of the Flemings, as his predecessors had formerly done, set his secretaries at work, and sent his letters and summons by messengers to all parts of his kingdom, ordering every one to hasten to Arras without delay, accoutred each, according to his rank, in the best manner he was able; for, if it were God's pleasure, he was determined to fight the Flemings in their own country.

No lord of his realm disobeyed, but all sent orders to their vassals, and marched from the most distant countries, such as Auvergne, Rouergue, Toulousain, Gascony, Poitou, Limousin, Saintonge and Brittany: others came from the Bourbonois, Forêts, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Savoy, Bar and Lorrain, and from all parts of France and its dependencies, to Arras. The assemblage of such numbers of men at arms was a wonderful beautiful sight. The earl of Flanders resided at Hêdin, and heard daily from the king of France and the duke of Burgundy of the great levies which were making, and in consequence issued a proclamation throughout Artois, forbidding any one, under pain of losing his life and fortune, to withdraw any thing whatever from house, fortress or town; for he was desirous that the men at arms who were marching to Artois should have the advantage of being served with whatever was in the low countries.

The king of France came into Artois, where he remained. Men at arms came to him from all quarters, and so handsomely equipped it was a fine sight to see: they quartered themselves as they arrived in the plains, and found all the barns quite full and well furnished. The earl of Flanders came to Arras, which greatly pleased the king and his lords: he performed his homage in the presence of those peers who were there, for the county of Artois, and the king accepted him as his vassal. His majesty then addressed him, saying,—"Fair cousin, if it please God and St. Denis, we will restore you to your inheritance of Flanders, and will abate the pride of Philip von Artaveld and the Flemings

so effectually that they shall never again have it in their power to rebel." My lord," replied the earl, " I have full confidence in it; and you will acquire such honour and glory that as long as the world lasts you will be praised, for certainly the pride of the Flemings is very great."

Philip, whilst at the siege of Oudenarde, was informed of every thing, and that the king of France was marching a large army against him, though he pretended not to believe it, and said to his people,—" By what means does this young king think to enter Flanders? He is as yet too young by a year to imagine he can frighten us by his assembling an army. I will have the entrances so well guarded that it shall not be in their power for this year to cross the river Lis." He sent to Ghent for the lord de Harzelles. On his arrival, he said to him,—" Lord de Harzelles, you hear how the king of France is making preparations to destroy us. We must have a council on this subject. You shall remain here, and I will go to Bruges to learn surer intelligence, and to encourage the citizens of the principal towns. I will also establish such garrisons on the river Lis, and at the chief passes, that the French shall not be able to advance through them."

The lord de Harzelles having assented to this, Philip left the siege, and took the road towards Bruges. He travelled like a lord, having his displayed pennon borne before him, blazoned with his arms: which were three hats argent on a field sable. On his arrival at Bruges, he found Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre, the governors of Bruges; and having informed them, that the king of France was marching toward Flanders with a large army, and that it was necessary to provide a remedy by guarding the passes, he added,—" You, Peter du Bois, must go to the pass of Commines, to guard the river; and you, Peter le Nuitre, will defend the bridge of Warneton: you will break down all the bridges on the river as far as La Gerge, Haselles, Meureville and Courtray, by which means the French will not be able to pass. I will myself go to Ypres, to encourage them, and to remonstrate with them, that as we are all united in one common cause, none should fail or hesitate to perform what we have sworn to do. It is not in the power of the king of France, nor these Frenchmen, to cross the river Lis and enter Flanders provided the passes be well guarded, for they must follow the course of the river to seek for a passage."

The two Peters replied, " Philip, you speak well, and we will obey what you have ordered. But have you had any news from our people in England?" " No, by my troth," said Philip, " which I much wonder at. The parliament is sitting at London, and very shortly we must receive intelligence from them. The king of France cannot make such haste, but we shall have received succours from England, before they can do us much harm. I hope the king of England has issued his summons, and that the English will arrive here some night before we are aware." Thus did these companions discourse together, who held all Flanders under their obedience, except Dendremonde and Oudenarde.

CHAPTER CXII.—SEVERAL KNIGHTS OF THE PARTY OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS, HAVING PASSED PONT-AMENIN, ARE DEFEATED AND KILLED ON THEIR ATTEMPT TO REPASS IT, THE FLEMINGS HAVING BROKEN DOWN THE BRIDGE.—PHILIP, HEARING THIS NEWS WHEN AT YPRES, MAKES USE OF IT TO ENCOURAGE THE INHABITANTS.

WHILST these preparations were going forward, and during the residence of the king of France at Arras, great bodies of men at arms were assembling in the Tournesis, Artois, and castlewick of Lille and its neighbourhood. Some knights and squires, who resided at Lille and thereabout, resolved to perform feats of arms that should gain them renown, chiefly through the exhortations of the Haze de Flandres. They collected about six score knights and squires, and crossed the river Lis at Pont-Amenin, which was not then broken down, two leagues from Lille. They rode for the town of Harle, which they surprised; and, after slaying many in the town and environs, they drove the remainder out of the town. Their cries were heard in the neighbouring villages; the inhabitants of which sounded their alarm bells, and marched towards Harle and Pont-Amenin, whence the cries seemed to come.

When the Haze, sir John Jumont, the constable de Vuillon, sir Henry Duffle, and the

other knights and squires, had sufficiently alarmed the country, they thought it was time for them to retreat, and set out on their return, intending to repass the bridge, but they found it strongly occupied by Flemings, who were busily employed in destroying it; and, when they had broken down any parts, they covered them with straw, that the mischief might not be perceived. The knights and squires at this moment arrived, mounted on the best of horses, and found upwards of two thousand peasants drawn up in a body without the town, prepared to advance upon them. The gentlemen, on seeing this, formed, and having fixed their lances on their rests, those best mounted instantly charged this body of peasants, with loud shouts. The Flemings opened their ranks through fear, but others say through malice; for they well knew the bridge would not bear them; and they said among themselves, "Let us make way for them, and we shall soon see fine sport."

The Haze de Flandres, and his companions, desirous to get away, for any further stay would be against them, galloped for the bridge, which was now too weak to bear any great weight: however the Haze, and some others, had the courage and good luck to pass over: they might be about thirty: but, as others were following, the bridge broke down under them. Horses and riders were overthrown, and both perished together. Those behind, seeing this misfortune, were thunderstruck, and knew not whither to fly to save themselves. Some leaped into the river, intending to swim, but they were not able thus to escape. The river was deep, and the banks so high and steep that the horses could not land. Great slaughter ensued; for the Flemings fell upon them and killed them easily, and without pity. They made several leap into the water, and they were drowned. Sir John de Jumont narrowly escaped, for the bridge broke under him, but, by great agility of body, he saved himself: he was, however, badly wounded on the head and body by arrows, and it was six weeks before he recovered. At this unfortunate action were killed, the constables de Vuillon, de Bouchars, de St. Hilaire, and more drowned: sir Henry Duffle was slain. Including drowned and killed, there were upwards of sixty; and very fortunate were those who escaped. Great numbers returned wounded from this enterprise. News was carried to the lords of France at Arras, of their countrymen having lost the day: and that the Haze de Flandres had conducted this foolish expedition. He was pitied by some, but by others not. Those who had been most accustomed to arms said, they had acted ill, to cross a river that was not fordable, attack a large town and enter an enemy's country, and return the way they had come, without having established guards on the bridge. It was not an enterprise planned by prudent men at arms, who were desirous of success; but, since they planned their enterprise with so much self-sufficiency, they had suffered from the consequence.

This affair passed off, and was soon forgotten. Philip departed from Bruges and came to Ypres, where he was most joyfully received. Peter du Bois went to Commines, where all the inhabitants of the flat country were assembled, and instantly began his preparations for defence, loosening the planks of the bridge, so that, if there should be occasion, it could immediately be pulled down: but he was unwilling totally to destroy the bridge, lest the inhabitants of the adjacent flat country might suffer, who daily crossed it with their cattle in droves, to place them in greater security on that side of the Lis. The whole country was so much covered with them it was marvellous to see.

The day Philip von Artaveld came to Ypres, news arrived of the defeat of the French at Pont-Amenin, and that the Haze had been nearly taken. Philip was mightily rejoiced at this, and said with a smile, to encourage those near,—"By the grace of God, and the just cause we are engaged in, it will all end so; and never shall this king, if he should be so foolishly advised to cross the Lis, return again to France."

Philip was five days in Ypres, and harangued the people in the open market-place, to encourage them and to keep them steady to their engagements, telling them that the king of France was coming to destroy them without the least shadow of right. "Good people," said Philip, "do not be alarmed if he should march against us; for he will never be able to cross the river Lis, as I have had all the passes well guarded, and have ordered Peter du Bois to Commines with a large body of men: he is a loyal man, and one who loves the honour of Flanders; and Peter le Nuitre I have sent to Warneton; all the other bridges on the Lis are broken down, and there is neither pass nor ford which they can cross but at these

two towns. I have also heard from our friends whom we sent to England. In a short time we shall receive considerable succours from thence, as we have made a strong alliance with them. Keep up, therefore, valiantly your hopes, for our honour shall be unsullied; and observe punctually what you have promised and sworn to us in the good town of Ghent, which has had such trouble and difficulty to maintain the rights and franchises of Flanders. Now, let all those who are determined to remain steady to the cause, according to the oath they took, gallantly lift up their hands to heaven as a token of loyalty."

At these words all who were in the market-place, and who had heard the speech, held up their hands as a sign of their loyalty. After this Philip descended from the scaffold on which he had harangued, and returned to his house, where he remained the whole day. On the morrow he and his attendants mounted their horses and went towards Oudenarde, where the siege was still going on, notwithstanding the news of the French; but on passing through Courtray, he rested two days.

CHAPTER CXIII.—THE ORDER OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN ITS MARCH TO FLANDERS, AFTER THEY HAD HEARD THE BRIDGES WERE BROKEN AND GUARDED.

We will for a while leave Philip von Artaveld, and speak of the young king of France who resided at Arras, and who, as he showed, had a great desire to enter Flanders, to lower the pride of the Flemings; and was daily increasing his army, by the arrival of men at arms from all quarters. After the king had tarried eight days at Arras, he went to Lens, in Artois*, where he staid two days. On the third day of November he departed and came to Seclin†, where he halted. A council was held, in the presence of the constable of France, the marshals of France, Burgundy and Flanders, to consider how they should proceed; for the common report in the army was the impossibility to enter Flanders in case the passes of the river should be strongly guarded. It rained, besides, at this time continually, and was so exceedingly cold that they could not advance. Some of the wisest said it was wrong to undertake such an expedition at this season of the year, and to bring the king so far into such a country. They ought not to have united before the summer to carry the war into Flanders, for the king had never been so far in his life.

This river Lis is so difficult to cross, that, except at certain places, it cannot be passed. There are no fords, and the country it runs through is so very marshy, horses cannot approach it. The constable, on hearing this, asked, "Where does it rise?" He was answered, that it came from near Aire and St. Omer. "Since it has a spring," replied the constable, "we will easily pass it. Order our men to march towards St. Omer, where we can cross this river at our ease, and enter Flanders. These Flemings are so proud and self-sufficient they will march to attack us, either before Ypres or at some other place."

The marshals agreed to the proposition of the constable, and every thing remained in this state the whole day and night, when, on the morrow, the lord d'Albreth, the lord de Coucy, sir Aimemon de Pommiers, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, sir William de Poitiers, the bastard de Langres, the bègue de Villaines, sir Raoul de Coucy, the count de Conversant, the viscount d'Acy, sir Raoul de Raineval, the lord de St. Just, sir Arthur de Hêdin, sir Anthony d'Archies, the lord de Saimpi, sir William des Bourdes, the lord de Longueville, the lord de Sulli, sir Tristan de l'Estouet, sir Oliver du Guesclin, sir Maurice du Tresiquidy, sir Guy le Baveux, sir Lucas de l'Estrughen, sir Nicholas Pamel, the two marshals of France, sir Louis de Sancerre, and sir Louis de Blainville, the marshals of Burgundy and Flanders, sir Enguerrant de Haluyn, entered the chamber of the constable, to receive orders, how, and in what direction, they were to advance: whether they should march through Lille to Commines and Warneton, where the passes were guarded, or make for the upper countries of Venoye and St. Venant‡, and there cross the Lis. There were many debates among these lords on this subject: and those who knew the country said; "Certainly, at such a season as this, it will not be right

* "Lens,"—a town in Artois on the Souchets, four leagues from Bethune.
† "Seclin,"—an ancient town in Flanders, near Lille.
‡ A town in Artois on the Lis, four leagues from Bethune.

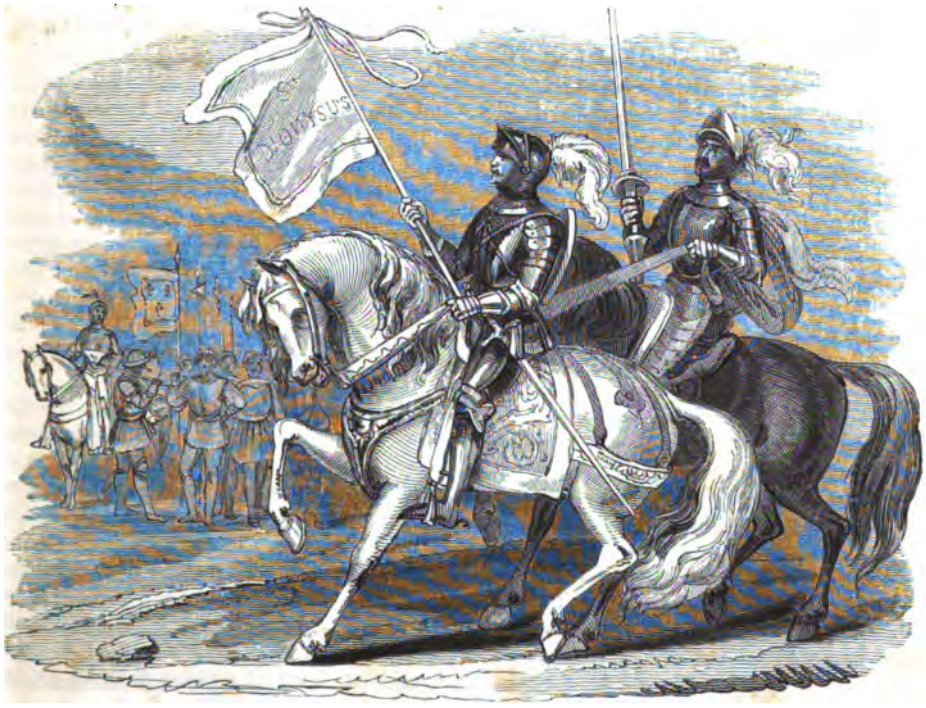
to advance into that country, neither can we go into the territories of Cassel, Surnes, or Verthes." "And what road shall we then take?" cried the constable. Upon which, the lord de Coucy said, "I would propose that we march to Tournay and there cross the Scheld, and take the road towards Oudenarde. This road is very easy, and we shall engage with our enemies. After passing the Scheld we shall not have any thing to stop us before Tournay. We may thus arrive before Oudenarde, and punish Philip von Artaveld. We can have daily refreshments of provision come to us from Hainault, and follow us down the river from Tournay." This speech of the lord de Coucy was well attended to, and supported by several for some time: but the constable and marshals were more inclined to follow the course of the Lis, to seek a shorter passage, than to march to the right or left, by a longer road; and they urged strong reasons for it, saying, "If we look for any other road but the straight one, we do not show ourselves good men at arms, at least it is our duty to examine if we cannot cross the river above or below this pass at Commines, which is guarded. Besides, if we retreat, our enemies will rejoice and be encouraged: their forces will increase, and they will say that we fly from them. There is also another point which ought to be considered: we are ignorant what has been the success of the ambassadors they sent to England; for if, by any treaty, assistance should come to them from that quarter, they will give us much trouble. It is therefore better that we get rid of this business in Flanders as speedily as possible, than be thus long in determining upon it. Let us instantly, and with courage, march towards Commines, and God will assist us. We have so often crossed and recrossed larger rivers than this Lis, that it cannot long prevent us from passing it. Happen what may, when we are on its banks we can then form our opinions; and when those of our company in the van-guard (who have for these twenty or thirty years seen many more dangerous passes than this) have crossed this river, and gained the other side, our enemies will be a hundred times more frightened than if we had marched at our ease, seeking a passage on the right or left, out of our direct road: we may then consider ourselves as lords of Flanders."

This plan was unanimously adopted. During the time these lords were assembled, they considered how they should form their battalions; and selected those who were to march on foot with the constable in the van-guard, in order to clear the roads for the army to pass and march in a line, and to act as scouts to observe and find out their enemies. They also chose those who were to be in the king's battalion, regulated the arms with which they should serve, and appointed proper persons to carry the oriflamme of France and to guard it; and likewise determined of what numbers the wings were to be composed, and how many were to be in the rear-guard. All these things they debated and arranged. When these points had been settled, and they could not think of any thing more that was necessary to be done, the council broke up, and every one retired to his lodgings. Those lords and barons who had not been present were informed of the regulations, and the manner in which they were to act from henceforward. It was this day ordered that the king should on the morrow dislodge from Seclin, march through Lille without halting, and take up his quarters at Margnette l'Abbaye; and that the van-guard should pass on to Commines and Warneton, and do the most they could in the course of the day. This being settled, the master of the cross-bows, in conjunction with the constable and marshals, unanimously appointed sir Josse de Haluyn and the lord de Rambures to the command of the infantry, who were to clear the roads by cutting down hedges and forests, filling up valleys and every thing else that might be necessary: their numbers amounted to seventeen hundred and sixty.

In the van-guard were the marshals of Flanders, France and Burgundy, who had under their command seventeen hundred men at arms and seven hundred cross-bows, besides four thousand infantry whom the earl had given to them, armed with large shields and other weapons. It was also ordered that the earl of Flanders, and his battalion, consisting of about sixteen hundred men at arms, knights, squires and infantry, should march on the wings of the vanguard to reinforce it, should it be necessary. It was likewise ordered that the king's battalion should march between the van-guard and the battalion of the earl of Flanders, and that the king's three uncles, Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon, should be in it; and also the count de la Marche, sir James de Bourbon, his brothers, the count de Clermont,

the dauphin d'Auvergne, the count de Dampmartin, the count de Sancerre, sir John de Boulogne, to the amount of six thousand men at arms, two thousand Genoese cross-bows and others.

The rear-guard was to consist of two thousand men at arms and two hundred archers; the commanders of which were the lord John d'Artois count d'Eu, the lord Guy count de Blois, sir Waleran count de St. Pol, sir William count de Harcourt, the lord de Châtillon and the lord de Sere.



A French Knight unfurling the Oriflamme. Designed from contemporary authorities.

Sir Peter de Villiers was appointed to bear the Oriflamme, attended by four knights, whose names were sir Robert le Baveux, sir Morice de Sancourt, sir Guy de Tresiquidi and Brandon de la Heuse: le borgne de Ruet and le borgne de Montdoulcet were named to guard the banner.

It is proper to be known, that the lords who had planned this expedition had determined they would never return to France until they had engaged Philip von Artaveld and his forces, and it was for this reason they had drawn up their battalions as ready for the combat on the morrow. The lords d'Albreth, de Coucy, and sir Hugh de Hanlon were ordered to form the battalions and place them in array. Sir William de Bannes and the lord de Champreny were appointed marshals to attend to the quarters of the king and his battalion.

It was also ordered, that on the day of battle, no one but the king and eight valiant men appointed to attend his person should be on horseback. The names of these eight men were as follows: the lord de Raineval, le bègue de Villaines, sir Aymemon de Pommiers, sir Enguerrant de Haluyn, the viscount d'Acy, sir Guy le Baveux, sir Nicholas de Pennel and sir William des Bourdes. The lord de Raineval and sir Enguerrant de Haluyn were to take post in front of the king: le bègue de Villaines and the viscount d'Acy (who is called in several places hereafter the viscount d'Aunoy) were to place themselves on each side; and sir Aymemon de Pommiers, sir Nicholas de Pennel, sir Guy le Baveux and sir William

des Bourdes, were to take post in the rear. It was likewise ordered, that on the day of battle, sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, and sir William de Poitiers, bastard de Langres, should advance on horseback, to reconnoitre and observe the appearance of the enemy.

CHAPTER CXIV.—SOME FEW OF THE FRENCH, NOT BEING ABLE TO CROSS THE LIS AT THE BRIDGE OF COMMINES, FIND MEANS OF DOING SO, BY BOATS AND OTHER CRAFT, UNKNOWN TO THE FLEMINGS.

THE orders above mentioned were punctually obeyed; and the van-guard dislodged on the morrow, marching in order of battle towards Commines. They found the roads well made, for the lord de Fransures * and sir Josse de Haluyn had paid great attention to them: this was on the Monday. When the constable and marshals of France, with the van-guard, arrived at the bridge of Commines, they were forced to halt; for it was so completely destroyed that it was not in the power of man to repair it, if any opposition should be made when they were attempting it, as the Flemings were in great force on the opposite side of the river, and ready to defend the pass against all who might wish to attack them: they were upwards of nine thousand, under the command of Peter du Bois and others, who showed good inclinations to repulse any attempt. Peter du Bois had placed himself on the causeway, at the end of the bridge, with a battle-axe in his hand; and the Flemings were drawn up on each side.

The constable of France and the lords with him, having considered the situation, thought it impossible to pass the river at that place unless the bridge were rebuilt; they ordered their servants to follow the course of the river, and examine its banks for about a league up and down. When they returned, they informed their masters, who were waiting for them, that they had not been able to find any place where the cavalry could pass. Upon hearing this, the constable was much vexed and said,—"We have been badly advised to take this road: better would it have been for us to have gone to St. Omer than remain in this danger, or to have crossed the Scheld at Tournay, as the lord de Coucy advised, and to have marched straight to Oudenarde and fought our enemies, since it is both our duty and inclination to combat them; and they are so presumptuous they would have waited for us at their siege."—The lord Louis de Sancerre then said,—"I am of opinion that we fix our quarters here for this day, and lodge our army, should it arrive, as well as we are able; and that we send to Lille to seek for boats and hurdles, that may come down the river, with which to-morrow we can throw a bridge from these fine meads and cross over; for we have no other alternative." Upon this, sir Josse de Haluyn said,—"My lord, we have been informed that there will be great difficulties between this and Lille; for the river Menyn, on which all boats must pass to come hither, has been obstructed by large beams thrown across it by the Flemings who are in those parts: they have besides totally destroyed the bridge, and we learn it is impossible for any vessels or boats to pass." "I know not then," added the constable, "what we can now do. It will be better for us to take the road to Aire, and cross the Lis at that place, since we are unable to do so here."

During the time the constable and marshals of France and Burgundy were in this dilemma at the bridge of Commines, several knights and squires silently withdrew, with the intent to hazard some gallant deeds of arms and attempt to cross the river, whatever it might cost them. They meant likewise to combat the Flemings in their entrenchments and open a passage, as I shall now relate.—While the van-guard was on its march from Lille to Commines, the lord de St. Py, and some other knights from Hainault, Flanders, Artois, and even France, had held a council without the knowledge of the constable or marshals. They said, "We will procure two or three boats, which we will launch into the river Lis, at a sheltered place below Commines, and will fix posts on each side of the river where it is not wide, to fasten cords to. We shall by this means soon convey over a large body of men, and by marching on the rear of our enemies we may attack them, and, if victorious, we shall gain

* "Fransures." He before calls him Rambures.

the reputation of valiant men at arms." After they had thus determined in council, the lord de St. Py exerted himself so much that he procured from Lille a boat and cords, with every other necessary article. On the other hand, sir Herbeaux de Belleperche and sir John de Roye, who were companions in this expedition, had also caused a boat to be brought. Sir Henry de Manny, sir John de Malatrait and sir John Chauderon, Bretons, who had been of this council, had likewise provided one, and followed the preceding companies.

The lord de St. Py was the first who arrived at the river with his boat, cords and fastenings. They fixed a strong stake to which they tied the cord: three varlets then crossed over, and the boat, with the cords, being launched, they fixed on the opposite side another strong post, to which they fastened the other end of the cord: and, this being done, they returned with the boat to their master. It happened that the constable and marshals of France were at that time at the bridge of Commines, pondering how they could discover a passage. They were then informed of the intentions of the lord de St. Py and the other knights. Upon which the constable, addressing himself to the lord Louis de Sancerre, said, "Marshal, go and see what they are doing, and if it be possible to cross the river in the manner they propose, add some of our men to theirs."

Just as these knights were preparing to embark, the marshal of France came thither, attended by a large company of knights and squires. They made way for him, as was right. He stopped on the bank, and with pleasure saw the arrangement of the boats. The lord de St. Py, addressing him, said, "My lord, is it agreeable to you that we should cross here?" "I am very well pleased with it," replied the marshal; "but you are running great risks; for if our enemies, who are at Commines, should know your intentions, they would do you great mischief." "My lord," answered the lord de Saint Py, "nothing venture nothing win: in the name of God and St. George, we will cross over, and, before to-morrow evening, will fall suddenly on our enemies and attack them." The lord de Saint Py then placed his pennon in the boat, and was the first who stepped into it: he was followed by nine others, who were as many as the boat could hold; and instantly, by means of the cord they held, crossed over. When disembarked, in order to prevent themselves from being discovered, they entered a small alder grove, where they lay hidden. Those on the bank, by means of the cord, drew the boat back. The count de Conversant, lord d'Anghien, embarked with his banner, with the lord de Vertain his brother, and seven others. These nine then passed, and the third time others followed them.

The two other boats now arrived that belonged to sir Herbaut de Belleperche, sir John de Roye and the Bretons, which were launched in the same manner the first had been. These knights then crossed, and none but determined men at arms did the same. It was a pleasure to see with what eagerness they embarked: at times a great crowd was pushing who should cross first, so that if the marshal of France had not been there, who kept them in proper order, accidents would have happened from their overloading the boats.

News was brought to the constable and the lords of France at the bridge of Commines, how their people were crossing the river, when he said to the séneschal de Rieux, "Go and examine this passage, I beg of you, and see if our people be passing as they tell us." The lord de Rieux was never happier than when he had this commission, and, clapping spurs to his horse, hastened thither with his whole company, to the amount of full forty men at arms. When he arrived at the passage where one hundred and fifty of his countrymen had already crossed, he immediately dismounted, and said he would also pass the river. The marshal of France would not refuse him; and intelligence was sent to the constable, that his cousin the lord de Rieux had crossed. The constable mused a little, and then said, "Make the cross-bows shoot, and skirmish with the Flemings who are on the other side of the bridge, to occupy their attention, and prevent them from observing our people; for, if they should have any notion what they are about, they will fall upon them, destroy the passage, and kill all those who have crossed: and I would much rather die than that should happen."

Upon this, the cross-bows and infantry advanced. There were among them some who flung hand-grenades *, which bursting, cast out bolts of iron beyond the bridge, even as far

* I call bombards, hand-grenades: to my mind, it explains this passage more easily. Lord Berners totally omit it.

[The original is as follows: "Et y en avoit aucun autres qui gettoyent bombardes *portatives* et qui gettoyent gros carreaux empennez de fer, et les faisoient voler outre le pont,

as the town of Commines. The skirmish now began to be very sharp, and the van-guard, by their movements, seemed determined to cross the bridge if they could. The Flemings, being shielded up to their noses, made a good appearance, and defended themselves well. Thus passed this day, which was a Monday, in skirmishing; and it was soon dark, for at that season the days are very short. The boats, however, continued to carry over men at arms in great numbers, who, on their landing, hid themselves in the alder wood, waiting for more.

You may easily guess what perils they were in; for, had those in Commines gained the least intelligence of them, they must have had them at their mercy, and conquered the greater part, besides taking the boats; but God favoured the other party, and consented that the pride of the Flemings should be humbled.

CHAPTER CXV.—A SMALL BODY OF FRENCH, HAVING CROSSED THE LIS, DRAW UP IN BATTLE ARRAY BEFORE THE FLEMINGS.

I MAINTAIN, that all men of understanding must hold this enterprise of the boats, and passage of men at arms, as a deed of superior valour and enterprise. Towards evening, the knights and squires of the van-guard were eager to cross with their companions; and the lord de Laval, the viscount de Rohan, the lord de la Belliere, the lord de Combort, sir Oliver du Guesclin, le Barrois des Barres, the lord de Collet, sir Reginald de Thouars, the lord de Pousanges, sir William de Lignac, sir Walter de Passat, le sire de Thouars, sir Louis de Consaule, sir Tristan de la Jaille, the viscount de Meaux, the lord de Mailly, passed over, and Bretons, Flemings, Poitevins, French, Berruyers, Burgundians, Artois-men, Troyens, and Hainaulters, in numbers, so that late in this Monday evening there were, on the Flanders side of the river, about four hundred men at arms, all the flower of knighthood: for no varlet was suffered to cross.

The lord Louis de Sancerre, seeing so many gallant men (sixteen banners and thirty pennons,) said, he should think himself to blame, if he remained behind. He then entered the boats, with his knights and squires; and the lord de Hangest, &c. crossed at the same time. When they were all assembled, they said, "It is time to march towards Commines, to look at our enemies, and see if we cannot make our quarters good in the town." Upon this, they tightened their arms, buckled their helmets on their heads in a proper manner, and advancing through the marshes which are contiguous to the river, marched in order of battle, with banners and pennons displayed, as if they were immediately to engage. The lord de Saint Py was the principal conductor and commander-in-chief, because he knew the country better than any of the others.

As they were thus marching in close order, in their way towards the town, Peter du Bois and the Flemings were drawn up on the causeway; when, casting their eyes towards the meads, they saw this body of men at arms approaching. They were exceedingly astonished, and demanded from Peter du Bois, "By what devil of a road have these men at arms come? and how have they crossed the Lis?" He replied, "They must have crossed in boats, and we have known nothing of the matter; for there is neither bridge nor passable ford over the

jusques à la ville de Commines;" literally, "and they had there some others who threw portable bombards, and which (*or who*) threw large quarrels (cross-bow bolts) pointed with iron, and made them fly beyond the bridge as far as the town of Commines." The construction of the original sentence is such as to render it obscure; it is not clear whether the soldiers, or the bombards, threw the quarrels into the town. It does not appear that the town was near enough for the soldiers to throw grenades into it, over the river, and it is difficult to believe that the explosion of a hand-grenade could do damage at any considerable distance. Most of the cannons made about the time, when they began to be in general use, were of small dimensions, and were fitted with rings at the sides, by which they were carried; to such, the term "portable bombards" may be justly applied, but grenades adapted to be thrown by the hand would, in all probability, have been more particularly distinguished. If we read, "They had there some others who *carried* portable bombards which threw," &c., we shall probably restore the true text, and the sentence becomes at once perfectly clear. Those who are at all acquainted with the nature of the errors which creep into and are continued in repeated MS. transcripts, will readily perceive the cause, in this instance, where the improper repetition of the word "gettoyent" has rendered a passage, at first perfectly plain, inelegant, and unintelligible. Mr. Johnes having once taken up the idea of the hand-grenade (which, according to all received accounts, was not invented till long after the events narrated in the text), has spoken of their bursting, a circumstance not alluded to by Froissart. Lord Berners, who, though he does not speak of grenades, does *not* omit the bombards, says, "Then the cros-bowes and men a-fote, and *gunners*, shote over the bridge into the towne."—ED.]

Lis between this and Courtray." "What shall we do?" said some of them to Peter du Bois: "shall we offer them battle?" "By no means," replied Peter: "let them advance: but we will remain in our strength and in our place: we are on high ground, and they on low, so that we have great advantage over them; and, if we descend to meet them in the plain, we shall lose it. Let us wait until the night become more obscure, and then we will consider how we had best act. They are not of force sufficient to withstand us in battle: and, besides, we are acquainted with all the roads of the country, of which they must be ignorant." This advice was followed; for the Flemings never budged from their post, but remained steady at the foot of the bridge, drawn up in order of battle on the causeway, in silence, and, by their appearance, seemed as if they had not noticed what was passing. Those who had crossed the river continued advancing slowly through the marshes, following the course of it as they approached Commines.

The constable of France, on the opposite side of the water, saw his men at arms, with banners and pennons fluttering in the wind, drawn up in a handsome small battalion, and marching toward Commines. On seeing this, his blood began to run cold from the great dread he had of their being defeated; for he knew the Flemings were in great force on that side of the water. In the excess of rage, he cried out—"Ah, St. Ives! ha, St. George! ha, our Lady! what do I see there? I see in part the flower of our army, who are most unequally matched. I would rather have died than have witnessed this. Ah! sir Louis de Sancerre, I thought you more temperate and better taught than I see you now are; how could you have hazarded so many noble knights and squires, and men at arms, against ten or twelve thousand men, who are proud, presumptuous, and well prepared, and who will show them no mercy, whilst we are unable, if there should be a necessity, to aid them? Ah, Rohan! ah, Laval! ah, Rieux! ah, Beaumanoir! ah, Longueville! ah, Rochfort! ah, Manny! ah, Malatrait! ah, Conversant! ah, such a one and such a one, how afflicted am I for you all! when, without consulting me, you have run into such imminent danger. Why am I constable of France? for, if you be conquered, I shall incur all the blame, and they will say I ordered you on this mad enterprise." The constable, before he heard that such numbers of valiant men had crossed, had forbidden any of those near him to pass the river; but, when he saw the appearance of those who had passed, he said aloud, "I give free liberty for all who wish it to cross, if they be able."

At these words, the knights and squires stepped forth, seeking means to cross the bridge; but it was soon night, and they were forced to leave off their attempt, though they had begun to lay planks on the beams, and even some had placed their targets to make a road; so that the Flemings who were in Commines had enough to do to watch them, and were puzzled how to act, for on the one hand they saw below the bridge, in the marshes, a large body of men at arms, who had halted with their lances advanced before them, and to whom great reinforcements were coming, and on the other, those of the van-guard on the opposite side of the bridge, were constantly skirmishing with them and exerting themselves lustily to repair the bridge.

In this situation were the French who had that evening crossed over in boats. They had halted on the marshes, in mud and filth, up to their ancles. Now consider what must have been their courage and difficulties, when in these long winter nights they thus remained a whole night with their arms and helmets on, with their feet in the mire, and without any sort of refreshments. Certainly, I say, they are worthy of great renown, for they were but a handful of men in comparison with the Flemings in Commines and in that neighbourhood. They dared not, therefore, advance to attack them, and for this reason had halted, saying among themselves, "Let us stop here until it be day-light, when we shall have a sight of these Flemings who quit not the advantage of their entrenchments; but at last they will not fail to come to us, and when near we will shout our war cries with a loud voice, each his own cry, or the cry of his lord, notwithstanding all our lords may not have joined us: by this means we shall frighten them, when we will fall on them with a thorough good will. It is in the power of God, and within the compas of our own ability, to defeat them, for they are badly armed, whilst our spears and swords are of well tempered steel from Bordeaux; and the haubergeons * they wear will be a poor defence, and cannot prevent our blows from

* "Haubergeons,"—small coats of mail.

penetrating through them." With such hopes as these did those who had passed the river comfort themselves, and remain in silence during the night.

The constable of France, who was on the other side of the river, towards Lille, had great anguish at heart on their account, and wished himself and army in the town of Commines with them. The marshals of Burgundy and Flanders, and those knights who were near his person, in order to comfort him, said: "My lord do not be cast down; for all must own that those who have crossed the river are truly valiant, as well as prudent knights, and we must believe they will not do any thing but what shall be dictated by good sense and valour. They will not engage in combat this day, and you have given permission for all to pass the river as they can. To-morrow, as soon as day-break shall appear, let us exert ourselves to cross the bridge. We have this day made more provision of planks and timber than will be necessary, so that we may be soon over to reinforce them, should they have need of it, and these wicked people will be prevented from overpowering them."

Thus was the constable of France consoled by the valiant men in his company.

CHAPTER CXVI.—THE FRENCH WHO HAD CROSSED THE LIS DEFEAT, WITH GREAT SLAUGHTER, PETER DU BOIS AND THE FLEMINGS.—THE VAN-GUARD OF THE FRENCH ARMY REPAIR AND PASS OVER THE BRIDGE OF COMMINES.

Peter du Bois knowing these men at arms were in the marshes joining Commines, was not perfectly at his ease, for he was uncertain what might be the event. He had, however, under his command, six or seven thousand men, to whom, during the night, he had thus spoken: "The men at arms who have crossed the river to fight with us are neither of iron nor steel. They have laboured hard this whole day, and have been all night standing in these marshes, so that it is possible, towards day-break, they will be overpowered with sleep. While they are in this situation, we will come slily to attack them: our numbers are sufficient to surround them: but when we have so done, let no one dare to rush upon them, but remain silent; for when it shall be proper time for you to act, I will inform you." To this command of Peter they all promised obedience. On the other hand, the barons, knights and squires, who had remained in the marshes so near the enemy, were far from being comfortable: some of them were up to their ancles in mud, and others half way up their legs. But their eagerness and joy, on gaining this pass with so much honour, (for very gallant deeds of arms were likely to ensue) made them forget all their pains and difficulties. If it had been in summer-time, instead of the seventh day of November, they would have enjoyed it; but now the ground was cold, muddy and dirty, and the nights were long. At times also it rained heavily on their heads, but it ran off, as they had their helmets on and every thing prepared for the combat, and were only waiting for the enemy to come and attack them. The great attention they paid to be in readiness kept up their spirits, and made them almost forget their situation.

The lord de Saint Py full loyally acquitted himself in this expedition, as a scout and observer of what the Flemings were doing, though he was the commander-in-chief. He was continually on the look-out, and went privily to reconnoitre their motions. On his return, he said to his companions in a low voice, "Now up: our enemies are very quiet: perhaps they will advance on us at day-break: therefore be on your guard, and prepared to act." He would then return again, to see if any thing were going forward, and then come back to tell what he had observed. This he continued to do until the hour which the Flemings had fixed upon to attack them. It was on the point of day when they began their march in close order, without uttering a word. The lord de Saint Py, who was on the watch, no sooner saw this manœuvre than he found they were in earnest, and hastening to his companions, said to them, "Now, my lords, be alert, we have but to do our utmost, for our enemy is on his march, and will be instantly here. These barons of new date are advancing slowly, and think to catch and surprise us: show yourselves true men at arms, for we shall have a battle." As the lord de Saint Py uttered these words, the knights and squires, with great courage, seized their long Bordeaux spears, and having grasped them

with a hearty will, placed themselves in as good order as any knights or squires could devise.

When the lords who had crossed the river, and, as I have before said, found themselves obliged to halt in the marshes, saw that the Flemings waited their opportunity to attack them, they said among themselves, "Since we are not in sufficient force to begin the combat, when the Flemings advance upon us they will not know what numbers we are: let us each set up one cry, or that of the lord to whom we may belong whether he be present or not; and, by thus shouting loudly, we shall so much alarm them that they may be defeated. In addition to this, we will receive them on the points of our spears. In this manner did it fall out: for, when the Flemings advanced to the combat, the knights and squires began to utter their war cries, insomuch that the constable and van-guard, who had not yet crossed the bridge, heard them, and said, "Our friends are engaged: may God help them! for at this moment we are unable to give them any assistance." Peter du Bois marched in front, and was followed by his Flemings; but, when they approached the French, they were received on the sharp points of their long Bordeaux spears, to which their coats of mail made not more resistance than if they had been of cloth thrice doubled, so that they passed through their bodies, heads and stomachs.

When the Flemings felt these sharp spears which impaled them, they fell back, and the French advancing gained ground upon them; for there were none so hardy but what feared their strokes. Peter du Bois was one of the first wounded and run through by a lance. It came quite out at his shoulder: he was also wounded on the head, and would have been instantly slain if it had not been for the body-guard he had formed, of thirty stout varlets, who taking him in their arms, carried him as quickly as they could out of the crowd. The mud from the causeway to Commines was so deep that all these people sunk in it up to the middle of their legs. The men at arms, who had been long accustomed to their profession, drove down and slew the Flemings without let or hindrance: they shouted, "Saint Py for ever!" "Laval, Sancerre, Anghien," and the war-cries of others who were there. The Flemings were panic-struck, and began to give way, when they saw these knights attack them so vigorously and pierce them through with their spears. They retreated, and falling back on each other, were followed by the French, who marched through them or around them, always attacking the thickest bodies. They no more spared killing them than if they had been so many dogs; and they were in the right, for, had the Flemings conquered, they would have served them the same.

The Flemings, finding themselves thus driven back, and that the men at arms had won the causeway and bridge, counselled together, to set fire to the town, in hopes it would cause the French to retreat, or enable them to collect their people. This was executed, and fire set to several houses, which were instantly in flames; but they were disappointed in thinking by this to frighten the French, for they pursued them as valiantly as before, fighting and slaying them on the ground, or in the houses whither they had retreated. Upon this the Flemings made for the open plain, where they collected in a body. They sent to Vertain, Poperingue, Bergues, Rollers, Mesieres, Warneton and the other neighbouring towns, to urge them to come to their assistance at Commines. Those who fled, and the inhabitants of the villages near Commines, began to set their bells a-ringing, which clearly showed there was an engagement going forward. Some of them, however, began to slacken, and others to occupy themselves in saving what they could of their goods, and to carry them to Ypres or Courtray. Women and children ran thither, leaving their houses full of furniture, cattle and grain. Others again marched in haste towards Commines, to help their countrymen who were fighting.

While all this was passing, and those valiant knights who had crossed the Lis in boats were so gallantly engaged, the constable and van-guard were busily employed in attempting to repair the bridge and cross it. There was a very great throng, for the constable had given permission for all to pass it who could. There was much danger for those who crossed it first; and the lords who did so were obliged to step on targets thrown on the beams of the bridge. When they had crossed, they began to strengthen the bridge, for they found the planks lying on the ground, which they put in their proper places.

During the night two waggon-loads of hurdles were brought, which were of great use to them, so that shortly it was made as strong as ever. On the Tuesday the whole van-guard, passed, took possession of the place, and, as they crossed, fixed their quarters in the town.

The earl of Flanders, hearing that the van-guard was engaged at the pass of Commines, sent thither six thousand infantry to their assistance; but when they arrived, the business was over and the bridge rebuilt. The constable sent them to Warneton to rebuild that bridge, that the baggage might pass it this Tuesday without delay. News was brought on Tuesday morning to the king of France at the abbey of Marquette, that the pass at Commines was won, and the van-guard on the other side, which was very agreeable to the king and his uncles. It was instantly determined that the king should cross the river; and, the king having heard mass with his lords and drank a cup, they mounted their horses and took the road to Commines. Those of the van-guard who were in Commines drove out the Flemings. There were slain of them in the streets and fields about four thousand, not including those killed in the pursuit, in wind-mills, and in monasteries, whither they had fled for shelter; for, as soon as the Bretons had crossed, they mounted their horses and began a chase after the Flemings, and overran the country, which was then rich and plentiful.

The lords de Rieux, de Laval, de Malatrait, the viscount de la Belliere and the lord de Combort, with their men, rode on until they came to Vertain, which is a large town: it was taken and burnt, and those found in it were put to death. The Bretons had great profit from their pillage, as well as the others who had spread abroad over the country. They found the houses full of draperies, furs, with cloths of gold and silver: for, trusting to the strength of the passage over the river Lis, the Flemings had not carried away any thing from their houses to the strong towns.

The first Bretons, Normans and Burgundians who entered Flanders by the pass at Commines, paid no attention to pieces of cloth, furs or jewels, but to the gold and silver which they found. However, those who followed cleared the whole country, for every thing was acceptable to them.

CHAPTER CXVII.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD TAKES MEASURES TO RESIST THE FORCE OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—HE RECEIVES AN ANSWER FROM HIS AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND.

Bad news soon flies abroad. On Tuesday morning Philip von Artaveld heard, while he lay before Oudenarde, that the French had crossed the Lis on the Monday in boats, and had advanced as far as Commines, having conquered the Flemings posted there and in the adjacent parts; that about six thousand Flemings had been slain, and that Peter du Bois was supposed to be dead. Philip was thunderstruck at this intelligence; and he asked the lord de Harzelles, who was present, "what was to be done." The lord de Harzelles replied, "You must go to Ghent, and collect as many people as you can in the town, and return with them hither: you must then march your whole army to Courtray; for when the king of France learns that you are marching in full force against him, he will consider well before he advances further into the country. We ought in a short time to receive news from our ambassadors in England. It may be that the king of England and his uncles will cross the sea with a large army, or perhaps they have already done so, which will be fortunate for us."

"I am surprised," answered Philip, "how the English can so long delay it, when they know they are to have free entrance into this country; and I marvel what they are thinking of, as well as our people who are there. Notwithstanding this, I will not hesitate going to Ghent to draw out the arriere-ban, with which I will return and offer battle to the king of France, whatever be the consequences. I am informed by Peter du Bois, that the king of France has full twenty thousand men at arms, which constitute sixty thousand fighting men. I will draw up in battle-array as many to meet him; and if God, out of his grace, and the just cause we have, should enable me to defeat him, I shall be the most respected lord in the world; if I be discomfited, better fortune will befal a greater lord than myself."

As Philip von Artaveld and the lord de Harzelles were thus conversing, some soldiers

arrived who had been at the battle of Commines, who confirmed the first intelligence. Philip said, "And Peter du Bois, is he dead, or a prisoner?" They answered, "Neither; but he has been severely wounded in the battle, and has retired to Bruges." At these words, Philip mounted his horse and ordered thirty of his men to do the same, when he set out for Bruges. He quitted, however, the direct road, to view some of the garrison of Oudenarde who had made a sally the preceding night, but had been overpowered and slain: they were twelve in number who had been put to death. As he was thus examining the dead, he saw, coming towards him from Ghent, a herald attached to the king of England, whose name was Chandos, though called Ireland king at arms. Philip was much pleased at the arrival of this herald, and asked "what news he had brought." "My lord," replied the herald, "five of your ambassadors returned to Ghent, accompanied by a knight called sir William Frenenton*, who, by orders from the king and council, bring letters (as we learnt from them at Dover) addressed to you as regent of Flanders. When you know the contents of these letters, and approve of the great alliance offered to you, large reinforcements will be instantly sent you on the return of the knight and his companions to England." Philip said,—"I am not well satisfied with such an arrangement: the succours will come too late. Go to my quarters." He ordered him to be conducted to the lodgings of the lord de Harzelles, that he might hear the news; while he took the road to Ghent, but in so melancholy a temper of mind that nothing could be got from him, nor could he be persuaded to enter into any agreeable conversation.

CHAPTER CXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE CROSSES THE LIS AT THE BRIDGE OF COMMINES.—THE TOWN OF YPRES SURRENDERS TO HIM.

We will now return to the king of France, and say how he went on. When intelligence was brought him of Commines being conquered, that the Flemings were dispersed, and the bridge rebuilt, he set out from the abbey of Marquette, where he had lodged, and marched with his whole army in battle-array, as was befitting him to do, towards Commines. The king and his uncles arrived at Commines on the Tuesday, and took up their lodgings in the town; from whence the vanguard had marched for the hill of Ypres, where they had fixed their quarters. On the Wednesday morning the king advanced to the hill of Ypres, where he remained until the baggage and the remainder of his army should cross the river at Commines or at Warneton, for there were very numerous trains, and multitudes of horses.

On Wednesday, the king's rear guard passed the bridge of Commines. It consisted of two thousand men at arms and two thousand cross-bows, under the command of the count d'Eu, the count de Blois, the count St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the lords de Châtillon and de la Fere. These lords, with their men, lodged this Wednesday at Commines.

When night came, and these lords thought of reposing themselves after their march, they heard the cry, "To arms!" They thought certainly they should have a battle, and that the Flemings from Ypres, Cassel, Bergues, and their dependencies, were collected and on their march to attack them. The lords armed themselves, put on their helmets, displayed their banners before their lodgings: and, having lighted torches, each lord advanced to the causeway under his banner or pennon: as their men came, they drew up and arranged themselves under their proper banners; and thus they remained, half way up their legs in mud, almost the whole night. You may imagine if these lords had the best of it, such as the count de Blois and the others, who had not been accustomed to suffer such cold and comfortless nights as these a month before Christmas; but, when their honour was at stake, they minded it not, for they thought they should be attacked every moment: however, it was not so, for this was a false alarm caused by a scuffle among the varlets. Their lords, however, suffered for it, which they bore as well as they could.

On Thursday morning, the rear-guard dislodged from Commines, and marched in good order towards their main army, which was encamped on the hill of Ypres, the van-guard, the battalion of the king and all. The principal commanders held a council, to consider whether

* "Sir W. Frenenton." Q. if not Farringdon.

they should march to Ypres, Courtray, or Bruges. Whilst they remained there, the French foragers overran the country, where they found a marvellous quantity of beasts, grain, and all other provisions; for, since they had gained the passage at Commines, they were never in want. The inhabitants of Ypres, finding the king so near with his whole army, and the passage gained, were not much at their ease, and considered how they should act. The town-council assembled. The richest and chief inhabitants, who had been of the moderate party, but who had not dared to show it, proposed throwing themselves on the king's mercy, and sending to him the keys of the town. The governor, who was from Ghent, appointed by Philip von Artaveld, would not listen to a surrender, but said, "Our town is sufficiently strong, and we are well provided with every thing. We will stand our ground; during which time Philip will assemble his forces, to combat the king and raise the siege." Others replied, "That he was not assured this would so happen: that it was not in the power of Philip von Artaveld, nor of the whole country, to defeat the king of France, unless they had the assistance of the English, of which there was not any appearance; and that, in short, the best thing they could do would be to surrender themselves to the king of France." High words ensued, which ended in a riot, in which the chief inhabitants were masters. The governor, named Peter Vauclaire, was slain. When this was over, they called to them two preaching friars, whom they sent to the king and his uncles on the hill of Ypres, to know if it were agreeable to them to enter into an amicable treaty with the town.

The king was advised to grant passports to twelve of the citizens and an abbot (who being at Ypres had interfered in this business) to come to the camp, and explain more fully what their intentions were. The friars returned to the town, when the twelve citizens elected by the council and inhabitants, and the abbot, went to mount Ypres, where, casting themselves on their knees, they offered to place the town under the king's obedience for ever, and without any terms of reservation. The king of France following the good advice which was given him, to gain the country by gentle means, and not wishing to show any ill will or cruelty, received them kindly, and accepted their offer; on condition that the town would pay forty thousand francs, to defray the smaller expenses which this expedition had hitherto cost.

The inhabitants of Ypres were much rejoiced at this event, and never afterwards rebelled. Thus were the citizens pardoned. They entreated the king and his uncles would be pleased to partake of some refreshments in their town, which would give great joy to the inhabitants. A promise was in truth made them, that the king should come thither, when he should be further advanced in Flanders. Upon this the deputation returned to the town, mightily pleased to find themselves at peace with the king of France. The forty thousand francs were instantly raised among themselves, and paid to the king, or to his commissioners, before he made his entry into Ypres.

CHAPTER CXIX.—THE KING OF FRANCE RECEIVES INFORMATION OF A RIOT AMONG THE PARISIANS—SEVERAL PLACES IN FLANDERS SURRENDER TO HIM.

During the time the king of France was encamped on the hill of Ypres, news was brought that the Parisians were in rebellion: and that they had resolved, as it was then reported, to pull down the castle of Beauté, which is situated in the wood of Vincennes, and the castle of the Louvre, as well as all other castellated houses in the neighbourhood of Paris, to prevent being oppressed in future by their means. One of their leaders made a speech to excite to mischief, but which, however, as it appeared afterwards, turned out quite the contrary:—"My fair sirs, let us abstain from doing this, until we see how the king's affairs turn out in Flanders. If the Ghent men succeed, as I truly hope they will, then will be the time to destroy all these castles. Let us not begin any thing which we may repent of afterwards." It was Nicholas le Flamand who by this speech made the Parisians give up their intentions of committing outrages. They kept within the walls of Paris, which they had amply supplied with every thing; and had as rich and handsome armour as if they had been great lords. There were upwards of thirty thousand armed from head to foot, like true men at

arms, and more than thirty thousand armed with mallets. They worked day and night in forging helmets, and purchased armour wherever it was to be sold.

Now consider what a sad devilment it would have been, if the king of France, and the gallant chivalry with which he was accompanied, had been defeated in Flanders. It may readily be supposed, that then all the nobility would have been destroyed in France, as well as in other places; for the Jacquerie were never so ferocious as they would at such a time have been. In like manner the peasants began to rebel at Rheims, at Châlons in Champagne, and down the river Marne, and to menace those gentlemen, ladies and children who had remained at home. At Orleans, Blois, Rouen, and in the Beauvoisis, the devil had entered their heads to prompt them to murder every one, if God had not provided a remedy, as you will soon have related.

When those of the castlewicks of Cassel, Bergues, Bourbourg, Gravelines, Furnes, Dunkerque, Poperingue, Tourrout, Vaillant, and Malines, had heard that the men of Ypres had surrendered and put themselves under the obedience of the king of France, who had graciously pardoned them, they began to be much alarmed. After these towns had well considered the business, the inhabitants seized their governors, whom Philip von Artaveld had put over them, and having bound them strongly, so that they could not escape, led them to the king on mount Ypres, in order to please him and to appease his anger. On their arrival, they cast themselves on their knees and said,—"Noble king, we put our lives, towns, and fortunes under your obedience, and wish so to remain. In order to show that we regard you as our true lord, here are the governors whom Philip von Artaveld had set over us; for by force, and not otherwise, has he made us obey him: you may do your pleasure with them, for they have governed us according to their wills." The king was advised by his lords to grant his pardon to all these towns: on condition, however, that they should pay him, as part of his expenses in this war, sixty thousand francs. All the provisions were to be given up, and whatever cattle might be found in the fields; but they were assured that their towns should neither be burnt nor pillaged. This was very satisfactory to them, and they greatly thanked the king and his council. They were much rejoiced on finding they had escaped so well; but the governors of Philip von Artaveld, who had been carried thither, were beheaded on the bridge of Ypres.

No mention whatever was made in these treaties and submissions of the earl of Flanders: nor was he, or any one of his court, ever summoned to the councils of the king. If he was displeased at this I am ignorant, but during the whole expedition he was treated in the same manner. None of his people were permitted to quit the army, or the battalion which was posted by orders of the master of the cross-bows, on the wings, although they were Flemings. It was also ordered by the king, under pain of death, that no one in the army should speak Flemish, nor carry any stick bound with iron *.

CHAPTER CXX.—THE KING OF FRANCE LODGES IN YPRES.—PETER DU BOIS PREVENTS BRUGES FROM SURRENDERING TO THE KING.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD ASSEMBLES HIS FORCES TO COMBAT THE FRENCH.

While the king and his whole army were on mount Ypres, many markets were there held, and plenty of pillage was sold to those of Lille, Douay, and Tournay; indeed to all who wished to buy. A piece of cloth of Vexin, Malines, Poperingue or Commines, was sold for one franc. People were clothed there too cheaply. Some Bretons and other pillagers, determined on gain, went in large bodies, and loaded carts and horses with their booty of cloths, linen, knives, money in gold and silver, dishes and plates of silver wherever they found them, which they sent, well packed up, to a place of safety on the other side of the Lis, or by their servants into France.

The king and all the lords came to Ypres, where they quartered themselves as well as they could, and in as great numbers as the town would hold. They remained there to refresh themselves four or five days. The inhabitants of Bruges had received information of the

* *Baston à virolle*, literally, "a stick with a ferule."—Ed.

conduct of the king, that he was at Ypres, and how the whole country, as far as Gravelines, had submitted to him. They were doubtful whether to negotiate with the king, or let it alone: however, for the present they did nothing. The principal cause which withheld them from surrendering was the great number of men at arms which Philip von Artaveld had with him from their town: for there were at least seven thousand at the siege of Oudenarde; and their principal citizens were at Ghent as hostages, in order that Peter du Bois might more easily govern the place.

Besides, Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre were in the town, who comforted them, saying, "My good gentlemen, do not be alarmed if the king of France is come to Ypres: you know that formerly the whole power of France was sent by king Philip to Courtray *, and could not withstand the courage of our fathers, for his whole army was slain and defeated. Know then, that this army shall in like manner be destroyed; for Philip von Artaveld, with an immense force, will not leave things thus without combating the king. It may very well happen, that from the good cause we are engaged in, and the good fortune which follows Ghent, Philip may defeat the king, so that not one shall escape or recross the river, but the whole country which has submitted will be instantly reconquered. Thus will you remain like true and loyal men in your franchises, and in the grace of Philip and of us Ghent men." With such speeches as this, Peter du Bois and Peter le Nuitre daily harangued the men of Bruges, and restrained them from entering into any treaty with the king of France.

Whilst these things were going on, the citizens of Ghent, with sir William Fermiton †, arrived at Calais, from England, to conclude and seal those treaties and agreements which the English wished to enter into with the Flemings. Sir John Devereux, governor of Calais, sent for them, and told them, "that they could not continue their journey at that time, for the king of France was at Ypres, and that all the country, from Calais to Ypres, had surrendered to him. We shall shortly have more news: for it is reported that Philip von Artaveld is assembling his forces to combat the king of France, and we shall see who will have the best of it. Should the Flemings be beaten, you have nothing to do in Flanders; and if the king of France be defeated, it is all our own. "This," said the English knight, "you may depend upon as truth." The intelligence detained the citizens of Ghent and sir William Fermiton.

We will now return to Philip, and say what he was doing. Being eager to combat the king of France, as he plainly showed, he ordered, on his arrival at Ghent, every man capable of bearing arms, after leaving a sufficient garrison in the town, to follow him. All obeyed; for he gave them to understand, that by the grace of God, they would defeat the French, be lords of Ghent, and rank as sovereigns among other nations. Philip von Artaveld carried with him about ten thousand men as the arriere-ban: he had before sent to Bruges, Damme, Ardembourg, Sluys, to the sea-coasts, the Quatre Mestiers, and constablewicks of Grammont, Dendremonde, and Alost, and had raised from those places about thirty thousand more. He and his whole army were quartered one night before Oudenarde: on the morrow they marched away, and came before Courtray: he had with him about fifty thousand men. The king of France received intelligence, that Philip von Artaveld was approaching, and, as it was said, with full sixty thousand men. Upon this, the van-guard set off from Ypres, under the command of the constable and marshals of France, and encamped a league and a half from Ypres, between Rollers and Rosebecque: on the morrow, the king and all the lords, with the main battalion and rear-guard, quartered themselves there also. I must say that these lords, whilst they were in the field, suffered greatly; for it was in the heart of winter, the beginning of December, and it rained every day. They slept on the roads every night, for they were daily and hourly in expectation of a battle: it was commonly said in the army, "They will come to-morrow;" which they believed, from the news the foragers brought when they returned from their excursions.

* "Courtray." The battle 1302.

† "Fermiton." Froissart before calls him Fremeton. I should have supposed this person was sir William Farendon, or Frampton, if, in the Rolles François, the names of those sent by Richard had not been particularly named, as may be seen underneath.

Ann. Dom. 1382-1383. Membrana 4.

"De potestate data Johanni Devereux, Briano de Stapilton, Willielmo Ermyn, et Johanni de Burley, ad tractandum cum comiti Flandriæ et gentibus ibidem de debatis, et de attemptatis reformandis."—Data apud Westminster, 16th May.

The king was quartered in the midst of his army. The lords of France were much vexed at Philip for delaying, for they were very impatient of being out in such bad weather. It should be known, that with the king was all the flower of French knighthood: it was therefore highly presumptuous in Philip von Artaveld and the Flemings to think of fighting with them; for if they had been satisfied with continuing their siege of Oudenarde, and had slightly entrenched themselves, the French, considering the wetness of the season, would never have marched to seek them; and, if they had done so, they would have combated them under the greatest disadvantages. But Philip was so vain of the good fortune he had met with at Bruges, that he thought nothing could withstand him, and he hoped he should be lord of the world. No other thoughts had he, and was nothing afraid of the king of France nor his army; for, if he had entertained any fears, he would not have done that which he did, as you shall hear related.

CHAPTER CXXI.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD, HAVING ENERTAINED HIS CAPTAINS AT SUPPER, GIVES THEM INSTRUCTIONS HOW THEY ARE TO ACT ON THE MORROW AT THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE.—WONDERFUL APPEARANCES IN THE HEAVENS ARE SEEN DURING THIS NIGHT.

PHILIP VON ARTAVELD, with his whole army, on the Wednesday evening preceding the battle, was encamped in a handsome position, tolerably strong, between a ditch and grove, and with so good a hedge in front that they could not easily be attacked. It was between the hill and town of Rosebecque where the king was quartered. That same evening, Philip gave a magnificent supper to his captains at his quarters; for he had wherewithal to do so, as his provisions followed him. When the supper was over, he addressed them in these words: "My fair gentlemen, you are my companions in this expedition, and I hope to-morrow we shall have something to do; for the king of France, who is impatient to meet and fight with us, is quartered at Rosebecque. I therefore beg of you to be loyal, and not alarmed at any thing you shall see or hear; for we are combating in a just cause, to preserve the franchises of Flanders, and for our right. Admonish your men to behave well, and draw them up in such manner that, by this means and our courage, we may obtain the victory. To-morrow, through God's grace, we shall not find any lord to combat with us, or any who will dare take the field, unless he mean to remain there, and we shall gain greater honour than if we could have depended on the support of the English; for, if they had been with us, they alone would have gained all the reputation. The whole flower of the French nobility is with the king, for he has not left one behind: order, therefore, your men not to grant quarter to any one, but to kill all who fall in their way. By this means we shall remain in peace; for I will and command, under pain of death, that no prisoners be made, except it be the king of France. With regard to the king, I wish to support him, as he is but a child and ought to be forgiven; for he knows not what he does, and acts according as he is instructed: we will carry him to Ghent and teach him Flemish; but as for dukes, earls and other men at arms, kill them all. The common people of France will never be angry with us for so doing; for they wish, as I am well assured, that not one should ever return to France, and it shall be so."

His companions who were present at this discourse, and who were from the different towns in Flanders and the country of Bruges, agreed to this proposal, which they thought a proper one, and with one voice replied to Philip, "You say well, and thus shall it be." They then took leave of Philip, and each man returned to his quarters, to order his men how they were to act conformably to the instructions they had just had. Thus passed the night in the army of Philip: but about midnight, as I have been informed, there happened a most wonderful event, and such that I have never heard any thing equal to it related. When these Flemish captains had retired, and all gone to their quarters to repose, the night being far advanced, those upon guard fancied they heard a great noise towards the Mont d'Or. Some of them were sent to see what it could be, and if the French were making any preparations to attack them in the night. On their return, they reported, they had been as far

as the place whence the noise came, but that they had discovered nothing. This noise, however, was still heard, and it seemed to some of them that their enemies were on the mount about a league distant: this was also the opinion of a damsel from Ghent whom Philip von Artaveld had carried with him, on this expedition, as his sweetheart.

Whilst Philip was sleeping under his tent on a coverlid near the coal-fire, this damsel went out of the tent about midnight, to examine the sky, and see what sort of weather it was and the time of night, for she was unable to sleep. She looked towards Rosebecque, and saw, in divers parts of the sky, smoke and sparks of fire flying about, caused by the fires the French were making under hedges and bushes. This woman listened attentively, and thought she heard a great noise between their army and that of the French, and also the cry of Montjoye and several other cries; and it seemed to her that they came from the Mont d'Or, between the camp and Rosebecque. She was exceedingly frightened, returned to the tent, awakened Philip, and said to him,—"Sir, rise instantly, and arm yourself; for I have heard a great noise on the Mont d'Or, which I believe to be made by the French who are coming to attack you."

Philip at these words arose, and wrapping himself in a gown, took a battle-axe and went out of his tent to listen to this noise. In like manner as she had heard it, Philip did the same; and it seemed to him as if there were a great tournament. He directly returned to his tent, and ordered his trumpet to be sounded to awaken the army. As soon as the sound of the trumpet was heard, it was known to be his. Those of the guard in front of the camp armed themselves, and sent some of their companions to Philip to know what he wished to have done, as he was thus early arming himself. On their arrival, he wanted to send them to the part whence the noise had come, to find out what it could be; but they reported that that had already been done, and that there was no cause found for it. Philip was much astonished; and they were greatly blamed, that having heard a noise towards the enemy's quarters, they had remained quiet. "Ha," said they to Philip, "in truth we did hear a noise towards the Mont d'Or, and we sent to know what it could be; but those who had been ordered thither, reported that there was nothing to be found or seen. Not having seen any positive appearance of a movement of the enemy, we were unwilling to alarm the army lest we should be blamed for it." This speech of the guard somewhat appeased Philip; but in his own mind he marvelled much what it could be. Some said it was the devils of hell running and dancing about the place where the battle was to be, for the abundance of prey they expected.

Neither Philip von Artaveld nor the Flemings were quite at their ease after this alarm. They were suspicious of having been betrayed and surprised. They armed themselves leisurely with whatever they had, made large fires in their quarters, and breakfasted comfortably, for they had victuals in abundance. About an hour before day, Philip said, "I think it right that we march into the plain and draw up our men; because, should the French advance to attack us, we ought not to be unprepared, nor in disorder, but properly drawn up like men, knowing well what we are to do." All obeyed this order, and, quitting their quarters, marched to a heath beyond the grove. There was in front a wide ditch newly made, and in their rear quantities of brambles, junipers, and shrubs. They drew up at their leisure in this strong position, and formed one large battalion, thick and strong. By the reports from the constables, they were about fifty thousand, all chosen men, who valued not their lives. Among them were about sixty English archers, who, having stolen away from their companions at Calais, to gain greater pay from Philip, had left behind them their armour in their quarters.

Everything being arranged, each man took to his arms. The horses, baggage, women, and varlets, were dismissed: but Philip von Artaveld had his page mounted on a superb courser, worth five hundred florins, which he had ordered to attend him, to display his state, and to mount if a pursuit of the French should happen, in order that he might enforce the commands which he had given to kill all. It was with this intention that Philip had posted him by his side. Philip had likewise from the town of Ghent about nine thousand men, well armed, whom he placed near his person; for he had greater confidence in them than in any of the others: they therefore, with Philip at their head with banners displayed, were in front; and

those from Alost and Grammont were next; then the men from Courtray, Bruges, Damme, Sluys, and the Franconate. They were armed, for the greater part, with bludgeons, iron caps, jerkins, and with gloves *de fer de baleine*. Each man had a staff with an iron point, and bound round with iron. The different townsmen wore liveries and arms, to distinguish them from one another. Some had jackets of blue and yellow, others wore a welt of black on a red jacket, others chevroned with white on a blue coat, others green and blue, others lozenged with black and white, others quartered red and white, others all blue. Each carried the banners of their trades. They had also large knives hanging down from their girdles. In this state they remained, quietly waiting for day, which soon came.

I will now relate to you the proceedings of the French as fully as I have done those of the Flemings.

CHAPTER CXXII.—KING CHARLES ENTERTAINS AT SUPPER HIS UNCLES AND SOME OTHERS OF HIS PRINCIPAL BARONS ON THE EVE OF THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE.—THE CONSTABLE DE CLISSON IS EXCUSED FROM ATTENDING THE KING'S PERSON DURING THE BATTLE.

The king of France, and the lords with him, knew well that the Flemings were advancing, and that a battle must be the consequence; for no proposals for peace were offered, and all seemed to have made up their minds for an engagement. It had been proclaimed on the Wednesday morning in the town of Ypres, that the men at arms should follow the king into the field, and post themselves according to the instructions they had received. Every one obeyed this order, and no man at arms, or even lusty varlet, remained in Ypres, except those appointed to guard the horses, which had been conducted to Ypres when their lords dismounted. However, the van-guard had many with them for the use of their light troops, and to reconnoitre the battalions of the enemy; for to them they were of more service than to the others.

The French on this Wednesday remained in the plain pretty near to Rosebecque, where the lords and captains were busy in arranging their plans. In the evening the king gave a supper to his three uncles, the constable of France, the lord de Coucy, and to some other foreign lords from Brabant, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Germany, Lorraine, and Savoy, who had come thither to serve him. He, as well as his uncles, thanked them much for the good services they had done and were willing to do for them. The earl of Flanders this evening commanded the guard of the king's battalion, and had under him six hundred lances, and twelve hundred other men.

After the supper which the king had given on the Wednesday to these lords, and when they had retired, the constable of France remained to converse with the king and his uncles. It had been arranged in the council with the king, that the constable, sir Oliver de Clisson, should resign his constableship for the morrow (as they fully expected a battle) and that, for the day only, the lord de Coucy was to take his place, and sir Oliver remain near the king's person: so that when the constable was taking his leave, the king said to him, as he had been instructed, in a courteous and agreeable manner, "Constable, we will that you resign to us, for to-morrow only, your office; for we have appointed another, and you shall remain near our person." These words, which were new to the gallant constable, surprised him so much, that he replied, "Most dear lord, I well know that I can never be more highly honoured than in guarding your person; but, dear lord, it will give great displeasure to my companions, and those of the van-guard, if they do not see me with them: and we may lose more than we can gain by it. I do not pretend that I am so valiant, that the business will be done by me alone; but I declare, dear lord, under the correction of your noble council, that for these last fifteen days, I have been solely occupied how I could add to your honour, to that of your army, and to my own office. I have instructed the army in the manner in which they were to be drawn up: and if to-morrow, under the guidance of God, we engage, and they do not see me; or, if I fail in giving them advice and support, I who have always been accustomed in such cases so to do, they will be thunderstruck; some may say I am a hypocrite, and have

done this slily, in order to escape from the first blows. I therefore entreat of you, most dear lord, that you would not interfere in what has been arranged and ordered for the best, for I must say you will gain the more by it."

The king did not know what answer to make to this speech, any more than those present who had heard it. At last the king said, very properly, "Constable, I do not mean to say that it has been any way thought you have not, on every occasion, most fully acquitted yourself, and will still do so; but my late lord and father loved you more than any other person, and had the greatest confidence in you: it is from this love and confidence which he reposed in you that I should wish to have you on this occasion near to me, and in my company. "Very dear lord," replied the constable, "you will be so well attended by such valiant men, all having been settled with the greatest deliberation, that it cannot any way be amended, so that you and your council ought to be satisfied with it. I therefore beg of you, for the love of God, most dear lord, that you will permit me to execute my office: and to-morrow your success shall be such that your friends will be rejoiced, and your enemies enraged."

To this the king only answered, "Constable, I will it be so: in God's name, and in the name of St. Denis, act as becomes your office. I will not say one word more to you on the subject; for you see clearer in this business than I do, or those who first proposed it. Be to-morrow at mass." "Willingly, sir," replied the constable. He took leave of the king, who saluted him, and returned to his quarters, with his attendants and companions.

CHAPTER CXXIII.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD AND HIS FLEMINGS QUIT THE STRONG POSITION THEY HAD TAKEN IN THE MORNING, TO ENCAMP ON MONT D'OR, NEAR TO YPRES.—THE CONSTABLE AND ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, WITH THE BASTARD OF LANGRES, SET OUT TO RECONNOITRE THEIR SITUATION.

On the Thursday morning all the men at arms of the army, the van-guard, the rear-guard, and the king's battalion, armed themselves completely, except their helmets, as if they were about to engage: for the lords well knew the day could not pass without a battle, from the reports of the foragers on the Wednesday evening, who had seen the Flemings on their march demanding a battle. The king of France heard mass, as did the other lords, who all devoutly prayed to God, that the day might turn out to their honour. In the morning there was a thick mist, which continued so long that no one could see the distance of an acre: the lords were much vexed at this, but they could not remedy it.

After the king's mass, which had been attended by the constable and other great lords, it was ordered that those valiant knights sir Oliver de Clisson, constable of France, sir John de Vienne, admiral of France, and sir William de Poitiers, bastard of Langres, who had been long used to arms, should reconnoitre the position of the Flemings, and report to the king and his uncles the truth of it: during which time, the lord d'Albreth and sir Hugh de Châtillon were employed in forming the battalions. These three knights, leaving the king, set off on the flower of their steeds and rode towards that part where they thought they should find the Flemings, and towards the spot where they had encamped the preceding night.

You must know that on the Thursday morning, when the thick mist came on, the Flemings having, as you have before heard, marched, before day-break, to this strong position, had there remained until about eight o'clock, when, not seeing nor hearing anything of the French, their numbers excited in them pride and self-sufficiency; and their captains, as well as others, began thus to talk among themselves: "What are we about, thus standing still, and almost frozen with cold? Why do we not advance with courage, since such is our inclination, and seek our enemies to combat them? We remain here to no purpose, for the French will never come to look for us. Let us at least march to Mont d'Or, and take advantage of the mountain."—Many such speeches were made, and they all consented to march to Mont d'Or, which was between them and the French. In order to avoid the ditch in their front, they turned the grove and entered the plain. Whilst they were thus on their march round the grove, the three knights came so opportunely that they reconnoitred them at their ease, and rode by the side of their battalions, which were again formed within a bow-shot from them. When they

had considered them on the left, they did the same on the right, and thus carefully and fully examined them. The Flemings saw them plainly, but paid not any attention to them; nor did any one quit his ranks. The three knights were well mounted, and so much used to this business that they cared not for them. Philip said to his captains, "Our enemies are near at hand: let us draw up here in battle-array for the combat. I have seen strong appearances of their intentions: for these three horsemen who pass and repass have reconnoitred us, and are still doing so."

Upon this, the Flemings halted on the Mont d'Or, and formed in one thick and strong battalion; when Philip said aloud, "Gentlemen, when the attack begins, remember our enemies were defeated and broken at the battle of Bruges by our keeping in a compact body. Be careful not to open your ranks, but let every man strengthen himself as much as possible and bear his staff right before him. You will intermix your arms, so that no one may break you, and march straight forward with a good step, without turning to the right or left; and act together, so that, when the conflict begins, you may throw your bombards and shoot with your cross-bows in such manner that our enemies may be thunderstruck with surprise."

When Philip had formed his men in battle-array, and told them how they were to act, he went to the wing of his army in which he had the greatest confidence. Near him was his page on the courser, to whom he said, "Go, wait for me at that bush out of bow-shot; and, when thou shalt see the discomfiture of the French and the pursuit begin, bring me my horse and shout my cry; they will make way for thee to come to me, for I wish to be the first in the pursuit." The page, on these words, left his master and did as he had ordered him. Philip placed near him, on the side of this wing, forty English archers whom he had in his pay. Now, if it be considered how well Philip had arranged this business, I am of opinion, and in this I am joined by several others, that he well knew the art of war: but in one instance, which I will relate, he acted wrong. It was in quitting the first strong position he had taken in the morning; for they would never have sought to fight him there, as it would have been too much to their disadvantage; but he wished to show that his people were men of courage, and had little fear of their enemies.

CHAPTER CXXIV.—THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE, BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND FLEMINGS.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS SLAIN, AND HIS WHOLE ARMY DEFEATED.

The three knights returned to the king of France and to his battalions, which had already been formed and were marching slowly in order of battle: for there were many prudent and brave men, who had been long accustomed to arms, in the vanguard, in the king's battalion, and in the rearguard, who knew well what they were to do, for they were the flower of chivalry in Christendom. Way was made for them; and the lord de Clisson spoke first, bowing to the king from his horse, and taking off the beaver he wore, saying, "Sire, rejoice: these people are our own, and our lusty varlets will fight well with them." "Constable," replied the king, "God assist you! now advance, in the name of God and St. Denis." The knights, before mentioned as the king's body-guard, now drew up in good order. The king created many new kinghts, as did different lords in their battalions, so that several new banners were displayed.

It was ordered, that when the engagement was about to commence, the battalion of the king, with the oriflamme of France, should march to the front of the army, that the van and rearguards should form the two wings as speedily as possible, and by this means inclose and straiten the Flemings, who were drawn up in the closest order, and gain a great advantage over them. Notice of this intended movement was sent to the rearguard, of which the count d'Eu, the count de Blois, the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count de Châtillon, and the lord de la Fere were commanders. The young lord de Haurel displayed his banner this day before the count de Blois, who also knighted sir Thomas d'Istre, and the bastard sir James de Hameth. According to the report of the heralds, there were this day created four hundred and sixty-seven knights.

The lord de Clisson, sir John de Vienne, and sir William de Langres, having made their

report to the king, left him and went to their post in the vanguard. Shortly afterwards, the oriflamme was displayed by sir Peter de Villiers, who bore it. Some say, (as they find it written) that it was never before displayed against Christians, and that it was a matter of great doubt during the march whether it should be displayed or not. However, the matter having been fully considered, they resolved to display it, because the Flemings followed opinions contrary to that of pope Clement, and called themselves Urbanists; for which the French said they were rebellious and out of the pale of the church. This was the principal cause why it had been brought and displayed in Flanders.

The oriflamme* was a most excellent banner, and had been sent from heaven with great mystery: it is a sort of ganfanon†, and is of much comfort in the day of battle to those who see it. Proof was made of its virtues at this time; for all the morning there was so thick a fog, that with difficulty could they see each other, but the moment the knight had displayed it, and raised his lance in the air, this fog instantly dispersed, and the sky was as clear as it had been during the whole year. The lords of France were much rejoiced when they saw this clear day, and the sun shine, so that they could look about them on all sides.

It was a fine sight to view these banners, helmets, and beautiful emblazoned arms: the army kept a dead silence, not uttering a sound, but eyed the large battalion of Flemings before them, who were marching in a compact body, with their staves advanced in the air, which looked like spears, and, so great were their numbers, they had the appearance of a wood. The lord d'Estonnenort told me, that he saw (as well as several others) when the oriflamme was displayed, and the fog had dispersed, a white dove fly many times round the king's battalion. When it had made several circles, and the engagement was about to begin, it perched on one of the king's banners: this was considered as a fortunate omen.

The Flemings advanced so near, that they commenced a cannonade with bars of iron, and quarrels headed with brass. Thus was the battle begun by Philip and his men against the king's battalion, which at the outset was very sharp: for the Flemings, inflamed with pride and courage, came on with vigour, and, pushing with shoulders and breasts like enraged wild boars, they were so strongly interlaced, one with the other, that they could not be broken, nor their ranks forced. By this attack, of cannons and bombards, the lord d'Albaruin, banneret, Morlet de Haruin, and James Doré, on the side of the French, were first slain, and the king's battalion obliged to fall back. But the van and rearguards pushed forward, and, by inclosing the Flemings, straitened them much. Upon the two wings these men at arms made their attack: and, with their well-tempered lances of Bordeaux, pierced through their coats of mail to the flesh. All who were assailed by them drew back to avoid the blows, for never would those that escaped return to the combat: by this means, the Flemings were so straitened that they could not use their staves to defend themselves. They lost both strength and breath, and, falling upon one another, were stifled to death without striking a blow.

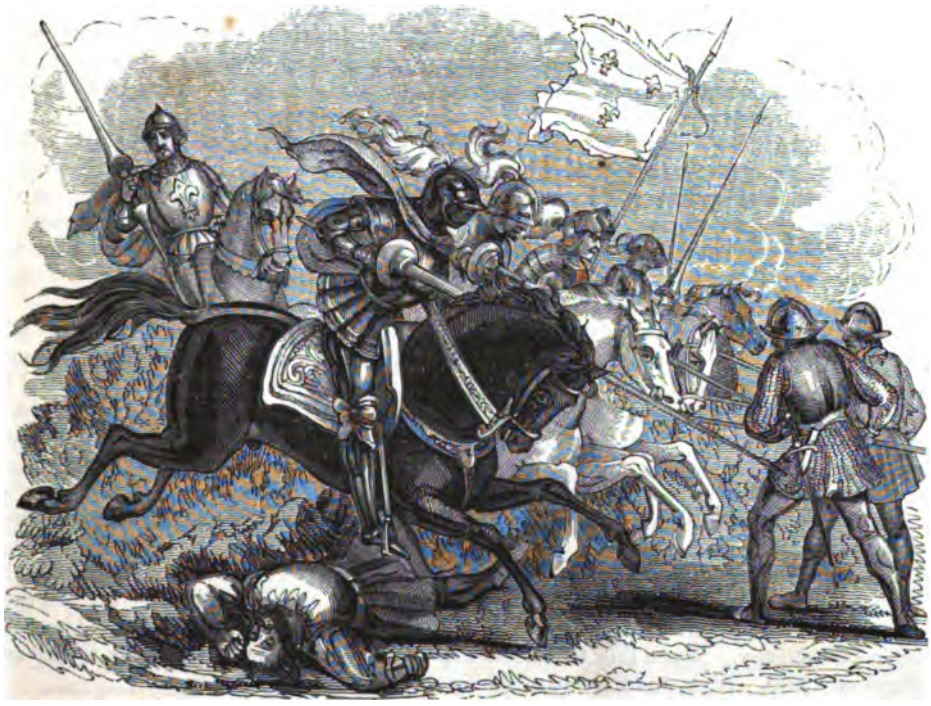
Philip von Artaveld was surrounded, wounded by spears, and beaten down, with numbers of the Ghent men, who were his guards. When Philip's page saw the ill success of his countrymen, being well mounted on his courser, he set off, and left his master, for he could not give him any assistance, and returned towards Courtray, on his way to Ghent. When the Flemings found themselves inclosed on two sides, there was an end to the business, for they could not assist each other. The king's battalion, which had been somewhat disordered at the beginning, now recovered. The men at arms knocked down the Flemings with all their might. They had well sharpened battle-axes, with which they cut through helmets and disbrained heads: others gave such blows with leaden maces that nothing could withstand them. Scarcely were the Flemings overthrown before the pillagers advanced, who, mixing with the men at arms, made use of the large knives they carried, and finished slaying whoever fell into their hands, without more mercy than if they had been so many dogs. The clattering on the helmets, by the axes and leaden maces, was so loud, that nothing else could

* The oriflamme was a sacred banner, carefully preserved, of a red colour, and had the name of St. Dionysius on it. This was never called out but on the most urgent occasions, when the king himself was present, and to be displayed solely against heretics.

† Gonfanon was a square pennon fixed to the end of a lance, such as are now used in Italy; and the bearer was called Gonfanonier, or Gonfaloniere.

be heard for the noise. I was told that if all the armourers of Paris and Bruxelles had been there working at their trade, they could not have made a greater noise than these combatants did on the helmets of their enemies; for they struck with all their force, and set to their work with the greatest good will. Some, indeed, pressed too forward into the crowd, and were surrounded and slain: in particular, sir Louis de Gousalz, a knight from Berry, and sir Fleton de Reniel. There were several more, which was a great pity; but in such a battle as this, where such numbers were engaged, it is not possible for victory to be obtained without being dearly bought; for young knights and squires, eager to gain renown, willingly run into perils in hopes of honour.

The crowd was now so great, and so dangerous for those inclosed in it, that the men at arms, if not instantly assisted, could not raise themselves when once down. By this were



Battle of Roosebecque. Designed from various authorities in the Harleian MSS., 4374.

several of the French killed and smothered; but they were not many, for, when in danger, they helped each other. There was a large and high mount of the Flemings who were slain; and never was there seen so little blood spilt at so great a battle, where such numbers were killed. When those in the rear saw the front fail, and that they were defeated, they were greatly astonished, and began to throw away their staves and armour, to disband and fly towards Courtray and other places, not having any care but to save themselves if possible. The Bretons and French pursued them into ditches, alder groves, and heaths, where they fought with and slew them. Numbers were killed in the pursuit, between the field of battle and Courtray, whither they were flying in their way to Ghent.

This battle on Mont d'Or took place the 27th day of November, on the Thursday before Advent, in the year of grace 1382; and at that time the king of France was fourteen years of age.

CHAPTER CXXV.—THE NUMBER OF SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF ROSEBECQUE AND PURSUIT AFTERWARDS.—PHILIP VON ARTAVELD IS HANGED AFTER HE WAS DEAD.—THE SIEGE OF OUDENARDE IS RAISED.—PETER DU BOIS RETREATS TO GHENT.—THE KING OF FRANCE FIXES HIS QUARTERS IN THE TOWN OF COURTRAY.

Thus were the Flemings defeated on Mont d'Or, their pride humbled, and Philip von Artaveld slain; and with him nine thousand men from Ghent and its dependencies (according to the report of the heralds) on the spot, not including those killed in the pursuit, which amounted to twenty-five thousand more. This battle, from the beginning to the defeat, did not last more than half an hour. The event was very honourable to all Christendom, as well as to the nobility and gentry; for had those low-bred peasants succeeded, there would have been unheard of cruelties practised, to the destruction of all gentlemen, by the common people, who had everywhere risen in rebellion. Now, let us think of the Parisians: what they will say, when they hear the news of the defeat of the Flemings at Rosebecque, and the death of Philip von Artaveld, their leader? They will not be much rejoiced more than several other large towns.

When this battle was completely finished, they allowed time for the pursuers to collect together, and sounded the trumpets of retreat, for each to retire to his quarters, as was proper. The vanguard halted beyond the king's battalion, where the Flemings were quartered on the Wednesday, and made themselves very comfortable; for there was a sufficiency of provision in the king's army, besides the purveyances which came from Ypres. They made, the ensuing night, brilliant fires in different places, of the staves of the Flemings: whoever wished for any could collect sufficient to load his back.

When the king of France arrived at his camp, where his magnificent pavilion of red silk had been pitched, and when he had been disarmed, his uncles, and many barons of France came, as was right, to attend on him. Philip von Artaveld then came into his mind, and he said: "If Philip is dead or alive, I should like to see him." They replied, "they would have a search made for him." It was proclaimed through the army, that whoever should discover the body of Philip von Artaveld, should receive one hundred francs. Upon this the varlets examined the dead, who were all stripped, or nearly so, and Philip through avarice was so strictly sought after, that he was found by a varlet, who had formerly served him some time, and who knew him perfectly. He was dragged before the king's pavilion. The king looked at him for some time, as did the other lords. He was turned over and over to see if he had died of wounds, but they found none that could have caused his death. He had been squeezed in the crowd, and, falling into a ditch, numbers of Ghent men fell upon him, who died in his company. When they had sufficiently viewed him, he was taken from thence and hanged on a tree. Such was the end of Philip von Artaveld.

Sir Daniel de Haluin who, with his knights and squires, had held out Oudenarde so highly to his honour, knowing well that the king of France was in Flanders, and that there would be a battle with the Flemings, lighted, late at night on the Wednesday preceding the battle, four torches, which he hoisted above the walls, as a signal that the siege would be raised. About midnight, on the Thursday, news was brought to the lord of Harzelles and the others, that their army had been completely routed, and Philip von Artaveld slain. Upon this they instantly broke up the siege, and marched away for Ghent, leaving behind them the greater part of their stores, each running as fast as he could to Ghent. The garrison of Oudenarde was ignorant of this retreat, and remained so until the morrow morning. On being informed of it, they sallied out, and carried into Oudenarde great pillage of knives, carriages, and stores, which they found hid.

On Thursday evening, intelligence arrived at Bruges of the defeat of the army, and of everything being lost. They were more astonished than ever, and said among themselves, "Our destruction is now come upon us: if the Bretons should advance hither and enter our town, we shall be pillaged and murdered, for they will spare none." Upon this, the townspeople of both sexes, collected their jewels and most precious effects, and began to embark in vessels, to save themselves by sea, in Holland or Zealand, or wherever fortune should carry

them. In this manner were they employed four days: and you would not have found in all the hôtels of Bruges one silver spoon. Everything was packed up for fear of the Bretons.

When Peter du Bois, who was confined to his bed from the wounds he had received at Commines, heard of the defeat of the army, and death of Philip von Artaveld, and how much the inhabitants of Bruges were alarmed, he did not think himself very safe, and therefore declared he would set out from Bruges and return to Ghent; for he thought that Ghent would be much frightened: he therefore ordered a litter for himself, as he could not ride. You must know, that when the news arrived at Ghent of the great loss of their men, the death of Philip von Artaveld, and the destruction of their army, they were so much cast down, that if the French on the day of the battle, or even on the Friday or Saturday, had advanced to Ghent before Peter du Bois arrived there, they would have opened the gates to them, without any opposition, and submitted to their mercy. But the French did not attend to this, thinking themselves perfectly masters since Philip was dead; and that the Ghent men would, of their own accord, surrender themselves to the king's mercy. This measure, however, they did not adopt. On the contrary, they alone carried on the war with greater vigour and bitterness than before, as you will hear related in the continuance of this history.

On the Friday the king dislodged from Rosebecque, on account of the stench of the dead: he was advised to advance to Courtray to refresh himself. The halze* and some knights and squires who well knew the country, mounting their horses, entered the town of Courtray full gallop; for there was not any opposition made. The women, both rich and poor, and many men also, ran into cellars and churches to save themselves, so that it was a pitiful sight. Those who first entered Courtray gained considerably by the pillage. The French and Bretons next came there, and lodged themselves as they entered. The king of France made his entry the first day of December.

A strict search was now made over the town for the Flemings who had hid themselves, and no man was admitted to mercy, for the French hated them as much as they were hated by the townspeople, on account of a battle which had formerly been fought before Courtray, when the count Robert d'Artois and all the flower of the French nobility were slain. The king had heard that there was in a chapel of the Virgin in Courtray five hundred gilt spurs, which had belonged to the knights of France who had perished at the battle of Courtray in the year 1302, and that the inhabitants every year kept a grand solemnity, by way of triumph, for the success of this battle. He declared he would make them pay for it; and, on his departure, would give up the town to fire and flame; so that they should remember, in times to come, that the king of France had been there.

Soon after the arrival of the king and his lords at Courtray, sir Daniel de Haluin, with fifty lances from the garrison of Oudenarde, came thither to pay their respects to the king. They were very graciously received by him and his lords; and, after staying there one day, they returned to their companions in Oudenarde.

CHAPTER CXXVI.—BRUGES SUBMITS TO THE KING'S MERCY.—THE COUNT DE BLOIS GUARDS THE COUNTRY OF HAINAULT FROM BEING PILLAGED.—THE INHABITANTS OF GHENT GAIN COURAGE FROM PETER DU BOIS.

The Bretons and the van-guard showed very plainly the great desire they had to march to Bruges and to divide the spoil among themselves, for they were quartered between Tourout and Bruges. The earl of Flanders, who had an affection for the town of Bruges, and who would have been sorry for its destruction, had strong suspicions of their designs. He had received intelligence of what was going forward in Bruges, and how very much they were frightened. He therefore took compassion on them, and spoke to his son, the duke of

* This name has puzzled me very much: I cannot find it in any dictionary. It is called, both in MSS. and print, Hase, Haze, Hazale and Halze.—[*Hase* was a title conferred on the Bastard of Flanders and Brabant, but it is difficult to account for its origin; the meaning of the word, according to Cotgrave's Dictionary, is "an old female conie or hare," and in subsequent parts of the work the same person is called "Le Lievre de Brabant," the *hare* of Brabant. Some accidental circumstance probably gave occasion for this somewhat strange appellation.—Ed.]

Burgundy, remonstrating with him, that if the town of Bruges should throw itself on the king's mercy, it ought not to be refused: for, if the Bretons or others were permitted to enter it, it would be irrecoverably ruined. The duke agreed to this. Now it happened that, during the king's residence at Courtray, the inhabitants of Bruges, who were in great alarms and knew not whether to quit their town or wait the event, determined to send two friars to the king, to solicit a passport for twelve of the principal inhabitants to wait on his majesty and lay their case before him.

The monks came to Courtray and spoke with the king and his council, and the earl of Flanders, who softened the business as much as he could. The king granted the passport for the twelve citizens to come and return, and said he would willingly hear them. On the return of the monks to Bruges, twelve deputies set out, under the passport they had brought, and came to the king at Courtray, where they found him accompanied by his uncles. They cast themselves on their knees, and entreated him to accept them for his subjects; that they were his men, and the town was at his mercy; but begged him, for the love of God, to have pity on them, and not suffer the town to be destroyed or pillaged; for, if it were, too many persons would be ruined. With regard to having opposed their lord, they had been forced to it by Philip von Artaveld and the Ghent men; for they had always loyally acquitted themselves to the earl. The king heard this speech through the interpretation of the earl of Flanders, who was present, and who on his knees entreated for them.

It was explained to the citizens of Bruges, that it would be necessary to satisfy the Bretons and men at arms who were encamped between Tourout and Bruges, and that there was no other means of doing so but with money. Upon this, negotiations were entered upon as to the sum: at first, two hundred thousand francs were demanded; but it was reduced at last to six score thousand francs, sixty thousand of which they were to pay down, and the remainder at Candlemas; for which the king assured them peace; but they surrendered themselves simply as liege men to the king of France by faith and homage. By this means was the good town of Bruges prevented from being pillaged. The Bretons were much vexed at it, for they thought to have had their share; and some of them said, when they heard peace had been made, that this war in Flanders was not worth any thing; that they had gained too little pillage, and that it did not end well for them; adding,—"But when we return home, it shall be through the country of Hainault; and duke Albert, who governs it, has not assisted his cousin the earl of Flanders, but has acted in a double manner. It will be right that we pay him a visit: for Hainault is a rich and plentiful country: besides, we shall not find any one to obstruct our passage, and we may there make amends for our losses and ill paid wages."

There was a time when those of this opinion amounted to twelve hundred spears, Bretons, Burgundians, Savoyards and others. You may suppose the charming country of Hainault was in jeopardy. The gallant count de Blois, who was one of the greatest lords of the rear-guard, and of the king's council, heard of this intended march, and that the Bretons, Burgundians and others, who only looked for pillage, menaced the fair country of Hainault; he took immediate steps to prevent it, saying, it was not to be suffered that so fine a country should be overrun and pillaged. He summoned to his lodgings his cousins, the count de la Marche, the count de St. Pol, the lord de Coucy, the lord d'Anghien and several more, all holding lands in Hainault, and who had come thither to serve the king, and remonstrated with them, that they ought not by any means to suffer the good country of Hainault, whence they had sprung, and where they had estates, to be pillaged in any way whatever; for, with regard to the war, Hainault had not been in the least wanting, but had most loyally assisted the king in this expedition with its barons, and, before the king came into Flanders, it had aided the earl of Flanders with its knights and squires, who had shut themselves in Oudenarde and Dendremonde, at the risk of their lives and fortunes.

The count de Blois exerted himself so much, and gained so many partisans, that all those measures were broken, and Hainault remained in peace. This gallant lord performed another noble service. There was in Flanders a knight called the lord d'Esquemine, who from affection to a relation of his, called Daniel Buse, killed in Valenciennes by his own fault, had declared he would make war on and harass that town. He had done so, and

threatened to insult it still more, being seconded by many friends inclined to evil; for it was reported that he had collected full five hundred spears, who would follow him into Hainault to attack the town of Valenciennes, in which they said he was justified. But when the count de Blois heard of it, he went to him nobly accompanied, and ordered the knight not to dare enter Hainault, nor to conduct any men at arms into the countries of his cousin duke Albert, otherwise he should pay dearly for it. This gallant count went further, and made the knight his particular friend, and obsequious to himself and the lord de Coucy; and thus was that town kept in peace. Such services did the count de Blois to Hainault and Valenciennes, for which he gained great love and affection, but particularly from Valenciennes.

The lords and the men at arms still remained in and about Courtray, for they knew not whether the king would march to Ghent or not. The French imagined, that when Bruges had surrendered itself to the king's mercy, Ghent would do the same, since it had lost its leader, and such numbers of men at the battle of Rosebecque. In truth, for three days, the inhabitants were well inclined so to do, and knew not how to act: to quit the town and leave every thing, or to send the keys to the king, and surrender themselves to his mercy. They were so completely cast down that there was neither union nor steadiness among them. The lord de Harzelles, though in the town, was incapable of giving them comfort.

When Peter du Bois arrived, he found the gates open without any guards, which much surprised him; and he asked, why they did not better guard the town. Those who came to him, and who were much rejoiced at his arrival, replied: "Ah, sir, what can we do? You know we have had our good captain slain; and, by an exact account, the town of Ghent has lost, without counting strangers, full nine thousand men. This loss touches us so nearly that we have no hopes left." "Ye foolish people," answered Peter du Bois, "are ye thus thunderstruck when the war is not near over, nor the town of Ghent so famous as she shall be? If Philip is dead, it has been by his own violence. Close your gates, and think of preparing to defend yourselves. Ye do not suppose that the king of France will come here this winter-time; and before the proper season shall arrive, we shall have gained reinforcements from our friends in Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, Brabant and other places. We can have men enough for our money. Francis Atremen, who is now in England, will soon return, and he and I will be your captains. The war has never been so serious, or so well conducted, as we will have it. We are much better alone than joined by all Flanders; for while we had the country with us, we knew not how to make war. Let us now attend to the business ourselves, and we shall perform greater exploits than have hitherto been done."

By such speeches as this did Peter du Bois rally the cast-down inhabitants of Ghent, who would, without doubt, have surrendered themselves unconditionally to the king of France, if Peter du Bois had not been there. So much depends upon the courage and ability of a single man. When the Ghent men saw five or six days pass over without any attempt being made on their town, nor any appearance of a siege, they recovered their courage, and became more presumptuous than before.

CHAPTER CXXVII.—THE TREATY BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FLEMINGS IS BROKEN.—THE KING OF FRANCE DEPARTS FROM FLANDERS.

You have before heard how sir William Fremiton, having been sent by the king of England and his council with letters to the principal towns in Flanders on the subject of the intended treaties between them, had remained at Calais, and with him Francis Atremen and the six citizens of Ghent. When the Flemings heard of the defeat at Rosebecque, they were so much astonished, that the English knight saw he had no occasion to proceed further, for there was an end of the treaty. He therefore took his letters without having sealed them, and returned to England as speedily as he could, to relate the particulars of this event.

The nobles of England were not sorry on hearing it; for they said, that if the commonalty of Flanders had been victorious over the king of France, and his nobility had been slain, the

pride of the common people would have been so great that all gentlemen would have had cause to lament it, for appearances of insurrections had been shown in England. The Flemings, who had been sent to London with Francis Atremen, were much cast down, and, hastily embarking at Calais, sailed to Middlebourg in Zealand. The deputies returned to their different towns, and Francis Atremen and his companions got to Ghent as well as they were able, through Zealand, but not until the king of France had left Flanders.

During the residence of the king of France in Courtray, many councils were held, to determine whether they should lay siege to Ghent or not. The king was well inclined for so doing, as were the Bretons and Burgundians. But the lords of the council, as it was now the heart of winter, considered, that no effectual war could be carried on, and that the knights were much weakened and harassed by the cold; that, as the rivers round Ghent were wide and deep, it would be time thrown away to attempt the siege: besides, the chiefs were also worn down by the rains, the cold, and lying on the ground, so that, every thing considered, the king was advised to return to Tournay, where he might recruit himself and keep his Christmas. Those from the more distant parts, such as Auvergne, Dauphiny, Savoy and Burgundy, were to march quietly into their own countries. But the king and his council wished the Bretons, Normans and French to remain with him and the constable; for, as he could depend on them, he intended employing them against the Parisians, who had been so busy in forging armour, to make them behave better than they had hitherto done, since the coronation of the king.

When the king of France departed from Courtray, he was not forgetful, any more than his lords, of the gilt spurs which had been hung up in a church at Courtray, and which had belonged to the French nobility who had fallen with Robert d'Artois at the battle of Courtray. The king therefore ordered the town to be burnt and destroyed. The earl of Flanders, on hearing of this, went to the king, in hopes of remedying it, and flung himself on his knees, begging of him to recal his orders; but the king answered, he would do no such thing. The earl dared not renew his request, but went away to his lodgings before they were set on fire. The duke of Burgundy had taken down a curious clock which struck the hours, the handsomest that was to be seen on either side of the sea, which he had caused to be packed up, and placed on carts with its bell, and carried to Dijon, where it was placed, and there strikes the hours day and night.

After the king had quitted the town, it was harshly treated; for it was burnt and destroyed without mercy: and many knights, squires, men at arms, fine children, both boys and girls, were carried away as slaves, to be ransomed. The king rode on to Tournay, where he was shown every respect due to him, and fixed his quarters at the abbey of Saint Martin. The inhabitants were all dressed in white with three green bars on one side: and proper houses were allotted to the lords. The king was at Saint Martin's: and his attendants occupied one quarter of the town. The duke de Berry was lodged in the palace of the bishop; the duke de Bourbon at the Crown; the duke of Burgundy at the Golden Head; the constable at St. James's Head.

Proclamation was made for none to do any damage to the good people of Tournay, under pain of death, nor take any thing without paying for it, nor to enter the country of Hainault with intent of doing mischief. All these orders were observed. The lords refreshed themselves there with their men; but those from the distant parts returned to their homes through Lille, Douay and Valenciennes. The count de Blois took leave of the king and his uncles, and of his companion the count d'Eu, and retired to his inheritance in Hainault. He stopped one day and night at Valenciennes, where he was magnificently entertained; for he had gained the affection of the inhabitants, as well in gratitude for the services he had rendered by preventing the Bretons, Burgundians and Savoyards, from putting their intentions into execution of overrunning the country, as in regard to sir Thierry d'Esquemine, who had long kept them in alarm, and who, by having put himself under the obedience of the count and the lord de Coucy, had given them peace. The count de Blois left Valenciennes and went to Landrecies, where he passed some time, with the lady Mary his wife and his son Louis, in recovering himself from his fatigues. The following summer he went to Blois; but the countess and her son continued in Hainault, and lived the greater part of the time at Beaumont.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.—VAIN ATTEMPTS MADE FOR PEACE BETWEEN THE KING OF FRANCE AND GHENT.—THE KING, ON HIS RETURN TO PARIS, ORDERS THE CHAINS TO BE TAKEN AWAY THAT BARRICADED THE STREETS.—HE SEVERELY PUNISHES THE PARISIANS.

The count de la Marche and sir James de Bourbon, his brother, left Tournay to refresh themselves at their castle in Hainault. The lord Guy de Laval, a Breton, went to Cheure in Hainault, which is divided between sir Robert de Namur and himself. The lord de Coucy stopped at Mortaigne on the Scheld, where he rested himself and his men: but the greater part of the time he was with the king at Tournay. The count de St. Pol was commissioned to correct the Urbanists of the town, which was reported to contain many. Several were discovered, and wherever found, even in the church of Nôtre Dame, they were arrested, cast into prison, and paid dearly for their liberty. By this means the count de St. Pol amassed in a very few days seven thousand francs: for none obtained their liberty without paying, or giving very good security for so doing.

During the king's residence at Tournay, the men of Ghent had a passport granted them to come thither and return. There were hopes they would have been pardoned; but, during the conferences which were holden, they were as proud and hardened as if they had been the conquerors at the battle of Rosebecque. They declared, indeed, that they would willingly put themselves under the obedience of the king, and would form part of the domain of France, under the jurisdiction of Paris; but that they would never acknowledge for their lord earl Louis, because they could never love him for the great mischiefs he had done them. Several attempts were made to obtain a peace between the king and his council with these deputies; but, notwithstanding the interference of some wise prelates, they could not get from them any other answer. They declared to the prelates, that if they were to live in such peril as would turn the town upside down for three or four years, they would never alter their minds. They were told they might return when they pleased: upon which, they departed from Tournay to Ghent, and things remained in a state of war.

The king of France and his lords took great pains that all Flanders should become Clementists and obey pope Clement: but the principal towns were as strongly inclined to Urban as the earl, that they could not be moved. They replied, through the earl's council, that they would consider of it, and give a determined answer before Easter: the business, therefore, was held over till then. The king of France kept his Christmas at Tournay: and, when he departed, he appointed the noble lord de Guistelles governor of Bruges, the lord de Saint Py governor of Ypres, the lord de Guistelles chief regent * of Flanders, and sir John de Jumont governor of Courtray, whither the king sent two hundred Bretons and other men at arms, and to garrison Ardembourg. Sir William de Laumeghien was nominated to Oudenarde with about one hundred lances for his garrison. Thus were all the strong places in Flanders provided with men at arms and stores, to enable them to carry on the war during the winter upon the enemy's garrisons.

These things being arranged, the king set out from Tournay for Arras, attended by his uncles and the earl of Flanders. During the residence of the king at Arras, the city ran a great risk of being pillaged by the Bretons, to whom large sums were due for their pay, and who had fought hard in this campaign: they were much discontented with the king, and it was with some difficulty they were restrained. The constable and marshals of France appeased them, by promising that their whole pay should be completely paid them at Paris; and, with the lord Louis de Sancerre and the lord de Blainville, pledged themselves for their performance.

Upon this the king departed, following the road to Peronne. The earl of Flanders took his leave of the king, and returned to Lille, where he resided. The king continuing his route through Peronne, Noyon, Compiegne, to Senlis, where he stopped. The army took up their quarters in the villages between Senlis and Meaux in Brie, and upon the river Marne and round St. Denis, so that the whole country was filled with men at arms. The

* "*Regard.*"

king having left Senlis for Paris, ordered his officers to make ready the Louvre, where he intended to dismount. His three uncles did the same, sending their servants to prepare their hôtels, as did other lords. This they were advised to, by way of precaution; for the king and his lords had been counselled not to enter Paris suddenly, as the Parisians were not to be depended on, but to observe what countenance they would show, and what preparations they had made against the king's return. The king's officers, and the servants of the other lords, were ordered, if any questions were asked about the king, and if he were coming, to reply, "Yes, truly: he will be here instantly."

The Parisians, on learning this, resolved to arm themselves, and show the king, on his entrance into Paris, the force that was in the city armed from head to foot, ready for him, if he pleased, to dispose of. It would have been better for them to have remained quiet in their houses, for this display cost them dearly. They said they had done it with good intentions, but it was taken in an opposite sense. The king lodged at Louvres*, and from thence went to Bourget†: it was immediately reported in Paris, that the king would be instantly there: upon which, upwards of twenty thousand Parisians armed themselves and took the field, and drew up in a handsome battalion between St. Ladre and Paris, on the side of Montmartre. Their cross-bowmen had large shields and mallets, and all were prepared as for instant combat. The king was still at Bourget, with his lords, when this news was brought them, and an account of the state of Paris. "See," said the lords, "the pride and presumption of this mob! what are they now making this display for? if they had thus come to serve the king when he set out for Flanders, they would have done well; but their heads were only stuffed with prayers to God, that none of us might return." To these words some, who would have been glad to have gone further and attacked the Parisians, added, "if the king be well advised, he will not put himself into the hands of such people, who meet him fully armed when they ought to have come in all humility, with a procession, ringing the bells of Paris, and returning thanks to God for the grand victory he has been pleased to give us in Flanders."

The lords were somewhat puzzled how to act: at last, it was determined that the constable of France, the lord d'Albreth, the lord de Coucy, Sir Guy de la Trimouille and Sir John de Vienne should go to speak with them, and demand the reason why they had come out of Paris in such a body, armed from head to foot, to meet their king; for that such a proceeding had never before been known in France. These lords were prepared to answer, whatever might be their reply to this question; for they were fully capable to manage a business, had it been of ten times the importance. They set out from the king unarmed, and, to give a pretext to their mission, they took with them three or four heralds, whom they ordered to ride forward, saying, "Go to those people and demand from them a passport for our coming to them and our return, as we are ordered to parley with them, and tell them the king's commands." The heralds, sticking spurs into their horses, soon came up to the Parisians. When the Parisians saw them coming, they never thought they were ordered to speak with them, but that they were going to Paris, like men who wished to get there beforehand.

The heralds, who had their emblazoned tabards on, asked, with a loud voice, "Where are the chiefs? where are the chiefs? Who among you are captains? because it is to them our lords have sent us." These words made some of the Parisians perceive they had acted wrong, and, bowing their heads, replied, "There are no chiefs here: we are but one, and under the command of our lord the king. Speak, in the name of God, what you have to say." "My lords," answered the heralds, "our lords (naming them) have sent us hither; for they cannot conceive what are your intentions; and to require that they may peaceably and without peril come hither and speak with you, and return to the king with such an answer as you shall give them; for otherwise they are afraid to come." "By my troth," replied those to whom this speech had been addressed, "there was no need to say this to us, unless it came from their noble minds; but we think you are laughing at us." "We have told you nothing but the truth," said the heralds. "Well then," replied the Parisians, "go

* "Louvres,"—a town in the Isle of France, five leagues from Senlis, six from Paris.

† "Bourget,"—a small town in the Isle of France, about a league from Paris.

and tell them they may come hither in perfect safety; for they shall have no harm from us, who are ready to obey their commands."

The heralds returned to their lords and related what you have just read. The four barons then advanced, attended by the heralds, to the Parisians, whom they found drawn up in very handsome battle-array. They were upwards of twenty thousand. As these lords rode by them, examining and praising, in their own minds, their handsome appearance, the Parisians bowed as they passed. When they were arrived in the centre, they stopped; and the constable, addressing them, said with a loud voice, "You people of Paris, what can have induced you thus to quit your town in such array? It would seem that, thus drawn up, you were desirous of combating the king, your lord, you who are his subjects." "My lord," replied those who heard him, "under your favour we have no such intentions, nor ever had. We have come out in this manner, since you please to know it, to display to our lord the king, the force of the Parisians, for he is very young and has never seen it; and, if he should not be made acquainted with it, he can never know what service he may draw from us should there be occasion." "Well, gentlemen," answered the constable, "you speak fairly: but we tell you from the king, that at this time he does not wish to see it, and what you have done has been sufficient for him. Return, therefore, instantly to Paris, each man to his own house, and lay aside your arms, if you wish the king should come thither." "My lord," replied the Parisians, "we will cheerfully obey your orders."

The Parisians upon this marched back to Paris, and each went to his house to disarm himself. The four barons returned to the king, and reported to him and his council the words you have heard. It was then ordered that the king and his uncles, with the principal lords, should enter Paris with some men at arms, but that the main body should remain near the city, to keep the Parisians in awe. The lord de Coucy and the marshal de Sancerre were ordered to take the gates off the hinges from the principal gates of St. Denis and St. Marcel immediately on the king's entrance into Paris, so that the gates might be open day and night for the men at arms to enter the more easily, and master the Parisians should there be any necessity for it. They also commanded the chains which were thrown across the streets to be taken away, that the cavalry might pass through the streets without danger or opposition. These orders were punctually obeyed.

The king made his entrance into Paris and lodged at the Louvre, and his uncles with him: the other lords went to their own hotels, at least those who possessed any. The gates were taken off the hinges, and the beams which had been laid under the tower of the gates, with the chains from the streets, were carried to the palace. The Parisians, seeing this, were in great alarm, and so fearful of being punished that none dared to venture out of doors, nor to open a window; they remained in this situation for three days: in great fright lest they should receive more harm than they had done. It cost them several large sums; for those whom they wished to mark, were sent for one at a time, to the council chamber, where they were fined; some six thousand, others three, others one; so that they exacted from the city of Paris, to the profit of the king, his uncles and ministers, the sum of four hundred thousand francs. They never asked any but the principal persons as to their means of payment, who thought themselves happy to escape with only a fine. They were ordered to carry their armour in bags, each man his own, to the castle of Beauté, which is now called the castle of Vincennes, where they were thrown into the great tower, with the mallets.

In this manner were the Parisians punished, as an example to the other towns of the kingdom of France. In addition, they were taxed with subsidies, aides, gabelles, fouages, with the twelfth and thirteenth penny, and many other vexations. The flat country was also completely ransacked.

CHAPTER CXXIX.—SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIZENS OF PARIS ARE BEHEADED, WITH JOHN DES MARETS, AND MANY OTHERS IN THE DIFFERENT TOWNS AND CITIES IN FRANCE.

THE king and his council arrested and threw into prison whatever persons they pleased. Many were drowned; but, in order to calm the fears of the others, proclamation was made in the king's name in all the streets and squares of Paris, that no one, under pain of death, should hurt the inhabitants, nor pillage their houses. This proclamation greatly appeased the Parisians. There were, however, carried to execution several of the inhabitants who had been condemned to death for having stirred up the people: but it was with great astonishment John des Marêts* was seen among the number; he was considered as a wise and upright man; and some say he was condemned unjustly, for he was always known to have acted with the utmost prudence, and was above all one of the greatest and wisest members of the courts of law. He had served king Philip, king John and king Charles, with so much credit, that no fault was found in him: nevertheless, he was condemned to be beheaded, with twelve others in his company. As they were conducting him to his execution, seated in a cart high above the others, he called out, "Where are those who have condemned me? Let them come forth, and justify, if they can, the cause and reason why and wherefore they have judged me guilty of death." He then harangued the people, and those who were to suffer with him, which made all pity him, but they dared not speak out.

He was carried to the market-place in front of the town-house, where all who accompanied him were beheaded before his eyes: in the number was Nicholas Flamand, a draper, for whose life forty thousand francs had been offered in vain. When the executioner came to behead John des Marêts, he said to him, "Master John, beg for mercy of the king, that he may pardon you your crimes." Upon which he turned, and said, "I have served his great-grandfather king Philip, king John, and king Charles his father, faithfully and loyally; and never did these three kings find fault with me, nor would this king have done so, if he had arrived at the wisdom and age of manhood. I firmly believe that, in my condemnation, he is not any ways culpable. I have not, therefore, any cause to beg his mercy; but from God alone shall I beg it, and that he would forgive all my sins." Upon this he took leave of all the people, who, for the greater part, were in tears; and thus died Master John des Marêts.

In like manner were several executed in the city of Rouen, and many fined, in order to intimidate the people. At Rheims, Châlons, Troyes, Sens and Orléans, similar scenes passed. The towns were heavily fined because they had been disobedient at the commencement of this reign. Immense sums were thus raised throughout the kingdom, and all went to the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, for the king was under their management. However, to say the truth, the constable and marshals had great part of it to pay the men at arms who had served in the expedition to Flanders. The lords and great barons of France, such as the count de Blois, the count de la Marche, the count d'Eu, the count de St. Pol, the count de Harcourt, the count dauphin of Auvergne, the lord de Coucy and others, had granted to them assignments on the royal domain, to raise as much as the king owed them for their services in Flanders, and to pay their men. I know not how these lords were paid their assignments, for very shortly new taxes were imposed on these lands by orders from the king. Most commonly the king's tax was insisted on being paid first, and the lords were obliged to wait for their arrears.

* "John des Marêts"—was an upright man, a distinguished magistrate, and avocat-général. He suffered from the hatred of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, which was most inveterate towards him.

CHAPTER CXXX.—THE GHENT MEN RENEW THE WAR.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS BECOMES AN OBJECT OF HATRED TO THE ENGLISH.

You know that when the king of France departed from Courtray, the town of Ghent was still in a state of war. The governors of it at this time were Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre and Francis Atremen, who reinforced their army with soldiers who came from different countries, and were not in the least dismayed with their situation, but as fresh and vigorous as ever. These captains heard that there was a garrison of Bretons and Burgundians in the town of Ardembourg, and therefore determined to pay them a visit. Accordingly Francis Atremen marched from Ghent with three thousand men, and arrived at Ardembourg, where there was a severe skirmish. In fact, the Ghent men won the town; but it cost them a number of men, as there were full two hundred of their soldiers killed. The town was stormed, pillaged, and the greater part of it burnt. They then marched back to Ghent with their booty, where they were received with great joy. Shortly after this they advanced to Dendremonde, Alost, and as far as Oudenarde, plundering the whole country.

The earl of Flanders, who resided at Lille, heard how the Ghent men were ravaging the country, and marching to different parts to plunder it. He was much enraged thereat, not supposing they would have had either the courage or power so to do, since they had lost Philip von Artaveld. Those present answered, "My lord, you have always heard how very artful the men of Ghent are: they have shown it to you, and will now do so the more since their ambassadors are returned from England, especially Francis Atremen, who was the intimate friend of Philip: and as long as he lives, you will never be free from war. We also know for a truth that he has concluded a treaty between Ghent and the king of England; for he is secretly, in spite of appearances, attached to England, and receives daily from thence one franc as wages. John Saplemon, who lives at Bruges, and has resided there under you for twenty-four years, pays him monthly. To corroborate the truth of his connections with England, Rasse de Voirie, Louis de Voz and John Sercolat, who are from Ghent, and the clerk who solicits the Bishopric, have remained behind in England to complete the treaties. In the month of May, you will hear more of all this than we now have told you." The earl of Flanders pondered on what he had heard, and believed the fact was so. He turned his attention to John Saplemon and the English at Bruges, and ordered his serjeants to summon them to appear on a certain day before him. The serjeants ordered John Saplemon and several other rich Englishmen, who were quite unprepared for such a proceeding, to appear that day fortnight before the earl, in the castle of Lille.

The English were much astonished at the summons, and consulted together. They could not imagine for what cause the earl had thus summoned them. Having weighed every circumstance they began to have their suspicions, for they knew the earl was very hasty in his anger. They said among themselves: "He who is not careful of his own person, is careful of nothing. I suspect the earl has had some intelligence concerning us; for with Francis Atremen, who has a pension from our king, there are two citizens of this town in England, who, having turned to his party, may perhaps have given information against us, and placed us in his ill graces." This idea struck them all, and made them afraid to wait the day of summons, and to appear at Lille. They set out from Bruges for Sluys, where, by great exertions, they purchased a vessel that was ready to sail, and having embarked, weighed anchor, and arrived at the quays of London. When the earl of Flanders heard of this, and saw that the English did not come according to his summons, he was much vexed. He found, from appearances, that what he had been told was the truth. He instantly sent his serjeants to Bruges, and caused to be seized whatever could be found belonging to those English who had fled, selling the articles collected; and John Saplemon of London and his companions were banished Flanders for one hundred years and a day. Those who had been arrested were thrown into the dungeon of the prison, which cost some of them their lives, whilst others recovered all they had lost.

There is a common and true saying, that envy never dies. This comes to my remembrance, because the English are too envious of another's good fortune, and have always been so.

You must know, that the king of England, his uncles, and the nobility, were much vexed at the good success and great honour which the king of France and his nobles had gained at the battle of Rosebecque. When the English knights conversed together on the subject, they said: "Ha, by holy Mary! how proud will the French be now, for the heap of peasants they have slain. I wish to God, Philip von Artaveld had had two thousand of our lances and six thousand archers: not one Frenchman would have escaped death or imprisonment. By God, they shall not long keep this honour, for we have now a fine opportunity of entering Flanders. That country has been conquered by the king of France, and we will conquer it for the king of England. The earl of Flanders shows at this moment how completely he is subject to France, and how much he wishes, in every respect, to please her, by banishing from Bruges and Flanders our English merchants, who have resided there upwards of thirty years. The time has been when he would not have so done for any consideration, but at present he dares not act otherwise for fear of the French."

This, and such like speeches, were common in England; and it was publicly said, that things should not remain as they were: now, one may fairly suppose, that envy was the original cause of it.

CHAPTER CXXXI.—POPE URBAN SENDS BULLS INTO ENGLAND FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CLEMENTISTS.—THE BISHOP OF NORWICH APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF AGAINST THEM.

About this period he who signed himself pope Urban the sixth, came from Rome to Genoa by sea, where he was gladly received, and he fixed his seat there. You have heard how all England was obedient to him, both church and commonalty, and now more than ever. Because the king of France and that nation were Clementists, Urban, (whom the English and several other countries obeyed) during his residence at Genoa, sought how he could obtain succours from England to annoy the king of France; and I will tell you by what means. He was to send his bulls to the archbishops and bishops of the country, to proclaim that he absolved, and would absolve, from all crime or fault, every one who would assist in the destruction of the Clementists. He had heard that his adversary Clement had resorted to this means in France, and was daily doing so; and that the French called the Urbanists, as to matters of faith, dogs, which those retorted back on the Clementists, whom Urban was very desirous of condemning to the utmost of his power, and he knew he had no other means of hurting them but through the English. It was necessary, however, that he should have a considerable sum of ready money, if he wished to put his plans into execution; for it was well known that the nobles of England would not, for all the absolutions in the world, undertake any expeditions, unless such were preceded by offers of money. Men at arms cannot live on pardons, nor do they pay much attention to them except at the point of death. He therefore determined, that with the bulls he sent to England for the prelates to preach upon, he would order a full tenth to be raised by the church, and to be paid by them to the nobility, without affecting the king's treasury, nor oppressing the common people. This, he imagined, would be agreeable to the knights and barons of England.

He instantly hastened the writing and engrossing his bulls, as well to the king as to his uncles and the prelates of England, with his pardons and absolutions from all crimes; he granted, besides, to the king and his uncles, a full tenth to be by them raised and levied throughout the kingdom, on which he enlarged very much. And because all these sums were to come from the church, he would have a churchman command the expedition. The lord Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich, was appointed, that the commonalty and churches of England might have greater faith in it. In addition to this, because he knew that the king of Spain was contrary to his interest, and much allied with the king of France, he declared, that with the money that should be thus raised in England, the duke of Lancaster, who, in right of his wife, called himself king of Castille, should set out for that country to raise a similar army there: and, if the duke of Lancaster would undertake this expedition with a

powerful force of men at arms, he would grant to the king of Portugal (who had just commenced a war against don John king of Castille) a full tenth on the whole kingdom of Portugal.

In this manner was Urban active in his own concerns. He sent upwards of thirty bulls to England, where they were received with much joy. The prelates preached up in their dioceses this expedition in the manner of a croisade; and the people of England, who were credulous enough, believed it too readily, so that none of either sex thought they should end the year happily, nor have any chance of entering paradise, if they did not give handsomely to the expedition as pure alms. At London, and in that diocese, there was collected a large Gascony tun full of money, and he who gave most, according to the pope's bull, gained the greatest number of pardons. All who should die at this time, and who had given their money, were absolved from every fault; and, by the tenor of the bull, happy were they who could now die, in order to obtain so noble an absolution. They collected, during the winter and ensuing Lent, throughout England, as well by alms as by the tenth from the church, for everything was received, and they so cheerfully taxed themselves, that the sum of twenty-five hundred thousand francs was amassed.

CHAPTER CXXXII.—THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, COMMANDER OF THE ENGLISH IN THE CROISADE OF URBAN AGAINST THE CLEMENTISTS, DISEMBARKS AT CALAIS WITH HIS ARMY OF URBANISTS.

When the king of England, his uncles, and council, were informed of the amount of the above sum, they were greatly rejoiced, and said they had money sufficient to carry on a war against the two kingdoms of France and Spain. Thomas, bishop of London, and brother to the earl of Devonshire, was nominated to accompany the duke of Lancaster to Spain, in the name of the pope and prelates of England. They were to have two thousand lances and four thousand archers, and one half of the money which had been raised; but they were not to leave England so soon as the army under the command of the bishop of Norwich, because this last was to march to Calais and enter France. They were uncertain how far in that country they could advance, and whether the king of France would meet them in force to give them battle.

There was another circumstance adverse to the duke of Lancaster, who had great expectations from his intended expedition: the common people of England inclined in general to follow the bishop of Norwich in preference to him: for a considerable time he had not been popular with them: besides, France was much nearer than Spain. Some said privately, that the duke of Lancaster, more through avarice and a desire to partake of the large sums which had been collected from the church and from the alms of good men than through devotion, had planned this expedition; but that the bishop of Norwich represented the pope, and had been appointed by him to the command, for which reason the greater part of the people, as well as the king, had greater faith in him.

There were in the pay of the church, and under the command of this bishop of Norwich, several good knights of England and Gascony, such as the lord de Beaumont, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon, sir John Ferrers, sir Hugh Spenser, nephew of the bishop, being his brother's son, sir William Fermiton, sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, the lord de Châteauneuf, and his brother sir John de Châteauneuf, Raymond Masson, William de Pau, Gariot Vighier, John de Cachitan, with many others: in the whole, about five hundred lances and fifteen hundred other men; but there were multitudes of priests, because it was an affair of the church, and had been set on foot by the pope. The men at arms were punctual in laying in their stores, and the king gave them a passage from Dover and Sandwich. Their purveyances were at those places about Easter; and all who were desirous of going on this expedition, which was a sort of croisade, marched thither in small bodies. Before the bishop and the captains embarked, but particularly sir Hugh Calverley, sir Thomas Trivet, and sir William Helmon, they were summoned to attend the king's council, where they solemnly swore, in the presence of the king, to fulfil the object

of the expedition, and that they would never make war on, or harass any country or men who acknowledged pope Urban, but only those who were under the obedience of Clement.

After they had taken this oath, the king, by advice of his council, addressed them, saying, "Bishop, and you, Thomas and William, when you shall have arrived at Calais, you will remain there for a month or thereabouts, in which time I will send you a good marshal and valiant man, sir William Beauchamp; for I have despatched messengers to him on the borders of Scotland, where he at present is holding conferences on our part with the Scots, for the truce between us and Scotland will expire on St. John's day. On his return, you shall have him without fail in your company: therefore wait for him, for he will be of great use to you by his good sense and advice." The bishop of Norwich and the above-named knights assented to this proposal, and quitted the king: they went to Dover, where they embarked, and arrived at Calais the 23d of April, 1383. Sir John Delvernes was at that time governor of Calais, who received the bishop and his companions with much pleasure. They disembarked, a few at a time, with their horses and armour; and those who had the opportunity of doing so, lodged themselves in the town, the rest abided in huts which they erected in the neighbourhood, and continued thus until the 4th day of May, expecting their marshal, sir William Beauchamp, who, however, did not arrive.

The bishop of Norwich, young and eager, and wishing to bear arms, having never done so but in Lombardy with his brother, finding himself at Calais, and at the head of so fine a body of men at arms, said to his companions, "For what purpose, my good sirs, are we thus waiting here so long? Sir William Beauchamp will never arrive, and the king and his uncles have totally forgotten us. Let us perform some deeds of arms, since we have been ordered so to do, and loyally employ the money of the church, since we are living upon it, and make conquests on our enemies." "It is well spoken," replied those who heard him. "Give notice to our men, that in three days we shall make an excursion, and let us determine to what part we shall march. We cannot issue out of the gates of Calais without entering an enemy's country: for France surrounds us on all sides, as well towards Flanders as towards Boulogne and St. Omer: Flanders is now a conquered country, by the power of the king of France. Considering all things, we cannot do a more honourable exploit than to reconquer it; for the earl of Flanders has done great injustice to our countrymen, whom, without any apparent reason, he has banished from Bruges and Flanders. Two years ago, he would not willingly have done so; but at this moment he must obey the orders and good pleasure of the king of France." "On which account," said the bishop of Norwich, "If I may be believed, the first expedition we undertake should be to Flanders." "You shall be believed heartily," replied sir Thomas Trivet and sir William Helmon: "give orders for this, and let us march thither in three days, for it will be on enemy's ground." This was adopted by all in the council, and they gave notice of it to the rest of the army.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.—THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, COMMANDER OF THE URBANISTS, ENTERS FLANDERS CONTRARY TO THE OPINION OF SIR HUGH CALVERLEY.—THE EARL OF FLANDERS SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE BISHOP, WHO RETURNS A HARSH ANSWER.

Sir Hugh Calverley was not present at this council, having gone to see a cousin called sir John Droicton *, who was governor of Guines, and had remained there all that day, intending to return on the following, which he did. The bishop sent for him to the castle, where he was lodged, as were the others, because sir Hugh had been longer accustomed to arms, and had seen more than they had done. The knights had told the bishop that they wished to have sir Hugh's opinion before they undertook anything. The bishop related to sir Hugh, in their presence, the conversation which had passed, and demanded his advice on it. Sir Hugh thus replied to the bishop, "Sir, you know on what terms we have left England: our expedition has nothing to do with what concerns the wars of kings, but is solely pointed against the Clementists. We are the soldiers of pope Urban, who has given us absolution from all faults if we destroy the Clementists. Should we march into Flanders,

* "Droicton." Q. Drayton.

notwithstanding that country may now appertain to the king of France and duke of Burgundy, we shall forfeit our engagement; for I understand, that the earl of Flanders and all the Flemings are as good Urbanists as ourselves; besides, we have not a sufficient army to enter Flanders, for they are prepared and accustomed to war, having had nothing else to do for these last four years. They are a numerous people, and it will be difficult to march through so strong a country. But if you be determined on an expedition, let us march into France, there we shall find our enemies. The king, our lord, is now at open war with them, and the French are all Clementists, holding a contrary faith to us and to our pope. We ought to wait for our marshal sir William Beauchamp, who cannot fail to arrive soon with large reinforcements; and the last word the king said to us was, that he would send him. I therefore advise, since you are resolved on an expedition, that we march towards Aire or Montreuil: none will venture, as yet, to oppose us, and we shall add to our numbers by the Flemings who, having lost their all, will come and join us in the hopes of gain. They have still rankling in their minds the misfortunes the French brought on them by the slaughter of their fathers, sons, and friends in their wars."

Scarcely had sir Hugh done speaking, when the bishop, in a rage, hot and impetuous as he was, replied, "Yes, yes, sir Hugh: you have learnt so long to fight in France, that you know not how to fight elsewhere. Now, can we any where make an excursion with more advantage to ourselves than towards the sea, by Bourbourg, Dunkirk, Nieuport, and thence to the dependencies of Cassel, Bergues, Ypres, and Poperingue? In the country I have named, according to the informations I have received from citizens of Ghent who are with us, they have never been harassed by the war; we will therefore go thither to refresh ourselves, and wait for the arrival of sir William Beauchamp, if he intend coming, but as yet we have not had any intelligence of him."

Sir Hugh Calverley, seeing himself thus rebuffed by the bishop, who was of high birth and his commander, notwithstanding he was a valiant knight, made no reply, and the rather because he had not any support from sir Thomas Trivet, nor from sir William Helmon: he therefore left the place, saying, "By God, sir, if you make an excursion, sir Hugh Calverley will accompany you, and you shall take neither road nor march but he will be of the party." "I willingly believe," said the bishop, "that you have a great desire for an excursion: therefore make yourself ready, for we shall march in the morning." In this resolution they agreed, and then separated. Orders were sent to all the quarters in and round Calais, that every one might be prepared for the expedition in the morning. When morning came, the trumpet sounded, and all marched off, taking the road towards Gravelines. They were, according to a muster made, three thousand armed heads. They continued their march until they came to the port of Gravelines; but it was at the time of ebb, they therefore passed by the port, and attacked and pillaged a monastery which the townsmen had fortified. The town could not hold out long, for it was only inclosed by palisadoes, and the inhabitants were seamen. If there had been any gentlemen in the town it would have held out longer than it did. Neither had the country any notice of this war, nor did they any way suspect the English of thus attacking them. The English therefore conquered the town of Gravelines by storm; and, having ended it, advanced towards the monastery, whither these good people had retreated, carrying with them their wives, children, and fortunes, which they placed therein, depending on the strength of the walls. They had made deep ditches all round this strong place, so that the English could not immediately win it, but remained two days in the town before they took it. In the end, they conquered, and slew those who defended it, doing with the remainder according to their pleasure. Thus were they lords and masters of Gravelines, where the whole army was quartered, and found plenty of provision. The country began to take alarm on hearing the English were in possession of Gravelines; and those of the low countries sheltered themselves in the fortresses, sending their wives and children to Bergues, Bourbourg, and St. Omer.

The earl of Flanders heard at Lille, where he resided, that the English had made war on his country, and had taken Gravelines. He began to have suspicions of them, as well as of Bruges and its dependencies. Summoning his council, he said to them, "I am very much astonished that the English should overrun my country, and take my towns without giving

me any notice of it; and that, without sending me any defiance, they should have entered my territories." "Indeed, my lord," some of them replied, "you have cause to wonder; but one may suppose they consider Flanders as belonging to France, since the king had advanced so far into it, that the country surrendered to him." "Well, what had we best do?" asked the earl. "It will be right," replied his council, "that sir John de Villain and sir John du Moulin, who are here, and have pensions from the king of England, should go in your name to England to speak with the king, and report to him a detail of this affair, and demand, in your name, for what purpose he thus makes war on you. I believe, that when he shall have heard your ambassadors, he will be angered at those who have thus harassed your country, and recal them thence with much blame." "This is very well," said the earl, "but during the time our knights are going to England, those at Gravelines (and who will stop them?) may do great damage to the inhabitants of the Franconate." The earl was thus answered: "It is necessary some parley should be held with them, as well to obtain passports for Calais and England as to know what it is they want; and sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin are such discreet persons, that they will manage to restore peace to the country." "I consent to this," replied the earl.

The Bishop of Norwich at the head of his Troops. Designed from Contemporary Authorities.

The two knights received their instructions from the earl and his council, in regard to the parley with the bishop of Norwich, as well as respecting their mission and what they were to say to the king of England and his uncles. Whilst these knights were preparing to set out for Gravelines to the bishop of Norwich, all the country rose in the environs of Bourbourg, Bergues, Cassel, Poperingue, Furnes, Nieuport, and other towns, and advancing to Dunkirk, entered that town, declaring that they would in a short time march out to guard the frontiers and fight the English. These Flemings had for leader a knight called sir John Sporequin, who was governor or regent of the territories of madame de Bar, which are situated on this frontier and extend to the gates of Ypres. Sir John Sporequin was ignorant of the earl's intentions of sending to England: the haze de Flandres had come to him with thirty lances, and said that

the earl was at Lille; but that he knew nothing more; and that he was about to marry his sister there with the lord Delbauurin. These two knights took great pains to stir up the country and to collect all men of courage: they amounted at last to twelve thousand men, armed with pikes, staves, coats of mail, jackets *, iron caps and helmets, and all of them were, for the greater part, as I was informed, vassals of madame de Bar, residing between Gravelines and Dunkirk.

Three leagues off, and near the road, is Mardyke, a large village quite open on the sea-shore, whither the English advanced; and at times there were skirmishes. Sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin arrived at Gravelines with a passport, for which they had waited at Bourbourg, where one of their heralds brought it. On their arrival at Gravelines, and soon after they had dismounted, they waited on the bishop of Norwich, who outwardly gave them a handsome reception and good entertainment. He had that day at dinner all the barons of his army; for he well knew that the knights of the earl of Flanders were coming, and therefore wished they might meet with them altogether. The knights opened their business, and said to the bishop, "Sir, we are sent hither by my lord of Flanders." "What lord?" said the bishop. "The earl of Flanders, sir: Flanders has no other lord." "By my God," replied the bishop, "we consider it as belonging to the king of France or to the duke of Burgundy, our enemies, for by force of arms have they just conquered it." "Under respect to your grace," answered the knights, "the territory was loyally remitted at Tournay into the hands and government of my lord the earl of Flanders, who has sent us hither to entreat of you to grant us, who are attached by faith and pension to the king of England your lord, passports to go to England, to the king, to know his reasons for making war on my lord the earl of Flanders and his country without sending him any defiance." The bishop replied he would consider of it, and they should have his answer to-morrow morning. They could not obtain more at this moment, and retired to their houses, leaving the English in council, who resolved as I shall tell you.

Having fully weighed every circumstance, and the enterprise they had undertaken, they resolved not to grant passports to the two knights to go to England, for the journey was long, and while they were going and returning, the whole country would be secured and greatly strengthened; for the earl, who was a subtle character, might inform the king of France and duke of Burgundy of his situation, by whose means so large a force might in a few days come upon them, that they would be unable to resist it. Having formed this resolution as to the answer they would give in the morning to the knights from Flanders, sir Hugh Calverley was called upon for his opinion, who said to the bishop, "Sir, you are our commander: you will tell them that we are on the territories of the duchess of Bar, who is a Clementist; that you make war for Urban and no one else; and that if the people of this country, with the churches and monasteries, will be good Urbanists, and march with you through the country, your men shall peaceably pass, paying for whatever they may want: but in respect to granting them passports to go to England, you will do no such thing; for our war does not regard either the king of France or the king of England, but solely pope Urban, whose soldiers we are. It seems to me that such an answer ought to satisfy them." All present assented to it, and particularly the bishop, who had no other care, whatever might be said or done, but to fight and carry on the war. Thus was this business arranged for the night. On the morrow after mass, the two knights, desirous of having their answer, went to the lodgings of the bishop, and waited until he came out to hear mass, when they placed themselves before him. Outwardly he seemed glad to see them, and conversed with them on different topics to delay the time until his knights should come. On their arrival the bishop said, "My fair gentlemen, you are come for an answer, and you shall have one. With regard to the request you made to us from the earl of Flanders, I inform you, you may return when you please to the earl; but as to Calais or England, you will go at your perils, for I will not give you any passport. I am not king of England, nor commissioned to do so. I am the soldier of pope Urban, and all those who are with me are so likewise, having taken his money to serve him. We are at this moment on the territories of the duchess of Bar, who is a

* "*Hocquetons*," a quilted garment generally worn beneath steel armour, but occasionally used as the sole armour of light troops.—Ed.

Clementist. If the people of this country hold that opinion, we make war on them. If they will follow us, they shall have their share of the absolutions; for Urban, who is our pope, and for whom we march, absolves from all crimes those who shall aid in the destruction of the Clementists."

When the two knights heard this speech, sir John Villain said, "Sir, with respect to what concerns the pope, I believe you have never heard but that my lord of Flanders is a good Urbanist, you have therefore been badly advised if you make war on him or on his country: and I do not believe that the king of England has given you such extensive orders; for if such had been his intentions, he is so noble and considerate, he would first have sent him a defiance." This answer enraged the bishop, who said, "Go and tell your earl he shall not have any other answer. And if he wishes to send you or any others to England, to learn more particularly the king's intentions, let him look to it; for those he sends must take another road than this, and they shall not cross at Calais." When the knights found they could not have any other answer, they took their leave and departed. They returned to their lodgings to dinner; and then, mounting their horses, went that day to St. Omer.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.—THE BISHOP OF NORWICH MARCHES TOWARDS DUNKIRK.—HE DEFEATS TWELVE THOUSAND FLEMINGS AND TAKES THE TOWN.

THE same day that the knights of Flanders had departed, news was brought to the bishop and the English, that there were at Dunkirk and in its neighbourhood, upwards of twelve thousand men armed, and that the bastard of Flanders commanded them, but that there were other knights and squires who also advised them. That they had skirmished with their men at Mardyke, and had repulsed and killed one hundred. The bishop said, "Now observe the conduct of the earl of Flanders: he affects to do nothing, and yet he is at the bottom of all: he wants to negotiate sword in hand. I am resolved to march to-morrow towards Dunkirk, and see what sort of men these are." This proposal met universal approbation, and notice was sent of it through Gravelines. This day two knights joined the army, one from Calais, the other from Guines, with about thirty lances and sixty archers. These knights were called sir Nicholas Cliton * and sir John Dracton †, governor of Guines.

On the ensuing morning, every one was ready for the march. They took the field, amounting in number to more than six hundred lances and fifteen hundred archers. They advanced towards Mardyke and Dunkirk; and the bishop of Norwich had the arms of the church borne before him, the banner of St. Peter, gules with two keys en sautoir, as being gonfalonnier of pope Urban. His pennon had his own arms, which were argent quartered with azure, with a fret or, on a field azure, and a baton gules on a field argent; and, because he was a younger brother of the Despensers, his arms were charged with a bordure gules. Sir Hugh Despenser, his nephew, was there with his pennon, and the lord de Beaumont, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon and sir Hugh Calverley, had both banner and pennon. Sir William Drayton, sir John Drayton, his brother, sir Matthew Redman, sir John Ferrers, sir William Frenenton‡, and sir John de Neufchastel, Gascon, had only pennons. These men at arms came to Mardyke, where they refreshed themselves, and, having drank a cup, continued their march towards Dunkirk. The Flemings, who were in the town, heard that the English were marching in order of battle to combat them. Upon this, they resolved to take the field, and draw up in battle-array to defend themselves if there should be any occasion, for it would not be for their advantage to shut themselves up in the town. They instantly executed this resolution, and all who were in Dunkirk armed and marched into the fields, where they drew up in good array on a hill, and mustered upwards of twelve thousand men.

The English were now advanced near to Dunkirk, when, on looking towards the rising grounds on the right, in the direction of Bourbourg, and near the sea-shore, they saw the Flemings formed in a large and well-arranged battalion. On this they halted, for they

* "Cliton." Q. if not Cliuton. † "Dracton." Q. if not Drayton.
‡ "Frenenton." Q. Farringdon, or Frampton.

thought, from the manner in which the Flemings had drawn themselves up, that they had an intention of fighting. The principal captains assembled to consider how they should now act, and many words passed, for some, and especially the bishop, wished to march instantly to the combat; but others, such as the lord de Beaumont and sir Hugh Calverley, were of a contrary opinion, and assigned as their reason, that the Flemings had never done them any wrong; and that, in truth, they had never sent any declaration of war to the earl of Flanders, though they had entered his country. "We do not make war in a gallant manner, but like a mob, that whoever can, may pillage. The whole country where we are is Urbanist, and follows the same opinion as ourselves: now, consider what just cause have we for attacking them." The bishop answered, "How do we know whether they are Urbanists or not?" "In God's name," said sir Hugh Calverley, "let us send a herald to them to know why they are thus drawn up in battle-array, and what they want; and let them be asked which pope they obey. If they answer pope Urban, you will require of them, by virtue of the bull we have with us, that they accompany us to St. Omer, Aire, Arras, or whithersoever we may wish to lead them. When they shall have had these questions put to them, we shall know their intentions, and may then call a council." This proposal was adopted, and a herald called, whose name was Montfort, and attached to the duke of Brittany. He was ordered by these lords to ride to the Flemings, and told what he was to say, and how to act when among them. He obeyed their commands, and, clothed in his proper coat of arms, without suspecting any accident, made for the Flemings, who were drawn up in handsome order of battle. He wished to address himself to some knights; but he could not, for as soon as the Flemings saw him, without ever asking what was his business, or making any inquiries, they surrounded him and slew him like ignorant people, nor could those gentlemen who were there save him. The English, on seeing this action, for they kept their eyes on them, were mad: as were also the citizens of Ghent who accompanied them, and were eager to urge them on, hoping that by these means new troubles would fall on Flanders.

The English said,—"This mob has murdered our herald: they shall dearly pay for it, or we will all die on the spot." The archers were ordered to advance on the Flemings. A citizen of Bruges or Ghent was made a knight, and shortly the battle began briskly; for, to say the truth, the Flemings defended themselves very well, but the archers wounded or beat down many, when the men at arms broke through them, and with their pointed spears killed multitudes on their first charge. In short, the English won the day, and the Flemings were defeated. They thought to keep together in a body and enter Dunkirk; but the English followed them closely and kept up the engagement so warmly that they entered the town with them. Numbers were slain in the streets or on the shore, though they there gained some advantage, for the English lost four hundred at least. As the English pursued, the Flemings retired: many detached parties fought, in which several knights and squires from Flanders were slain; scarcely any escaped death or captivity. Thus did this affair end: there were full nine thousand Flemings killed at this battle of Dunkirk.

The day this battle had taken place, sir John Villain and sir John du Moulin had returned to the earl of Flanders at Lille, and had repeated to the earl all they had seen and heard from the English. The earl was very melancholy on the subject, not knowing how to act: he was still more so, and with greater reason, when he heard the news of the slaughter and defeat of his men at Dunkirk. He bore it with tolerable patience, and comforted himself as well as he could, by saying,—"Well, if we have lost this time, at another, please God, we shall win." He instantly despatched a messenger to the duke of Burgundy, who was with the king of France, with private letters, to give him information of this event, and for him to consider of it; for he concluded that since the English had thus entered Flanders and killed his subjects, they would not rest there, but would advance further into the country and do more mischief. The duke of Burgundy, on receiving this intelligence, sent knights and squires to garrison St. Omer, Aire, St. Venant, Bailleul, Bergues, Cassel, and all the strong places on the frontiers of Flanders, and to guard the entrance of Artois.

We will return to the English, and say how they prospered.

CHAPTER CXXXV.—THE ENGLISH, UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, HAVING CONQUERED ALL THE COAST FROM GRAVELINES TO SLUYS, LAY SIEGE TO YPRES.

After the defeat near Dunkirk and the conquest of that town, the English were swollen with pride, and thought all Flanders was their own. To say the truth, had they marched directly to Bruges, many who were well acquainted with the state of that town, say it would have surrendered to them: but they acted otherwise; for they had determined to march to Bourbourg, to take that town, and then to advance to Aire and Cassel, conquering the whole country so as to leave no enemy in their rear, and then to lay siege to Ypres. They imagined the town of Ypres would surrender on seeing that the country was conquered. The English left Dunkirk, after having done their pleasure with it, and marched for Bourbourg: the inhabitants of which place, being much alarmed, no sooner saw them coming than they instantly surrendered, on having their lives and fortunes spared. The English entered the place with great joy; for they said they would there establish a handsome garrison, to make war on St. Omer and the adjacent frontiers.

After this, they gained the castle of Dixmude: but it was three days before they took it by storm, and the garrison of two hundred men were slain. The English repaired it, and declared they would keep it to the utmost of their power, garrisoning it again with fresh men at arms. They continued their march to Cassel, which they took, where they made a great booty, and peopled it again with their own men. They still continued their march, saying, that they would have a look at Aire; but many, well acquainted with its situation, knew it was not easy to be taken, and would cost too much: however, the bishop of Norwich said, he would have a near view of it.

At this time, the governor of Aire was a gallant knight from Picardy, called sir Robert de Bethune, viscount de Meaux: there were also with him sir John de Roye, the lord de Clary, sir John de Bethune his brother, the lord de Montigny, sir Perducas de Pont Saint, sir John de Chaugny and sir Florens his son, with several more; so that there were about six score lances of good men at arms, knights and squires. When the bishop of Norwich, sir Hugh Calverley, sir Henry de Beaumont, sir Thomas Trivet, sir William Helmon, sir Matthew Redman and the rest were advanced to a place near Aire, called the New Ditch, they formed themselves in battle-array, and thus marched on in close order with banners and pennons fluttering in the wind; for they knew not what intentions the viscount and his companions might have.

The viscount with his knights and squires were handsomely drawn up on the causeway before the barriers of Aire, and plainly saw the English march beside them, on the road to St. Venant; but, as they were not in numbers sufficient to bar that passage, they remained quiet at their post to defend themselves if attacked. The English marched by, and took up their quarters two leagues from St. Venant: the governor of that place was a knight of Picardy called sir William de Melle, who had fortified the church of the town to serve as a place of retreat should it be necessary: he found it so, for the town was only inclosed by small palisadoes and ditches. The attack did not last long before the English entered it, when the French retreated, some to the castle, others to the church. Those in the castle were not attacked; for it was marvellously strong, and could not be approached for the deep and wide ditches which surrounded it: but the church was instantly assaulted by the English on their entrance into the town, for they had heard that the men at arms had retreated thither. Sir William de Melle was a good and gallant knight, and would have defended the church of St. Venant valiantly; but the English archers had surrounded it, and shot so rapidly and with such good aim that scarcely any dared show themselves in its defence. Those who were on the battlements were provided with stones, pieces of wood and artillery, which they used with such success as to wound many; but the attack was continued with so great earnestness by the English that the church was taken by storm and sir William in it, who had fought valiantly. The others did the same; and had they entertained any hopes of being supported, they would have held out longer, which was the

cause that they were thus easily taken. Sir William de Melle was made a prisoner: he agreed for his ransom, and returned to France with the consent of his captor, to whom he had given his word according to the manner in which all French and English gentlemen behave to one another in similar cases; but not so the Germans, who, whenever they take a prisoner throw him into durance vile, loaded with irons, in order to gain a more considerable ransom.

The bishop of Norwich and his army, on their departure from St. Venant, quartered themselves in the forest of Niepe, which was not far distant, and near to Bailleul. They entered the castlewick of Poperingue, and took all the inclosed towns, wherein they found much money and great booty, which they sent to Bergues or Bourbourg. When they had thus laid the whole country under their subjection, so that none came to oppose them, and when they were masters of the coast from Gravelines to Sluys, having possessed themselves of Dunkirk, Nieuport, Furnes and Blanquenbergue, they advanced to lay siege to Ypres. There the bishop, sir Hugh Calverley and the English halted, and then sent messengers to Ghent. I have good reason to suppose that Francis Atremen went to them, and was at all their battles and conquests, and had served as conductor of the English from town to town, and from village to village.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.—THE MEN OF GHENT ASSIST THE ENGLISH IN THEIR SIEGE OF YPRES.—THE LORD DE ST. LEGER GOING TO REINFORCE THE GARRISON OF COURTRAY, BY ORDERS OF THE KING OF FRANCE, IS DEFEATED BY A PARTY OF ENGLISH NEAR COMMINES.

When Peter du Bois, Peter le Nuitre, and the captains in Ghent heard that the English demanded their assistance, and were lying before Ypres, they were much pleased, and prepared themselves to march thither as speedily as possible. They set out from Ghent on the Saturday morning after the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, to the amount of near twenty thousand, with a very considerable train of carts, and in good array. They marched by Courtray, and came before Ypres. The English were rejoiced at their coming, and made great cheer for them, saying they would take Ypres, and then conquer Bruges, Damme and Sluys, making no doubt that, before September, they would have conquered all Flanders. Thus did they boast of their good fortune.

The governor of Ypres at that time was the lord de Saint Pi, a very prudent and valiant knight, who had thrown himself into the place, where every thing was done according to his plans and orders. The men at arms who had accompanied this knight thither by order of the duke of Burgundy and the earl of Flanders, were sir John de Bougraigne, castellan of Ypres, sir Baldwin de Delbedene his son, the lord Disseghien, the lord de Stades, sir John Blanchart, sir John de Merfelede, sir Hamel, sir Nicholas Belle, lord de Harlequebecque, the lord de Rolleghen, sir John Ahoutre, John de Saint Pi, nephew to the governor, François Belle, sir George Belle, and many more. They had great difficulty to withstand the English, who attacked them openly and covertly. They were likewise under alarm lest there should be some understanding between the townsmen and those from Ghent; and lest the place should, by treason, fall into their hands.

A gallant knight of Hainault, called sir John de Jumont, was at this time in Courtray as its governor, having accepted it at the earnest entreaties of the duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders. At that time no knight of Flanders dared to undertake it, so dangerous did the defence of it appear; for when the king of France had marched away it was dismantled and burnt, on which account very few resided there; and it was so much destroyed, that they could scarcely find a place to put their horses in. Sir John de Jumont undertook the grand enterprise of defending it. He speedily repaired it, and behaved so gallantly, through God's mercy and grace, that there was not any damage done it; on the contrary, much honour accrued to him.

The duke of Burgundy, who carefully attended to the affairs of Flanders, as they so nearly concerned him, sent from France sixty Breton lances to Courtray, to reinforce and encourage

sir John de Jumont. These men at arms marched to Lille, under the command of the duke: from thence they set out on a Friday morning to Commines, where they arrived, under the command of the lord de St. Leger and Yvonnet de Cantemat. By break of day full two hundred English lances had come to the town of Commines, to collect forage from the flat countries, and carry it to the army before Ypres. These Bretons had not any expectation of their coming, and fell into their hands. There was a sharp engagement at the foot of the bridge of Commines, where the Bretons defended themselves marvellously well, and, if they had been supported by as many again as themselves, they would have escaped without loss. As it was they were constrained to fly, for they were too few to oppose such numbers. The greater part were slain, or taken as they were escaping towards Lille. The lord de St. Leger was desperately wounded, and left for dead on the field. Fortunate were those who escaped from this engagement: and the pursuit of the English after the Bretons lasted to within half a league of the town of Lille. The lord de St. Leger, although mortally wounded, was carried to that town with great difficulty, where he died five days afterwards. Five of his squires died also, and thus ended this adventure.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.—THE BISHOP OF LIEGE, NOT BEING ABLE TO BRING ABOUT A PEACE BETWEEN THE BISHOP OF NORWICH AND THE EARL OF FLANDERS, RETURNS HOME.

The siege of Ypres was continued with great activity on the part of the English and Flemings, who made many assaults which much frightened those in the town. The earl of Flanders was not very well assured but that Ypres must fall; for the English are very subtle, and they could receive great reinforcements from England, by way of Calais, without his knowledge, or opposition, having garrisons in all the towns on the road. They might, if they had chosen, have had reinforcements from England; but they did not think much was to be dreaded at the commencement, either from the earl or the power of France, for several great English barons were prepared and ready to cross the sea at Calais, to assist their countrymen from the environs of Dover, Sandwich, and Lewes, had they been so required: they amounted to a thousand lances, and two thousand archers in the parts above mentioned. Sir William Beauchamp, and sir William Windsor, marshals of England, were appointed by the king and council to command these men at arms, by which the duke of Lancaster lost this opportunity of making his expedition to Portugal. All England, as I have before said, were more inclined to serve in the army of the bishop of Norwich than in that of the duke of Lancaster.

The earl of Flanders was informed of all these events which were passing in England, as well as of what was going forward before Ypres. He therefore resolved to provide, as much as was in his power, a remedy for them; for he supposed the duke of Burgundy would excite the barons of France to exert themselves to drive the English out of Flanders, and from the countries which they had so recently conquered. But as he knew that France was very extensive, that several barons bound to serve the king were at a great distance, and that many things might happen before they could arrive, he resolved to send to sir Arnoul de Sorge, bishop of Liege, who was a staunch Urbanist, to request he would come to Ypres and negotiate with the English to decamp and march elsewhere; for he had been much astonished at their proceedings, since it was well known to the world that both himself and country were good Urbanists.

The earl managed so well that the bishop of Liege came to Hainault, and from thence to Valenciennes, Douay and Lille, where he had a conference with the earl, who informed him of what he wished him to do. After this, the bishop left Liege and came to the camp before Ypres, where the English and Ghent men received him very politely, and attentively listened to all he had to say. I was told at the time, that the earl of Flanders, through the means of the bishop of Liege, offered to the bishop of Norwich and the English, if they would break up their siege, and carry their war against the countries of the Clementists, to send them five hundred lances to serve under their orders for three months, and at his own expense.

The bishop of Norwich replied, he would attentively consider and discuss this proposal. Many words passed; for the Ghent men advised him not to put any trust in what the earl had said, for there was no dependence on his promises, and told him that if he could he would deceive him. Having therefore maturely considered every thing, he gave notice to the bishop of Liege, that he might return when he pleased, for he would not pay any attention to his offers; and, as for the siege, he would never depart thence until he had reduced the town of Ypres to his obedience. The bishop finding he could obtain nothing more, took his leave and returned to Lille, and gave the earl of Flanders the answer he had received. When the earl saw that he could not obtain any terms, he was more pensive than before; for he clearly perceived, that unless the force of France raised the siege, he should lose his good town of Ypres. He therefore wrote other letters, giving a detail of what answers he had received, and what was going forwards, which he sent by one of his own knights to his son and daughter of Burgundy, who resided at Compiegne. The bishop of Liege left the earl, and returned through Douay and Valenciennes to his own country.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.—THE KING OF FRANCE ISSUES A GRAND SUMMONS, WITH THE INTENTION OF RAISING THE SIEGE OF YPRES.—SOME OF THE EARL OF FLANDERS' MEN ARE DEFEATED BY THE ENGLISH BEFORE THE CHURCH OF EMENIN.

The duke of Burgundy, being convinced that things would end badly if the king of France with an army did not provide a remedy, exerted himself for a parliament to be holden at Compiegne of all the great barons and princes of the realm of France. To this parliament all who were summoned came, and the duke of Brittany personally attended. It was there discussed, whether or not the king of France, with his uncles the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Bourbon should march to Flanders with a greater force than he had commanded at Rosebecque, to raise the siege of Ypres, and offer combat to the English and Flemings, if they should think proper to wait for him. It was resolved in the affirmative; and the king of France issued his summons throughout the kingdom for every man to be at Arras, or in that neighbourhood, by the 15th day of August, provided with all things suitable to his rank. The king wrote also to those at a distance, such as the counts d'Armagnac and Savoy, and to duke Frederick of Bavaria. This duke was in upper Germany, and the son of one of the brothers of the reigning duke: he was very desirous of visiting the court of France and bearing arms for it, as he was fond of every sort of honour; and they had told him, which he believed as fact, that all honours in the world were to be had in France. Duke Frederick, being at such a distance, was the first sent for: he made his proparations on receiving the summons, and said he would come through Hainault, to visit his uncle and his cousins, the count de Blois and others.

During the time these warlike preparations were making, the siege of Ypres continued with great vigour. There were many attacks and skirmishes, in which several were killed or wounded: but the governor, sir John de Saint Pi, made so good a defence, that no essential damage was done. During this siege, the earl of Flanders was informed that the church of Emenin was strong, and fortified; for, should the English come thither, they would easily take it, as it had no garrison, and they would from thence much harass the country. The earl resolved to take possession of it *; and, sending for sir John du Moulin, he said to him,—"Sir John, collect a body of men from this town, and with cross-bows go to Emenin, and gain the church, lest the English fortify it; for, if they win it, they will harass all the surrounding country." Sir John replied, he would willingly do so, and immediately made preparations for the excursion. On the morrow morning, he mounted his horse, accompanied by a young knight, a bastard son of the earl of Flanders, called sir John Sans-terre, and about sixty lances, with the same number of archers. On their leaving

* Mr. Johnes seems to have misunderstood the text. The earl determined *desemparer* (to *demolish*) the church, not to keep possession of it; and the original subsequently states that, "the two knights (when they arrived at the church or *minster* as Froissart terms it) began to pull down, and demolish the minster." This passage is omitted by Mr. Johnes.

Lille, they took the road to Emenin, but found only a few men at arms there, who, of their own free-will, were guarding the church.

This same day, about two hundred English and Gascon lances made also an excursion; and learning from the foragers that there were some men at arms and cross-bows in Emenin, they stuck spurs into their horses, and never halted until they arrived at the town, when, dismounting in the square before the church, they grasped their spears and shouted their cries. Sir John du Moulin and the bastard of Flanders, seeing from this body of men that a combat was unavoidable, formed in battle-array in the square, and ordered their cross-bows to shoot: they at first wounded several of the English, who soon broke through them; but for a small body they made a good fight, though many were struck down, wounded and killed.

The English were so superior in numbers, that the Flemings were defeated, and the two knights made prisoners, who behaved gallantly in defending themselves. Of the remainder, many were taken; and very few returned to Lille, being mostly slain or captured. Thus ended this expedition to Emenin, which greatly vexed the earl of Flanders, but at that time he could not help it. The Gascons and English carried their prisoners with them, and made much of them; but it was not long before they ransomed themselves.

END OF VOL. I.

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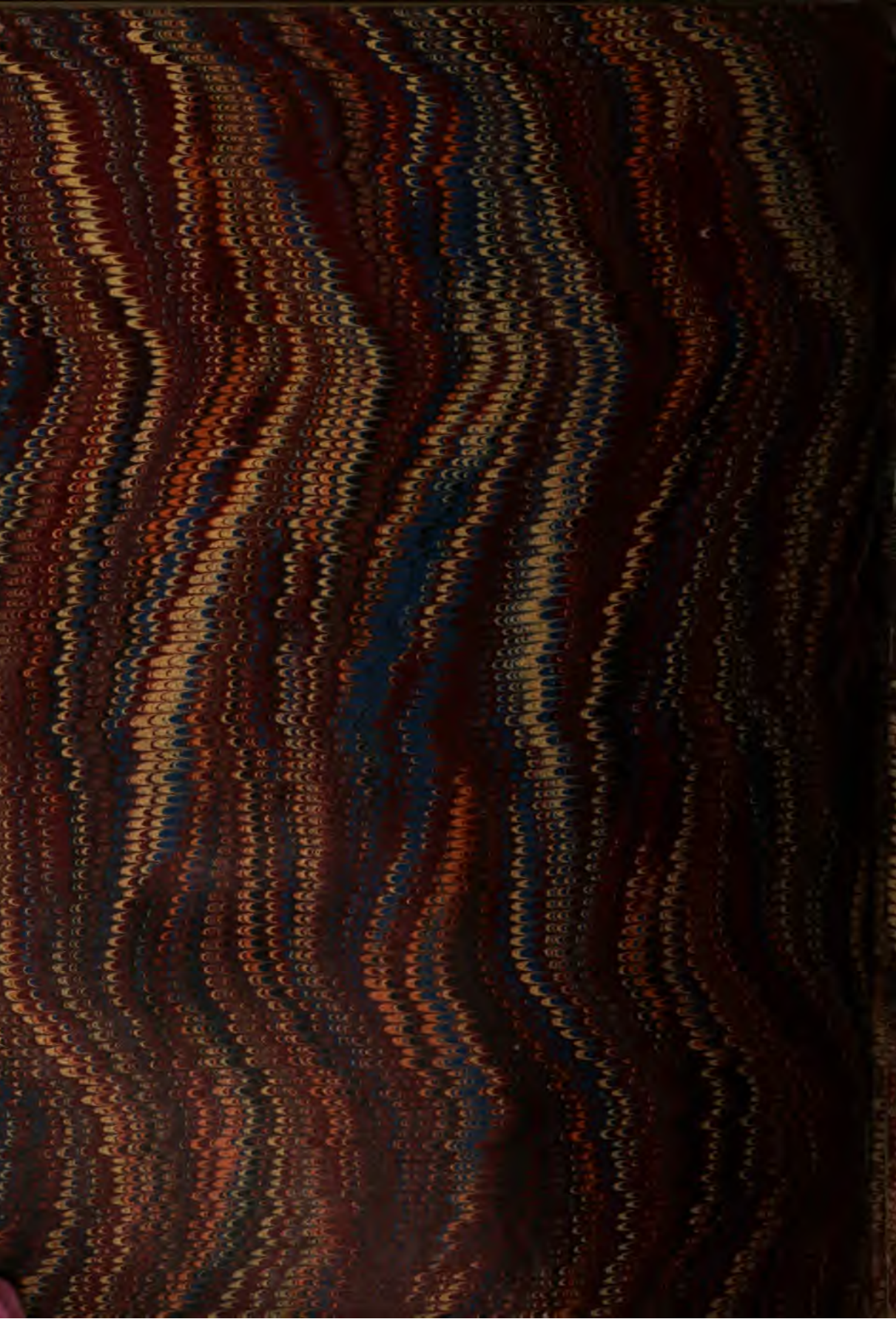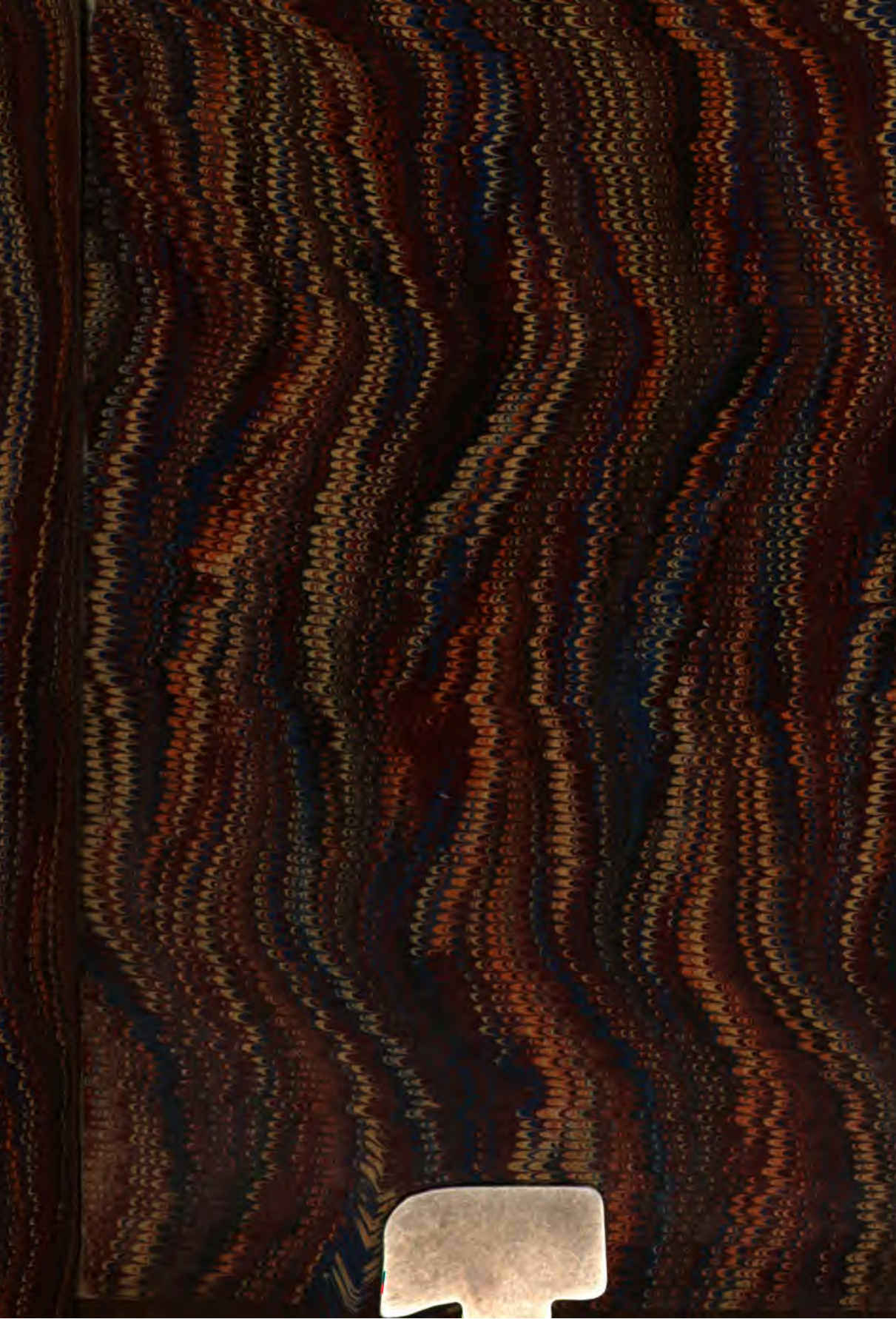
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